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THE NEW
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1784.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A SHORT REVIEW of the STATE of KNOWLEDGE,
LITERATURE, and TASTE, in this Country, from the
Accession of EDWARD the FIRST, to the Accession of HENRY
the FOURTH.



L O N D O N,
Printed for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Pater-noster-Row.
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ANNUAL REGISTER

OF THE

REVENUE

FOR THE YEAR

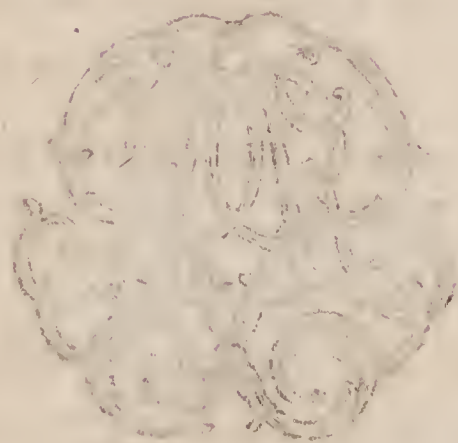
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TO WHICH IS APPENDED

A SUMMARY OF THE REVENUE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK FOR THE YEAR 1884



NEW YORK: PUBLISHED BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK, 1884.

P R E F A C E.

IN presenting the Fifth Volume of the New Annual Register to the public, there is no necessity for specifying distinctly the parts of which it consists, or the mode of conducting them we have endeavoured to pursue. These are points that have heretofore more than once been explained; and therefore we shall only add the expression of our hope, that we shall not be found to have failed in our usual attention to the objects which our work professes to accomplish.

There is one circumstance, with regard to the department of “Public Papers,” which may seem to require an apology; and that is, the interruption, in the present volume, of the Reports of the Commis-

sioners of Accounts. This hath arisen from the extraordinary situation of affairs in the year 1784. The dissolution of the old, and the choice of a new parliament, gave rise to contested elections uncommonly interesting, and in which it was thought, by great numbers of Englishmen, that the political constitution of this country was deeply concerned. Hence a peculiar importance was derived to many of the papers and advertisements written upon the occasion; and which, therefore, we have thought ourselves obliged to insert with some degree of copiousness. As a new parliament is not the work of every year, there will be room, in our future volumes, to supply any defects which have been the result of a particular juncture.

In our article of Domestic Literature, we stand indebted to the same able assistance, in the account of Philosophical and Medical Publications, which we had the advantage of receiving last year; and we here make our grateful acknowledgments to our anonymous correspondent, for his ingenious and learned communication.

It has been intimated, by some of our friends, that it would be desirable to enlarge the article of Domestic Literature. Our readers must perceive that
this

this article has every year grown upon our hands, so that it takes up a very competent portion of the work : but, at the same time, we wish it to be understood, that we have no intention of rivalling the Reviews ; and we should be sorry to have the New Annual Register at all considered in that light. It is our express design only to give a concise view of the literary productions of the year, arranged in a scientific form. In doing this, the writer of that department, though as much read as most men in the publications continually produced, freely acknowledges the occasional assistance which he has drawn from the Reviews. To this assistance he is more particularly obliged in his account of Foreign Literature ; while it has been no trifling labour to collect the scattered notices of things, and to reduce them to something of a systematic order.

One objection has surprised us, and that is, that there is a want of specimens of the books, the characters of which are given. It is strange that it should not occur to every gentleman, that the papers relative to Biography, Manners of Nations, Classical and Polite Criticism, Philosophy, Antiquities, Miscellaneous Learning, and Poetry, display examples of the manner in which the most important works of the year are written.

Upon the whole, while we commit ourselves to the judgment of our readers with a becoming deference, we feel, also, a certain degree of courage, arising from a consciousness that we have tasked our abilities, in order to render the New Annual Register not unworthy of the public approbation.

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S H O R T V I E W
O F T H E
S T A T E O F K N O W L E D G E,
L I T E R A T U R E, A N D T A S T E,
I N T H I S C O U N T R Y,

From the ACCESSION of King EDWARD the First, to the AC-
CESSION of HENRY the Fourth.

IN the general account that was given of the last period, we took a survey of the amazing power to which the popes had arisen, the absurd and insolent claims they advanced and exercised, and the temporal authority they assumed over the kings and princes of the earth. It was the disgrace of England, that it submitted to all the pretensions of the court of Rome, and thereby afforded an evident demonstration that human reason was sadly defaced among us, and true science reduced to the most abject state. Indeed, the tide of knowledge, in this respect, seems to have sunk almost as low as it possibly could; and, when it could ebb no farther, it might naturally be expected that it would begin to flow in again. Accordingly, the æra we are now treating of, opens with the agreeable prospect of some enlargement in the ideas of our countrymen. Whether it was that the impositions of the Roman see were too barefaced to delude any longer the grossest understanding; whether the principle of self-

self-interest contributed to open men's eyes ; whether the schisms which had happened in the church had brought its governors into disesteem ; whether Grostest and Roger Bacon had taught the English to look upon the pontiffs with less reverence : whether it was owing to a combination of these or other causes, it is an undoubted fact that, from this time, the high veneration for papal demands, and the obedience which was paid to them, began to decline. It is true, the spiritual power of the bishop of Rome continued, for a long series of years, to be generally acknowledged : but his secular dominion was vigorously attacked ; and hence the way was gradually opened for withdrawing from him the regard he claimed in religious matters. The same disposition now appeared in the rest of Europe, and particularly in France ; the consequence of which was, that Boniface the Eighth, who flourished at the conclusion of the thirteenth century, was the last pope that openly assumed to himself the right of exercising a temporal authority over the jurisdiction of princes. This claim he insisted upon with as much haughtiness as any of his predecessors : but his insolence involved him in so many calamities, that the pontiffs have, ever since, wisely and silently dropped their pretensions, without giving them up in express terms.

Edward the First is the person to whom the nation was principally indebted for the happy change in England. Whether this monarch was possessed of literature or not, we cannot absolutely determine. It is probable, from the character of the age, and the mode of education which then prevailed, that he had little or nothing of what could be called learning. But being endued with a superior understanding, and a vigorous mind, he rose above some of the prejudices of the times ; and several things were transacted during his reign, and under his peculiar direction, which deserve to be recorded in a history of knowledge. Besides his general opposition to the papal claims of secular dominion, he took other measures to prevent the undue influence and power of the Romish church. His statute of mortmain, in particular, has rendered his name extremely celebrated, and is thought to have been the first
of

of the kind that was made by any Christian prince. By this statute it was enacted, That no one should bequeath his estate to societies which never die, without the king's consent. A wise provision! for, without such a law, the priests, who could not alienate their possessions, would, by practising on the weakness of the people, have gotten into their hands almost all the land of the nation. In several other respects the authority of the clergy was restrained by Edward. Instances are recorded, in which he even used them with great severity; and the measures pursued by him had an evident tendency to make his subjects entertain a lower degree of veneration for the sacred order. Upon the whole, he seems to have been less tinctured with superstition than many of his contemporaries. It is true, that he retained to the last a zeal for the crusades: but this was probably a military, as well as a religious passion; Palestine being the theatre on which not only an attachment to the cross was to be displayed, but where glory in arms was chiefly to be acquired. With regard to Edward's harsh treatment of the Jews, it seems to have proceeded from avarice, and not from bigotry. This, however, does not afford the least extenuation of his conduct. Nothing can more strongly evince the narrow spirit and the barbarous sentiments of the age, than that a difference of religion could be looked upon as sufficient to justify the most shocking oppression and cruelty.

The reign of Edward I. was still farther distinguished by the great improvements that were made in our constitution and laws. The commons had become a distinct branch of the legislature during the administration of Henry III; but it was under his son that the lower house was constituted in its present form. Then it was that Representatives were summoned from the boroughs as well as the counties; and after the time of their having a different place of meeting from that of the barons, bishops, and mitred abbots, their weight and importance, as an essential part of the government, continually increased. It was, likewise, during the reign of this monarch that the famous charter, which had so often been broken, and so often renewed,

received its indisputable confirmation. Whatever arbitrary measures were pursued, the validity of this grand instrument was no longer called in question. Henceforward it was always regarded as the foundation of the English privileges, and as the rule by which the authority of every custom ought to be tried. Besides the general settlement of the constitution, Edward enriched his country with a variety of excellent laws; and from the days of Alfred, down to our own age, there is not one of our princes who appears with equal splendor as a legislator. It is on this account, that he hath frequently, and indeed deservedly, been entitled the Justinian of England. The numerous statutes enacted in his reign, according to the opinion of the celebrated Coke, alone merit the name of establishments, and are more constant, standing, and durable, than any which have been made since. He corrected and extended our laws with so much wisdom and judgment, and transmitted them in so improved a state to posterity, that they received very little additional perfection till the time of the Revolution. By him the jurisdiction of the several courts of judicature was adjusted; the office of justices of the peace settled; and the whole face of the internal form of government changed. The reformation he effected, and the prudent course of administration fixed upon by him, gave opportunity for the common law to refine itself, brought the judges to a greater certainty in their determinations, and the lawyers to more precision in their pleadings.

Such were the alterations, both in religious and civil matters, which Edward the First carried into execution; and undoubtedly they were of real advantage to the progress of knowledge. They had a tendency to open the mind, to wear off the roughness of the age, and gradually to introduce more rational views of things.

A custom which at this time began to take place, is of too much consequence, with regard to the subject before us, to be passed over without notice. It now became usual for the sons of the principal gentlemen of family and fortune to study the laws of their country at the inns of court and chancery, which were in fact so many colleges, that consti-

tuted an university for this purpose. One important effect of the practice we have mentioned was, that bodily exercises were no longer regarded as the only necessary parts of education. The attention of young men was directed to objects which could not be pursued without a certain degree of literature: nor was it possible for them to unite in a regular society, situated in the center of the metropolis, without being called, on various occasions, to such exertions of the mind, and to such connections in life, as would have a tendency to enlarge their understandings, and to soften the roughness of the feudal manners.

The weak reign of Edward the Second, does not afford much information relative to our main subject. The causes of improvement already specified continued, in some degree, to operate; and our free constitution of government acquired fresh vigour. In consequence of the house of commons becoming totally separate from that of the lords, the representatives of the people attained to a greater regularity in their proceedings, and acquired a higher importance in the state. There is a circumstance which displays in a strong light how much the principles of liberty were advanced: for it is in the beginning of this reign, that we find, the first instance, upon record, of the coronation oath which our kings solemnly take, to adhere to the laws of the land, and to preserve the privileges of the subject. The solemn deposition of Edward the Second, by parliament, is another striking fact in the history of English freedom, and in the history of the English mind. It exhibits our ancestors in a far more honourable view than that in which they appeared, when they crouched under the tyranny of the Tudors, and embraced the slavish doctrines of the Stuarts.

Edward the Third, as is known by all who have the least acquaintance with the British annals, was a monarch of distinguished talents, who acquired great glory by his enterprises in France, and who raised the nation to the highest pitch of military splendor: nor was the genius of the people, which by him was fostered, confined to war alone, but extended to different objects. The spirit of chivalry, and

the passion for tournaments, though justly banished from later ages, may be considered, in a more barbarous period, as real improvements, and as having been eminently favourable to the cultivation and refinement of the human mind. The devoted attachment every true knight professed to some beautiful lady, and the rules of generosity and honour, by which this attachment was conducted, proved serviceable to the cause of virtue and politeness; and could not fail of promoting the cultivation of poetry and other elegant arts. The institution of the order of the Garter shewed that Edward was possessed of an enlarged understanding: and to his taste for building, under the direction of William of Wickham, we are indebted for the castle of Windsor, which is a noble monument of what hath commonly, though improperly, been called the Gothic architecture. This species of architecture, as it existed in our cathedrals, and other ecclesiastical structures, was now, by the introduction of pointed arches, and various ornamental improvements, rising to that high degree of perfection which has so deservedly excited the admiration not of antiquaries merely, but of men who are possessed of the most refined taste. Nor was this the only art of design to which some attention was paid. Painting on glass, which Henry the Third had encouraged, continued to be exercised; and the illuminators of manuscripts, notwithstanding the general stiffness of their drawing, were sometimes happy in their representations of animals, flowers, and foliage.

The period we are treating of was distinguished by the invention of artillery, which is said to have been first made use of at the battle of Cressy; and is thought, by several writers, to have contributed to the grand victory which the English obtained in that famous engagement. Though it was some time before the application of it was brought to perfection, the discovery of this new method of attacking an enemy, forms a remarkable epocha in the history of the world, as it gradually introduced an alteration in the whole military art, and has, consequently, been attended with no small influence on the state of civil societies. Nor is the invention of gun-powder and cannon, however formidable

midable it may appear, to be regarded as a hurtful, but a beneficial discovery ; since it has, in fact, been the means of rendering wars less cruel, and of preserving multitudes of lives.

More rational sentiments with respect to trade began now to prevail. This, perhaps, was owing to an additional intercourse with Flanders, which had already grown extremely rich by its commerce. Whatever was the cause, it is certain, that Edward encouraged the weaving of woollen cloth, and enacted, by parliament, that no cloth should be worn which was not of English make, excepting by the king and queen, and their children. Farther to promote this staple manufacture, it was ordained, that those persons only who had a yearly rent of a hundred pounds should be entitled to dress in silks or furs. In consequence of these statutes, Thomas Blauket, and other inhabitants of Bristol, set up looms in their houses. John Kempe, an eminent woollen-manufacturer of Flanders, by his majesty's encouragement, came over to this country, with his workmen and apprentices. In the same year, no less than seventy families of Walloons settled in England ; and these were followed by other families, in the course of some succeeding years. The result of all this was, that the manufactory of woollen cloths, before the end of Edward the Third's reign, arrived to what might comparatively be called a very flourishing state. It was not, however, thoroughly and universally established among us, till the Flemings fled into this island, from the persecutions of Philip the Second of Spain. We shall here add, that the genius of our countrymen, roused by the example of their monarch, and other concurring causes, exerted itself abroad, not only in France and Italy, but in more distant regions, and particularly in the East.

Having mentioned these circumstances, though remotely connected with our principal subject, because they serve to shew the spirit of the age, and to mark the progress of human reason, we pass on to the farther improvements that were made in political and religious knowledge. During the reigns of Edward the Third, and his successor Richard the

Second, the freedom of our constitution continued to increase: the house of commons rose every year in its power and influence, and assumed a considerable importance in all public concerns. As its business grew weighty and various, it formed itself into a regular method of proceeding, and chose a speaker. The first upon record, as elected to that high office, though perhaps not the first that was ever chosen, was sir Peter la Mare. The same gentleman was the first person who distinguished himself by that popular eloquence which has since made such a mighty figure in our parliaments, which has alternately been the instrument of patriotism, avarice, and ambition; and, as it has been well or ill employed, has produced the best or the worst effects. How low the state of oratory in general was, appears from the speeches of the king's chancellors, whose custom, in their addresses to the peers and representatives of the nation was, to pitch upon some text of Scripture as the foundation of their discourse, and to run a variety of quaint divisions upon that and any other passages of the sacred writings which occurred to their memory. William of Wickham had the good sense to depart from this absurd method, and to propound the public business in clear and natural language. It ought not to be omitted that, during this æra, the use of the Norman tongue in law proceedings was for ever abolished; an alteration which might partly be the result of the hatred that had now taken place between the English and the French, in consequence of their violent wars. But the reason for it assigned in the preamble to the statute is, that the French language was too much unknown. Hence it is apparent that the Saxon tongue had been preserved by the body of the people; though with the intermixture of many Norman words, which must unavoidably have crept in, from the French having been the fashionable language of the great and the learned for the space of almost three centuries.

With regard to the papal encroachments, the same spirit which was shewn by Edward the First, was carried on by Edward the Third. This spirit had relaxed under Edward the Second, who hoping to find in the pontiff a protection
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against his own subjects, practised some condescensions and submissions, which were very dishonourable and prejudicial to the nation. But no such meannesses existed in his illustrious son, who took fresh measures to correct the insolence, and disappoint the claims of the Roman see. One method pursued by him was to repeal the tax which had been laid upon the kingdom, when John Lackland had infamously yielded his crown to the pope. Though this tax had often been neglected, and the payment of it deferred for a considerable time, the right to it seemed, nevertheless, to be allowed, and the bishops of Rome used to obtain the money at favourable opportunities. The tribute of thirty years was now due, and Urban the Fifth demanded it with such haughtiness, as to nominate commissioners to summon Edward to his court in case of a refusal. Our brave monarch was not a of a temper to brook this treatment. He laid the matter before his parliament, who unanimously decided, that the king of England could not legally bring the nation into such a servitude, and that the engagement was absolutely null. With equal unanimity both houses declared, that they would oppose the pontiff to the utmost of their power, if he attempted to prosecute his pretensions.

The papal authority received a farther blow, by the two famous statutes of provisors and præmunire. By the first it was ordained, that the pope should not collate any ecclesiastical benefices in prejudice to the right of the sovereign, the chapters, and the patrons; and that every person who procured reservations from Rome, should be imprisoned. The second enacted, that all who carried causes into a foreign court, the cognizance of which belonged to the king's, should be deprived of their liberty, and forfeit their lands, goods, and chattels to the crown. These statutes evidently shew that the minds of men were not held in that slavish subjection to the Roman see to which they had heretofore been subjected. Indeed the laity, at this time, were extremely averse to the impositions of the priests, and complained of them to parliament in a manner which shewed that they were not wholly unprepared for a more general refor-

reformation. This disposition of the people acquired additional strength, in consequence of the fresh schism which, in the beginning of Richard the Second's reign, broke out in the church, between Urban the Sixth and Clement the Seventh. The contests, likewise, between the Mendicant friars and the secular clergy, tended to open the understandings of the latter; and they had that effect, in particular, with regard to John Wickliff, who introduced the greatest alteration and improvement in religious knowledge, that any nation had experienced for many centuries.

This man had the fortitude to attack not only the temporal claims and encroachments of the sovereign pontiff, but even to strike at the foundation of the papal hierarchy. He advanced the very principles now embraced by Protestants, and went farther than Luther and several of the principal reformers afterwards did. The age was not sufficiently emerged from barbarism, it was not sufficiently capable of speculation, to admit a general change in its sentiments and worship: Wickliff, however, was attended with a success which could scarcely have been expected. His opinions were embraced by several learned men, especially at Oxford; at which university they maintained their ground for a considerable time. He was supported by some of the principal nobility, among whom were the Lord Henry Percy, marshal of England, and John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. His enemies were not able to bring him to any capital punishment; and his followers became so numerous as to constitute a strong party, who separated in form from the church of Rome, and had such a confidence in their multitudes, and the dignity of their patrons, as boldly to propose their system to the consideration and reception of parliament. To the influence of these patrons it was probably owing, that the power assumed by the bishops of proceeding against heretics, was revoked. Nor was the light struck out by Wickliff, confined to his own country. It was, in some measure, carried to Bohemia by his celebrated disciples, John Hufs and Jerom of Prague, where it produced mighty commotions and signal events.

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There was another literary revolution, which took place in the reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second; and that was, the appearance of poetry in our own tongue, with no small degree of splendour. The efforts, (some of them not inconsiderable) which were made at writing in Latin verse, have been represented by us in a former article. To the present period was reserved the honour of engaging the Muses to speak in English with such dignity as to call for general attention and admiration. We are not to imagine that before this time no attempts of versification were made in our native language. The poetical productions of the age, if such they may be called, were very numerous, and our old libraries are full of them. Previously to the æra concerning which we are treating, the Lives of the Saints were written in verse, and many parts of the Bible were translated in the same manner. A love-song and some compositions of a miscellaneous nature occur in the reign of king John. Another form in which our early poetry often appeared was that of satire; and when the satire was clothed in allegory, it was sometimes conducted with success. The objects on which it was exerted were, for the most part, the lawyers and the clergy. But the principal efforts of our yet untutored Muses, were rhyming chronicles and metrical romances. In the reign of Edward the First, the character of our poetical compositions was considerably changed. Either fictitious adventures were substituted by the minstrels in the place of historical or traditionary facts, or reality was disguised by the misrepresentations of invention; and a taste for ornamental expression gradually prevailed over the rude simplicity of the native English phraseology. This change was occasioned, among other causes, by the introduction and increase of the tales of chivalry.* It was in the reign of Edward the Second that the metrical romances chiefly flourished; and, though the poetry of them was, in general, very rude, imperfect, and feeble, they occasionally exhibited gleams of imagination. One of them, entitled “Kyng of Tars,”

* Mr. Warton.

has a warmth of description in certain passages that is not unlike the manner of Chaucer. From the productions we are now speaking of, this great poet and his contemporaries undoubtedly derived some advantages; but it was their acquaintance with Italian learning that still more enabled them to produce a literary revolution in their own country. Surprising effects had been wrought in Italy by the genius and the writings of Dante and Petrarch. Our English poets were not equally happy in their endeavours to enlighten the understanding, and to refine the taste, of the English nation. They had greater difficulties to contend with, and were far more unfavourably situated for obtaining a conquest over them. Their style was rough, and the harmony of their poetic numbers was very defective. Nevertheless, we are much indebted to them for applying so assiduously to the study of their native language, and for contributing, in a considerable degree, to its enrichment and cultivation. The change effected by them is, upon the whole, an important event in the history of British literature. A more particular view of their abilities and character, will occur in the account which follows of the learned men who flourished between the accession of Edward the First and the death of Richard the Second.

When we look into the accounts of the British writers which have been given us by Leland and other biographers, and observe the multitude of persons whom these biographers have rescued from oblivion, together with the praises they have bestowed upon them, as excelling in almost every branch of knowledge, and only defective with respect to the elegance of their style, we are ready to believe that the times preceding the Reformation were much more learned than has usually been imagined. Should we allow full credit to the encomiums which our historians have so liberally poured on a number of men, whose works are now either totally lost, or utterly neglected, we might hence see that literature is of no avail without taste; and that, if science be communicated in barbarous language, it will be treated with disregard and contempt by a polite and cultivated age. But the greatest
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part of our ancient monastic authors, notwithstanding the pompous eulogiums we read concerning them, were as despicable for the matter, as for the expression of their performances. In every view, therefore, they were justly consigned to dust and worms; and though we possess something of an antiquarian spirit, we are not endued with such a portion of it, as to be extremely fond of things which are recommended by nothing but their antiquity. Several persons, however, may deserve a place in a history of the progress of knowledge, whose compositions are no longer valuable; and, as learning cannot be pursued, even in the most disadvantageous manner, without producing good effects in certain instances, a diligent enquirer will always find some few names that are worthy of being mentioned with particular esteem. Where this is the case, there is a pleasure in paying the tribute due to departed merit; and it is doing honour to our country, to let none be forgotten who have a lawful title to remembrance and applause.

Though general light seemed rather to increase during the period we are treating of, yet, excepting two or three illustrious men who sprang up towards the conclusion of it, it did not produce a set of writers equal in abilities and character to those who flourished in the preceding æra. Natural philosophy, unless we are disposed to grant that appellation to the idle treatises of the schoolmen, was much upon the decline. This, perhaps, may be deemed surprising, when it is considered what a bright example was set, and what prodigious discoveries were made, by Roger Bacon. But his very example might deter others from following the studies which had only exposed him to persecution; and the reflections thrown upon him as a magician, might occasion his works to be designedly neglected and avoided. The succession of pestilences which broke out in the fourteenth century, and which were terrible and destructive to a degree scarcely to be paralleled in history, must, likewise, have obstructed the advancement of science. The great plague in 1349, carried off nine parts in ten of the clergy. The parish churches were deserted; the schools at Oxford were shut up; the scholars either died, or dispersed them-

themselves into remote quarters ; and illiterate laymen, who had lost their wives in the general desolation, were permitted to assume the ecclesiastical habit. This plague was succeeded by others, in 1361, 1370, 1381, and 1382. Such dreadful events must evidently have tended to destroy the little learning which then subsisted in the nation ; and, as peculiar havock was made by them at Oxford, they might contribute to a speedier forgetfulness of Roger Bacon, and his admirable improvements. Some few there were, however, who trod in his steps, though their names cannot, in any measure, be put in competition with his. Thomas Bongey was a diligent cultivator of natural knowledge, and so superior, in this respect, to his contemporaries, that, like his illustrious predecessor, he was charged with addicting himself to magic. Roger of Hereford, whom we mentioned, in a former article, as having drawn up a Theory of the Planets, which fact we now consider as doubtful, was undoubtedly the author of a work upon metals, said to have been skillfully and elegantly written. Chemistry, or rather alchemy, which, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, had passed from the Spanish Saracens, through France, into England, and had been pursued, for a while, with great zeal, was almost wholly neglected in the present period.

The astronomy of the times, which too much consisted in the absurd calculations of judicial astrology, was studied by several persons ; among whom we find the names of Manduit, Osterwood, Bright, who wrote a treatise upon the Planets, and Nicholas Linensis, who is referred to by Chaucer, in his Astrolabe. The same men devoted themselves to the mathematics ; and others may be added to the list. Among these, Bradwardin, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was the most celebrated, and hath obtained, even among foreigners, the reputation of having been the best mathematician of his age. Nor did John Halifax come much behind him in geometrical science, if indeed he was at all his inferior in that respect. We read too of one mechanical genius, Richard of Wallingford, abbot of St. Albans, who applied his mathematical knowledge to practice, and
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caused a clock to be constructed, which was then esteemed the most curious piece of workmanship of the kind in Europe. It marked the course of the sun and the moon, and the flux and reflux of the tide; was adorned with a representation of the fixed stars, and contained a prodigious number of lines, with figures and demonstrations. The inventor of it gave it the name of Albion, and composed a book describing its mechanism, with directions to the monks in what manner to keep it in order. Among the mathematical instruments which were then in use, quadrants and specula, or spying-glasses, are frequently mentioned.

Michael Scot, generally esteemed a native of the county of Fife in Scotland, though some writers represent him as having been born near Durham, ought to have been introduced by us in our last Number, as he flourished during the reign of Henry the Third. He obtained the title of *the mathematician* among the learned, and of the *magician* among the vulgar. So great was his reputation, that he was invited by the emperor Frederick the Second, of Germany, to assist him in the design of procuring Latin translations of the works of Aristotle, and of the other philosophers and physicians of Greece. For this task he was well qualified, both by his knowledge of Aristotle's writings and his acquaintance with the Arabic and Grecian languages. With all the learning he had all the credulity and weaknesses of the times; for judicial astrology, alchemy, physiognomy, and chiromancy, were among the studies that engaged his attention.*

The love of life implanted in the breast of man, and which urges us to seek for remedies when we are attacked by distempers, did not permit the art of medicine to be wholly neglected. Manduit, already mentioned as an astronomer, was likewise a medical writer. John de Gaddesden was the author of a treatise, entitled, *Rosa Medica*; and Gilbert English wrote several tracts that have been highly extolled, but which only shew that his skill as a physician put him upon a footing with some of the ablest of his contemporaries.

* Dr. Henry

Philological and Polite Literature, till it was revived at the close of this æra, was in as low a state as Natural Philosophy. We meet with but one person who was skilled in the Hebrew language, and this was Gregory Hunter, a monk of Ramsey, who, when the goods of the Jews were confiscated and sold at Stamford and Huntingdon, during the persecution that was raised against them by Edward the First, bought their manuscripts, and betook himself to the assiduous study of the Old Testament in its original tongue. We know not that any others did the same: for, though William Britton drew up a Lexicon to the Bible, yet, as we are expressly told that it was calculated only for the service of common divines, we may be well assured of its having had a reference to nothing but the Vulgate Latin.

Though we have seen that so much poetry was produced in the beginning of the period before us, it is remarkable that the names of the writers of it are, for the most part, buried in oblivion. We know not to whom we are indebted for far the greater number of metrical romances, and other compositions which the age afforded. It is probable that they were the productions of monks, who lived and died unknown in their convents. The first poet whose name occurs is Robert of Gloucester, who flourished about the year 1280. He was a monk of the abbey of Gloucester, and composed a poem of considerable length, which is a History of England in verse, from Brutus to his own time. At the close of Edward the First's reign, we meet with another poet, named Robert Mannyng, but more commonly Robert de Brunne, who appears, however, only as a translator. The work translated, or rather paraphrased by him, was originally written by Robert Grossetest, and was entitled, *Manual de Peche*, or the *Manual of Sins*. Among the authors of the metrical romances in Edward the Second's time, Adam Davie is the only person whose name has descended to posterity. Robert Baston, a poet who attended this monarch in his expedition to Scotland, wrote chiefly in Latin. It was not till Edward the Third's reign that the geniuses sprang up, who produced that poetic revolution we have already mentioned, and which reflects so much honour
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on themselves and on their country. Richard Hampole, a doctor in divinity, of the order of St. Augustine, must not be reckoned in the number of these geniuses. Robert Longlande, who flourished about the year 1350, and who was the author of the poem called "The Vision of Pierce Plowman" merits a far superior distinction. This poem contains a series of distinct visions, in which the vices of almost every profession, particularly of the clergy, and the absurdities of superstition, are ridiculed with much humour and spirit. The satire is accompanied with a strong vein of allegorical invention. The grand defect of Longlande lies in his language. He hath adopted the style of the Anglo-Saxon poets, and imitated them in their alliterative versification; the consequence of which is that he is remarkably uncouth, and sometimes obscure. It is to be lamented that so much genius and abilities should be hidden by such an unpleasant and ungracious mode of composition. Bad as the model set by Longlande was, he had a number of imitators. There was a Scottish poet in the present period who is entitled to distinguished praises. The person we have in view is John Barbour, arch-deacon of Aberdeen. His poem called "The History of Robert Bruce, King of the Scots," allowance being made for the time in which it was written, is eminent for the beauty of its style. Another bard of the same country wrote a poem on the exploits of sir William Wallace, which abounds with fine passages. Both these writers rose to a strain of versification, expression, and poetical imagery, greatly superior to the age and country in which they lived*.

We are now arrived to Geoffrey Chaucer, who claims the highest place of distinction, on account of his pre-eminent merit, and the more extensive influence of his example. Into the particulars of his life, which are minutely discussed in the Biographia, we shall not enter. It may be sufficient to say, that he was conversant with the court, and engaged in public affairs; that he was closely

* Mr. Warton.

connected with John of Gaunt, and married the sister of the famous Catharine Swynford; that he was involved in the misfortunes of his friend and master; that he was obliged to flee into Holland when the duke was disgraced; and that he afterwards returned into England, upon the restoration of his patron to power and favour. Our business is with his literary character, which was truly illustrious; though on this it is the less necessary to enlarge, as it has within these few years been so accurately and amply displayed by such writers as a Tyrwhit and a Warton. Chaucer was skilled in all the learning of the age, and especially in astronomy, as appears from his *Astrolabe*, wherein he hath collected together whatever was valuable in the works of those who had gone before him in the study of that science. He wrote in English prose, as well as verse, being persuaded that it was the duty of able men to cultivate their native tongue; to which opinion he seems to have been led, by considering the success of Petrarch in adopting the same method in Italy.

Chaucer is entitled to eminent praise as a poet. He was endued with a fine genius, and shone in very different kinds of composition. His *Canterbury Tales* are master-pieces, which exhibit a wonderful variety of talents; for they abound with the sublime and the pathetic, with admirable satire, genuine humour, and an uncommon knowledge of life. The stories told by the several guests are exactly suited to their characters, and clearly evince that the author, notwithstanding the aids he derived from his acquaintance with Italian literature, was possessed of a noble invention and a fruitful imagination. Whatever were the defects of his style, they were entirely the defects of the period in which he flourished. At the same time it has a claim to much higher praise than it hath frequently received. The accusations of a want of harmony in his versification have often proceeded from an ignorance of the structure of our language in that age, and of the manner in which it was pronounced. Chaucer is usually characterized as the father of the English poetry; he was undoubtedly the first person

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in England to whom the appellation of a poet, in its genuine lustre, could be applied. Besides the enrichment that he added to our native tongue in general, he had the honour of establishing the English heroic verse, in which so many beautiful compositions have since appeared.

It is observable that Chaucer was uncommonly free in his religious sentiments, and employed his talents not only in lashing the immoralities of the priests, but even in covertly attacking some of the doctrines of the Church of Rome: nor hath it been imagined without reason that he was a great favourer, if not a direct follower of Wickliff.

Another poet of this æra, who is entitled to considerable applause, is John Gower. He was the intimate friend of Chaucer, and co-operated with him in all his valuable designs. With respect to religion, he was equally enlarged in his sentiments; so natural is the connection between genius and the love of liberty. Though he was much inferior to Chaucer in spirit, imagination, and elegance, his language is not destitute of perspicuity, and his versification is frequently harmonious. His course of reading was very extensive, and his learning was accompanied with a knowledge of life. He critically cultivated his native tongue, that he might reform its irregularities, and establish an English style. His poems are distinguished for their moral merit. In short, if Chaucer had not existed, Gower would alone have been sufficient to rescue the age he lived in from the imputation of barbarism *.

From the poets let us pass on to the historians, whom we shall not find equal to their predecessors in the same species of composition. The Compendium of Thomas Wikes, which begins with the Conquest, and ends at the death of Edward I. is clear and full in its narration of several events. The Chronicle that goes under the name of John Brumpton, is copious in its accounts of the Saxons, and transcribes many of their laws at large. Higden, though

* Mr. Warton.

a plagiarist, preserves some things which would otherwise have been lost. Matthew of Westminster concluded his Annals at the year 1307; but his work was continued by other hands, and particularly by Adam de Merimouth, to 1380. All these authors are useful, for want of better instruction; and we may add to them, though he was somewhat later in point of time, sir John Froissart, who was born in France, and wrote in the language of that country, but who was brought up in the court of Edward the Third. His view of the reigns of that monarch, and his grandson Richard the Second, is plain, honest, and valuable: it is descriptive of the manners of the times; and has been of no small service to our modern historians. Walter Hemmingford, Nicholas Trivet, Ralph Baldock, Thomas Otterbourn, Robert de Avesbury, Henry Knyghton, John de Fordun, and William Packington, secretary to the Black Prince, were historical writers during the present period. The merit of Trivet and Robert de Avesbury is superior to that of the rest. The Histories of the Reign of Edward the Second, by John de Trokelowe, and Henry de Blaneford, contain some curious circumstances, the knowledge of which could not be obtained from any other sources.

But this age produced what was then extremely remarkable, an extensive and illustrious traveller. This was sir John Mandeville, a person descended from an ancient and noble family. He had received his education at the monastery of St. Albans, and applied himself, for a while, to the common studies of the day, and especially to physic; but at length he was seized with an invincible desire of visiting Asia and Africa. Having amply provided himself for the purpose, he set out upon his undertaking in 1332, and was absent from England thirty-four years. When he returned to his native country he was scarcely known, and had long been given up for dead by his relations and friends. He acquired an acquaintance with many modern languages, in the course of his adventures, and wrote his Travels in Latin, French, and English. Several false and fanciful things are to be found in them, as he was extremely credulous, and tells us

not only what he saw, but what he heard. In other respects his account of the countries he passed through deserves attention; and, excepting Paulus Venutus, he was the first man that opened the knowledge of the remoter parts of the world to the Western Europeans.

We come now to the divines of the period, and might here mention a great number of schoolmen; but as we reserve them for future consideration, we shall only at present take notice, that John Duns Scotus and William Ockham are illustrious names in the history of scholastic theology. Thomas Doehing, Nicholas Gorham, and T. Hall, besides their proficiency in this theology, distinguished themselves as interpreters of Scripture. But it was John Baconthorpe who was the most eminent in this respect. Indeed, considering the age in which he lived, he was an extraordinary man. He published Commentaries upon the whole of the Old and New Testament, and his works gained a reputation abroad, which continued a long time. Bradwardin's Treatise against the Pelagians was likewise much celebrated for several centuries.

The grand luminary of this æra, as we have already seen, was John Wickliff. He was educated at Oxford, where he made an uncommon progress in all the literature of the age, and obtained the chief rank in philosophy and divinity. His abilities and character recommended him to the notice of Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, who appointed him rector of Canterbury-hall; but under Langton, the successor of Islip, he and the other members were turned out, to make room for the Mendicant friars. Some impute to this event his opposition to the Romish church. Whether there be any justice in this imputation, cannot now be certainly determined; but, whatever his motives were, he dared to think nobly and to write freely. That he had a solid and enlarged understanding is evident from the principles advanced by him; principles which will appear the more remarkable, when we consider the period wherein he existed, and that he actually went farther than many of the first reformers. He had the good sense to fix Christianity
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on its right foundation, by asserting the absolute sufficiency of the Scriptures as a rule of faith and practice. He denied the supremacy and jurisdiction of the pope, the corporal presence of our Saviour in the sacrament, and the authority of the bishops to inflict temporal punishments upon religious offenders. That his sentiments were not in every respect equally rational, will be no matter of surprize to a reflecting mind. The wonder is, that in an age so ignorant, and with disadvantages so great, he proceeded to the length which he did in the rejection of error and the investigation of truth. For his heretical opinions he was cited before his superiors, and his doctrines were condemned; but, being supported by powerful patrons, he escaped the malignity of his enemies, and lived and died in peace. It ought not to be omitted, that he translated the Bible; a grand undertaking! which shewed his real regard for the honour of revelation. He was not, however, the first that gave us the Old and New Testament in the vulgar tongue. John Trevyſa, canon of Westbury, in Wiltshire, and a great traveller, did the same, in the period we are treating of; and mention is made in our ancient authors of other versions, of a still older date. This Trevyſa was one of the first scholars of his time, and was patronized in his learned undertakings by Thomas lord Berkeley. Wickliff, who does not appear to have understood the Hebrew language, collected what Latin Bibles he could find; from which he made one correct copy, and from this he translated. He afterwards examined the best commentators then extant, and from them inserted in his margin the passages in which the Latin differed from the Hebrew*.

Mr. Hume has represented Wickliff and his followers as a set of enthusiasts. Without entering into a controversy with this elegant historian, we shall content ourselves with observing, that nothing peculiarly enthusiastic can be traced in the character and conduct of Wickliff himself. It is apparent, from his whole behaviour, that he was not one of

* Mr. Gilpin.

those men who scorn to decline danger, and seem to court persecution. Let it, at the same time, be remembered, that, had it not been for such enthusiasts as Wickliff, truth, knowledge, and liberty, would never have existed in the world.

Among the learned disciples of this reformer, Pateshull, after his master's death, was the chief defender of his sentiments, and was at length obliged to fly into Bohemia, where he became very famous among the Hussites. Repyndon appeared for a while in the same cause, but was induced to desert and persecute it, for the sake of preferment.

The opinions advanced by the Lollards gave rise to a grand controversy, in which Binham, Dymock, Sharpe, Swaffham, and many more whose names are not worthy of being rescued from oblivion, distinguished themselves on the opposite side. Another subject of debate was, the method of healing the famous schism between Urban VI. and Clement VII. John Colden and Thomas Palmer exerted their talents on this question, which was deemed important in those days, but must now be regarded as altogether insignificant and contemptible.

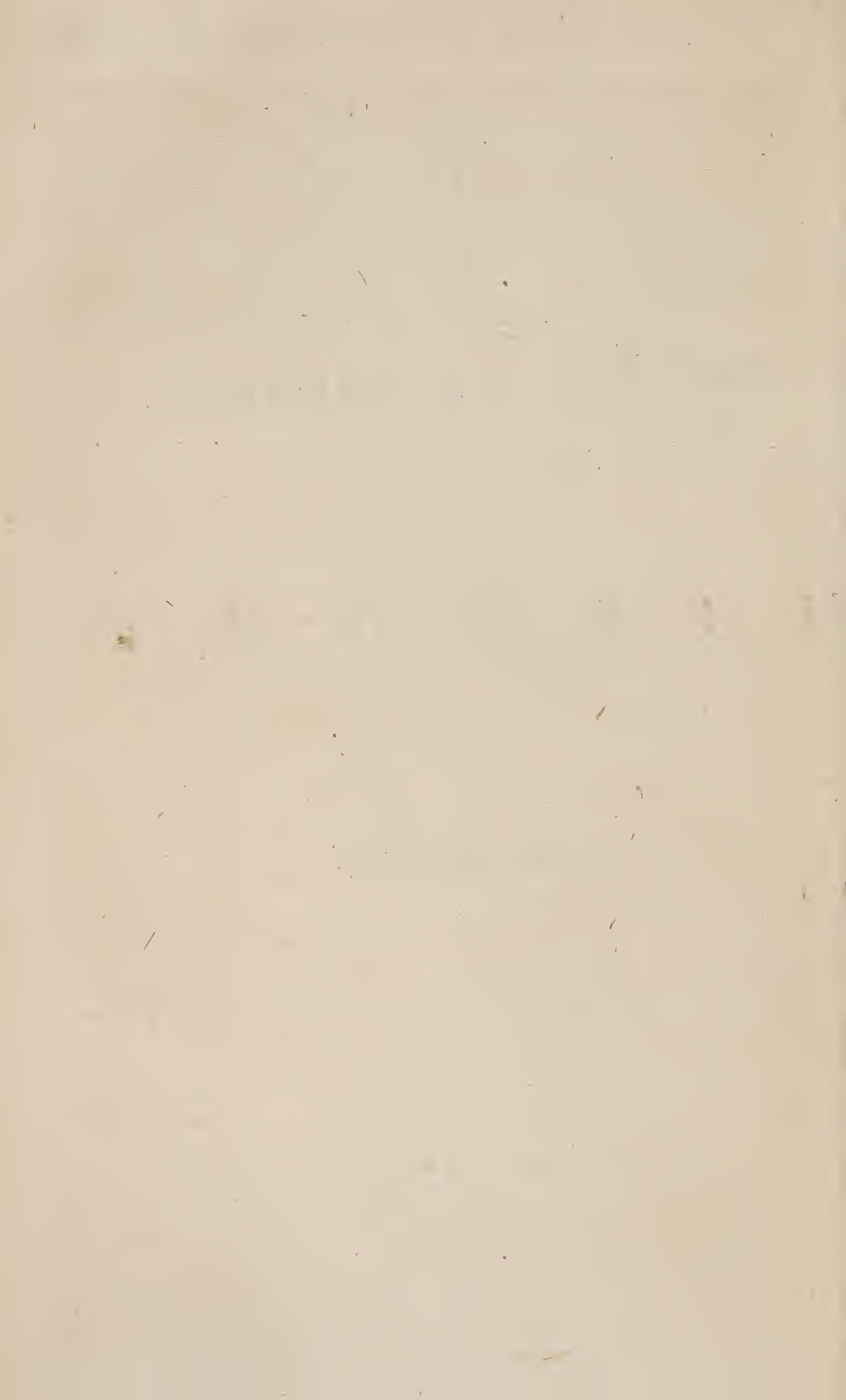
We shall conclude this article with mentioning a few persons who, though not eminent scholars themselves, merit our gratitude and applause as the generous patrons and promoters of literature. Edward the Third is said, by some writers, to have been an encourager of learning; and the account will not be thought improbable, when we reflect on the great improvements that were made in the latter end of his reign. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, is, without controversy, entitled to distinguished honour in this respect; for he was the zealous protector and friend of the two most illustrious men of the age, Chaucer and Wickliff. Richard Aunger-vyle, chancellor of England, spared no labour or expence in collecting books from all parts, of which he made a present to the university of Oxford, where he established a public library. But the most liberal benefactor to science was William of Wickham, who, during his own life, and

at a prodigious expence, founded the college at Winchester, and New-college at Oxford. These seminaries were formed by him upon a plan, the wisdom of which hath rendered them singularly useful down to the present day; and he had the honour to be exactly imitated by several illustrious men, as will be seen when we shall have occasion to mention the literary establishments of Henry Chicheley, William of Waynesfleet, and king Henry the Sixth.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

H I S T O R Y

For the Year 1784.



BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY

For the Year 1784.

CHAPTER I.

Meeting of Parliament. Votes of Supply. Receipt Tax. Committee to enquire into Frauds committed on the Revenue. Expulsion of Mr. Atkinson.

THOUGH the great variety of public business, and the change that had taken place in the administration of affairs, had protracted the sitting of parliament through a great part of the summer of the year 1783, it was thought proper to call them together again for their fourth session so early as the 11th day of November. This assembly had not indeed as yet passed through the half of the period of existence assigned them by law; but few of their predecessors had witnessed so many revolutions of the persons called upon to transact the business of their country. They had been elected under the auspices of lord North; and we believe the minister had as much reason to be satisfied with his success in that affair, as with any of the various operations that had taken place under his direction. They had indeed afterwards been active in displacing him from the helm of government; but the cause of that proceeding is to be sought in a certain combination of circumstances, that no human

policy could resist, and not in any original want of congeniality and friendship to the noble lord in this house of commons. Though stripped of power and patronage, he still retained an influence in those walls, which would render him a formidable enemy to any minister against whom he should direct his exertions; and it was speedily perceived, that it was not in the power of those threats of prosecution and punishment, which are naturally pointed against an unsuccessful minister, to teach him the lessons of timidity and forbearance. The administration of lord North had been followed by the appointment of a set of men, from whom the majority of their countrymen had formed very sanguine expectations. But these expectations were destined to be overturned almost as soon as raised. The untimely death of their leader, and the unhappy misunderstandings that succeeded, speedily demolished a fabric, of which the public had conceived far other hopes. The wing of the building (if we may be allowed to pursue

purfue our metaphor) that fill remained, had perhaps by this defalcation been too much narrowed, to bid fair for any long duration. The fubfequent afcendancy of the earl of Shelburne was fcarcely beheld by any party with an eye of complacence; and, though the manners of that nobleman be extremely elegant and courtly, they feemed, by a ftrange fatality, lefs to have conciliated good-will than to have excited jealousy, fufpicion, and envy.

The adminiftration formed in the fpring of the year 1783 was univerfally acknowledged to be able, powerful and active. All men agreed to look up to them for fomething bold, enterprifing, and decifive. Such an adminiftration as this, faid their friends, comprifed in it all that was requifite to heal the wounds and reftore the profperity of their country. From fo happy a combination of native genius and long experience, of fpirited adventure and fagacious hesitation, every thing might be promifed. Nor were thefe qualities unattended with that circumftance, without which no qualities can avail, a juft maf of weight, connexion and intereft. But the very fame confiderations that infpired their advocates with hope, were regarded by their opponents as the fruitful fources of terror and misfortune. Their ability would be found only an ability to contrive our deftruction, their influence an influence that would carry the worft meafures as eafily as the beft, and their activity a refilefs enemy, againft which no prudence could fecure us. The numerous fet of men, who had contracted the extremeft averfion to lord North's adminiftration, could not eafily reconcile themfelves to his reftoration to power. Thofe

who inferred an abandonment of public character from impropriety of private conduct, or who conceived an ample property to be the moft eligible fecurity for miniftrial rectitude, were by no means pleafed to fee Mr. Fox reftored to fo conspicuous a ftation. And the friends of prerogative, and fome, who would have been difpleafed at being included in the appellation of Tories, were averfe to the prefent government, becaufe, as it was faid, "they had taken the clofet of the fovereign by ftorm." As men, they wifhed to fee the prince upon the throne unshackled in the choice of his fervants. And as politicians, they believed, that for the appointment of minifters to originate in the houfe of commons, was to confound the three branches of our happy conftitution. Parliament might remove his majefty's fervants for misconduct and delinquency, but they ought not either to prefcribe to his choice in the firft inftance, or to condemn the men he fhould choofe, untried, in the fecond.

The fpeech from the throne began with obferving upon the ftate of the treaties of peace, and the probability there was that the feveral parties to thofe treaties would concur with the king in his inclination to keep the calamities of war at a diftance. An apology was made for the calling parliament together after fo fhort a rerefs. The fituation of the Eaft India company was reprefented as claiming their utmoft exertions; and the providing for the fecurity and increafe of the revenue, by the fuppreffion of the illicit trade, was ftrongly recommended. The reduction of the war eftablifhment was mentioned with complacency; and the novelty of their fituation hinted at.

In these circumstances, the king trusted that their counsels would provide what was called for by that situation, and their wisdom give permanence to what had been found beneficial by the experience of ages.

The address was moved in the house of lords by the earl of Scarborough, and seconded by lord viscount Hampden, each of whom had only that day taken their seats in the house. One other lord, earl Temple, rose to deliver his sentiments upon this occasion, it being the first time he had been in the house since the appointment of the present ministers. This nobleman began in a high style of opposition. He meant not, however, to put his negative upon the address; and he should never descend to the meanness of a factious opposition. He was neither the adherent nor the dupe of any faction. He had received his late appointment, in the most honourable manner, from the crown; he had maintained it by the purest and most upright means; and it was by a bold and unconstitutional attack upon the dignity of the crown, that he had been induced to lay it at his majesty's feet. He was of opinion, that by this attack the present ministers had shaken, if not destroyed the constitution of their country; and he reproached that house with an inactivity, by which, in a most interesting moment, they had shrunk themselves into a cypher.

But the earl had reasons, from the conduct of ministers since they came into office, for distrusting them. Where was the vaunted commercial treaty with America? He was not inclined lightly to give credit to rumour; but it was circulated with great openness, that this treaty had been broken off,

and was not likely to be renewed, for reasons by no means favourable to the persons who sat at the helm of government. Why had not the preliminary articles with Holland been wrought up into a definitive treaty? For what reason had the affairs of India been deferred to so late a period? He was more displeased with the speech for its omissions, than for what it contained. The entire silence it preserved respecting the extraordinary fall of the stocks, and upon the subject of Ireland, was in his mind totally unpardonable.

In the house of commons the business was opened by the earl of Upper Ossory, and seconded by sir Francis Basset. Mr. William Pitt bestowed his applause both upon the speech and the address; and was of opinion, that the unanimity, so often recommended, and so seldom seen, would appear upon this occasion. He remarked it, however, as a matter of surprize, that the signing of the definitive treaties had been so long delayed; and observed upon the inconsistency of ministers in proposing to thank the king for the conclusion of that very peace, for the procuring of which they had refused to thank him eight months before. As to the affairs of India, he warned them that it would not be enough to attempt measures of palliation, and of a temporary nature, that would only increase the danger, by removing its distance to a short period. These affairs were now become an object of the greatest consideration in the empire, with only one exception, that of her finances. She could never recover her situation among the nations of Europe but by the most rigid œconomy; an œconomy, which should not stop at rendering her revenue equal

to her expenditure, but should produce a redundancy for the extinction of the national debt. He recommended to ministers to act with boldness: our situation was undoubtedly new in many respects; it therefore called more loudly for enquiry; nor could prosperity be expected, if the danger was shrunk from, or the true state of the nation concealed. Mr. Pitt ridiculed the language and conduct that had been held upon the subject of the commercial treaty with America. The late ministers had been blamed for not completing this work in a very short space of time. But, though a gentleman of the most inexhaustible resources, and who was not a little sanguine of success, had since been sent out for that purpose, and though a considerable part of that session, and the whole recess had passed away, the speech had not once mentioned this treaty. Mr. Pitt, however, was acquainted with the difficulty of the business, and was willing to ascribe the delay to the nature of the negotiation. But he expected that the subject would soon be brought forward, and that not by piece-meal, but that one grand system of commerce would be submitted to the house for their consideration. If the measures of ministers met his ideas, he would not endeavour to defeat them by an ignoble opposition, but would, on the contrary, give them all the support in his power.

Mr. Fox desired to return his thanks to Mr. Pitt; and declared, that few things could give him more satisfaction than to find that the speech and address appeared unexceptionable to him, and were to be honoured with his support. He acknowledged that the definitive treaties might have been concluded sooner; but he observed, that there

were some few points in which they varied from the preliminary articles; variations, that had been procured without additional expence, and any one of which, in his opinion, would have compensated the delay of a few weeks, or even a few months. The preliminary articles had paid no attention to the protection of the protestant and British inhabitants of Tobago; and had ascertained no boundaries for our carrying on of the gum trade, but had referred them to an epoch when it was carried on by violence, and continually attended with acts of hostility. They had been equally inexplicit in their description of the possessions of our allies in India; and, which was of more consequence than all, when they had limited the period for concluding a general commercial treaty to two years, they had said nothing respecting the eventual state of commerce, if a treaty were not concluded within that time. All these defects had been remedied in the definitive treaties. Mr. Fox retained the same opinion he had uniformly professed of the conditions of the peace, as inadequate to the relative situation of our affairs. He yet conceived it to be highly proper to thank the sovereign for having put the finishing hand to a treaty, the signing of which was less a matter of choice than necessity. There was a little circumstance, which distinguished the former from the present situation. The faith of the nation was now to be taken against the state of the country. And this, in his apprehension, was a consideration of so much weight, that, now the business was concluded, he would not hesitate to say, that, committed as the public faith had been by the pre-

preliminary articles, he would have concluded the definitive treaties upon the basis of them, if the ministers of the other belligerent powers had thought proper to adhere to their letter.

Mr. Pitt had expressed his surprise that the business of India had been so long postponed. Upon this subject the secretary was ready to take shame to himself; for the state of our affairs in the East had, for some time, been such that they could ill brook any delay. Meanwhile various committees had been appointed by that house; infinite pains had been taken to investigate the real state of our India territories; and so able and accurate were the reports that had been made, that no popular assembly could possibly be better informed upon the subject. To convince them that it was his design to bring forward the business immediately, Mr. Fox took advantage of the full house he then saw, to give notice, that, on that day sevensnight, he would make a motion relative to India.

The secretary was particularly pleased with the manly and open manner in which Mr. Pitt had pointed out the remedy that must be applied to the state of our finances. It was to look the situation of the country in the face; to determine to meet the difficulty, great as it was, and to provide for the burden, grievous as it must unavoidably be found. The scheme of taxing the funds, that had been suggested by certain obscure writers, was not less dishonest than it was impracticable. There was a maxim laid down in an excellent political work*, which had been ridiculed for its simplicity, but

which, in his mind, included the grand secret for the government of finance. It was there remarked, that the only way to become rich, was to contrive that our income should exceed our expences. The maxim applied equally to an individual and a nation. Oeconomy ought to be the principal object of ministers. Nor was this enough; ministers, in his opinion, would discharge but the half of their duty, if they did not something towards establishing an actual sinking fund, capable of being applied to a constant and sensible diminution of the public burthens. The great difficulty lay in drawing the line, and distinguishing how far the public, in time of peace, could bear to be additionally burthened, and how far it was prudent for ministers to go. It might be asserted, that the people ought not to be so far pressed as to deprive them of all elasticity and vigour in the event of another war. This argument had its weight, in a certain degree; but he should think it better policy to make them temporary than lingering sufferers. If that house would have the fortitude to lay aside local prejudices, and the fear of a momentary unpopularity, and look only to the general welfare, the path to prosperity would be considerably smoothed, and the national prospect brighten apace. Whenever the present ministry were found to shrink from their duty in this respect, he desired the house to withdraw from them their support; but it depended upon parliament to give effect to the plans that ministers should propose. He wished most earnestly to impress this idea upon the minds of the house,

* Treatise on the Wealth of Nations, by Dr. Adam Smith.

that strengthening the hands of government was not strengthening the present administration. It was not a matter of party, of one side the house or the other. To obtain this durable situation, great reforms must yet be made, and much must depend upon the virtue, constancy, and ability of government. If he could indulge the idea, that the unanimity of this day, an unanimity which gave him the most sensible delight, was the earnest of future temper, moderation and union—if he could see the prospect, that the spirit of dissension was at length to give way to the necessities of the country, and that at least they were to suspend their personal animosities till the deliverance of the country was accomplished; he should indeed be warm in his expectations, and should believe that a very few years would behold us in renovated strength and splendour.

On the 19th of November, the house being in a committee of supply, admiral Pigot, from the admiralty, moved a resolution for twenty-six thousand seamen for the service of the year 1784. At the same time he observed, that five ships of the line, and two large frigates, which were under orders to return from India, would arrive in March or April, and would then be paid off: the seamen on board these ships he computed at 1455 men, and consequently the vote for next year would be less than that for the present by that number. Mr. Jenkinson observed, that the circumstances of the country were such as demanded the utmost attention to œconomy; and he remembered, that fifteen thousand seamen had been settled by some of the greatest men that ever governed this country, as perfectly

adequate to all the purposes of a peace establishment. Mr. Fox acknowledged, that the proper peace establishment would be greatly less than the present vote; but remarked, that, at the end of so extensive a war, it would be unwise to precipitate the forming that establishment.

On the 10th of December, the business of the supply was again resumed, and the secretary at war moved for 17,483 men for the land service of the ensuing year. Mr. Hufley had hoped, that a smaller force would have been deemed sufficient; and sir Joseph Mawbey particularly objected to three regiments intended for Ireland, and two battalions of Hanoverians, included in the detail; and proposed an amendment, stating the requisite force at ten thousand men. The commander in chief replied; and, in regard to the Irish regiments, observed, that the parliament of that country had demanded them, and that the persons best acquainted with its situation, had recommended the measure.

Two days previous to this motion, Mr. Henry Flood, of the kingdom of Ireland, took his seat in the British house of Commons, as member of parliament for the city of Winchester. The abilities of this gentleman we have more than once had occasion to commemorate: plans had been repeatedly formed by the minister of the day for summoning him as an auxiliary to the English parliament, which for some reason or other had never been carried into effect; and the greatest expectations were entertained of his graceful and perspicuous eloquence, now that it was to be displayed upon a theatre more calculated for the attainment of the highest reputation.

But

But the experiment was destined to have the most mortifying conclusion. Stimulated by the active and sanguine character of his disposition, Mr. Flood favoured the British commons with the first essay of his eloquence on the very day that he enrolled himself in their number. It was received by them neither with the complacency of admiration, nor with the indulgence that taste and urbanity ever delight to pay to the openings of genius. Mr. Courteney, a gentleman not less distinguished by the gaiety of his humour and the keenness of his wit, than Mr. Flood himself for logical acumen and enthusiastical fervour, undertook to answer his countryman. His antagonist was by no means the perfect character that leaves nothing open to the batteries of satire. On the contrary, the injudiciousness of his conduct, and the egotism of his style could only be atoned by the greatness of his abilities. Perhaps Mr. Courteney was never so happy, or his humour so exuberant as on this occasion. Nothing is so incurable as the wounds of ridicule. Mr. Flood was degraded at once from that eminence to which his reputation had raised him in the opinion of his auditors; and it was not in the power of a lofty style and a saturnine manner to banish from their remembrance the diversion that had been afforded them.

When the resolution for the number of men for the land service was reported to the house on the 11th of December, Mr. Flood thought it incumbent on him to animadvert on what had fallen from the commander in chief on the subject of Ireland. He had not then been in the house, but he understood that that minister had assigned a deli-

cacy in the situation of Ireland as a reason for voting so large a number of men. This language had been interpreted to allude to the volunteers of that kingdom; if, therefore, it passed unexplained, it might produce the most mischievous consequences. But did any suspect the volunteers of Ireland of evil designs? Did any man imagine they intended to molest the quiet of this country, or disturb the repose of their own? If such were the real feelings of an individual, let that individual come forward and avow his sentiments. If it were the sentiment of a body of men, let the body of men declare that they thought so. The volunteers of Ireland had given ample proof of their loyalty, ample proof of their claim to public confidence. They had stood forward in the hour of difficulty; they had undertaken the cause of their country in the moment of danger. They had protected Ireland from the invasion of a foreign enemy; they had supported its internal police in a manner never known before. It was therefore necessary, if they had not been in the contemplation of the commander in chief, that it should be known; and, if they had, that the grounds of suspicion should be avowed and explained.

There is a seriousness and deliberation in the character of a people verging towards political energy, that rendered the nation of Ireland a scene peculiarly favourable to the display of Mr. Flood's abilities. As the inhabitants of this country have neither the Irish consciousness of deficiency, nor the Irish ambition, they have less indulgence and less docility. Attached to every thing that affords them mirth and amusement, they willingly immolate at their shrine the

the honours of merit and the dictates of sensibility. Acutely discriminating the shades of an artificial propriety, they have no sympathy for the honest effervescencies of zeal, and the venerable ebullitions of genius. Mr. Flood had recently been held up to them as an object of ridicule. He had now chosen to dilate upon a subject of considerable delicacy, and he had done this perhaps with too little attention to the lessons of prudence. The house had felt itself disgusted. When he rose the second time, in consequence of having been egregiously misrepresented by a gentleman who had undertaken to answer him; he was immediately silenced with the cry of Spoke! Spoke! Irritated at this treatment, he lost all that self-possession, which was more than ever necessary, and rose again and again, in defiance of the sense of the house. But he was overpowered by numbers. He was treated by several persons, and particularly general Luttrell, with the extremest asperity and invective, without being permitted to utter a word in his defence. In consequence, we believe, this was the last time he appeared in the walls of the English house of commons.

The day following Mr. Minchin, from the office of ordnance, moved a resolution for 111,634l. 9s. 6d. for the unprovided services of 1783, and 430,369l. 7s. 4d. for the service of the ensuing year. A part of this latter sum was destined for the completion of works already begun, and the repair of others, which, if not immediately undertaken, would fall to ruin; and the sum of 18,100l. had been expended in the purchase of sir Gregory Page's house, at Blackheath, for the purpose of a royal

military academy. This purchase was particularly excepted to by Mr. Hussey and Mr. Charles Brett. It was defended on the ground of the extreme incommodity and unwholesomeness of the house at Woolwich, which was at present employed for that purpose. These were stated to be so great, that seven of the young gentlemen were at present lodged in a room not twenty feet square, and one third of their number had for a long time past been upon the sick list. In the mean time the institution itself received the warmest eulogiums. Formerly our artillery had been entirely served by foreign engineers. The late duke of Cumberland, desirous that we should have a native force for this purpose, proportioned to the number of our army, had laid the foundation of the military academy; and its success had been such as to justify the expectations of its warmest friends. A young gentleman was instanced, of the name of O'Hara, grandson to the late lord Tyrawley, and only fifteen years of age, who, having been appointed to an arduous service in America, and having had all his men killed, scorned to fly; and, though quarter was offered him, refused it, preferring death to the supposed disgrace of having lost his guns. To these considerations it was added, that the purchase was in the highest degree an economical one. The house had been bought in for the value of its materials; and, though the sum, for which they had come to parliament, was 18,100l. yet the additional grant would, in fact, amount to only 6000l. 3000l. voted for building a chapel at Woolwich might be converted to this new object, and several officers belonging to the ord-

ordnance, to whom government now paid a sum of near 500l. per annum, as an allowance for lodging, would for the future be accommodated in the house that had been purchased. Mr. Steele candidly assured the house from his own knowledge, that, if the duke of Richmond had continued master-general of the ordnance, he had intended to make the purchase in question. Sir William Dolben and Mr. Martin each of them rose to declare, that they conceived the demand to be perfectly just and reasonable. Mr. Hussey, however, persisting in his objection, lord John Cavendish proposed, that the propriety of the measure should be referred to the consideration of a committee.

On the 26th of November a bill was brought into parliament by lord John Cavendish, for explaining and amending an act of the last session, imposing certain stamp duties on receipts. The principal object of this bill was to make every person, who should sign a receipt on unstamped paper, liable to the specific penalty of five pounds. Some of the ablest lawyers indeed, particularly the late and the present attorney-general, had decided, that the act of last year clearly imposed the penalty in question. But opinions of a different tenour had been industriously disseminated, and it was not proper that a doubt should remain upon the minds of the subject in a matter of this nature. These opinions were particularly complained of. The tax in its outset, it was said, had exceeded all the expectations that had been formed of it; but upon the publication of these opinions, it had fallen off immediately. British subjects had an undoubted right to speculate upon every political

question; but it were to be wished that gentlemen would turn their speculations some other way, rather than to the diminishing the revenues of their country. The opinions alluded to had been signed by Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Arden and Mr. Macdonald. These strictures, therefore, called up each of these gentlemen, who defended with some warmth the decision they had pronounced.

But the receipt tax had been too extensively unpopular, not to produce one more regular effort for its abrogation. A great number of cities and towns had instructed their representatives to employ their most strenuous exertions for that purpose. With some members of parliament it was an article of political orthodoxy, implicitly to conform themselves to the known sense of their constituents; and others possibly there were, who were disposed to adopt the same line of conduct through timorousness and servility, that these pursued from a scrupulous adherence to what they conceived to be the principles of liberty. From the operation of some or all of these causes, a question was brought forward on the 4th of December for the repeal of the receipt tax. It was moved by Mr. alderman Newnham, and supported, among others, by Mr. Sawbridge, sir Watkin Lewes, sir Cecil Wray, lord Galway, Mr. Thornton, lord Sheffield, lord Mahon, Mr. Macdonald, Mr. Coke of Nottingham and Mr. Martin. It was ingeniously observed by Mr. Macdonald, that it must necessarily be unpopular, because it was a ready-money tax; people would more willingly pay a shilling, which came to them disguised under something else, than a penny, explicitly

citly for the support of government; and unproductive, because it was optional. Some gentlemen conceived it to be their duty, at the same time that they moved for the repeal of one tax, to propose another that might be substituted in its place; and accordingly Mr. Coke suggested a tax on pews, on grave-stones and on dogs; and sir Cecil Wray informed the house, that he had been instructed to propose a tax of ten shillings per head on maid servants. The latter proposal, however, seemed to meet with no countenance from any part of the house; and lord North remarked upon the ideas thrown out by Mr. Coke, that they came in every part under the same description with the receipt tax; they were ready-money taxes, and they were optional. The question was finally carried against Mr. alderman Newnham, 149 to 47.

On the 21st of November a motion was made by lord John Cavendish, for the appointment of a select committee, to be chosen by ballot, for enquiring into, and suggesting methods to prevent the illicit practices employed in defrauding the revenue. The com-

mittee was declared on the 26th, and consisted of the following persons: the right honourable William Eden, the right honourable lord Sheffield, sir Thomas Dundas, baronet, Mr. alderman Newnham, Henry Beaufoy, William Baker, George Dempster, William Hufsey, Henry Thornton, Richard Jackson, Hans Sloane, Charles Brett, George Daubeney, Winchcombe Henry Hartley and Abraham Rawlinson, esquires.

A delay of ten days having been previously granted, at the request of Mr. Atkinson's friends, on the 4th of December it was moved by the attorney-general, that Christopher Atkinson, esquire, having been convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury, be expelled the house of commons. The cause of the delinquent was pleaded with much earnestness by Mr. Bamber Gascoyne and sir Robert Herries, and a motion was made and seconded by these gentlemen, that the debate be adjourned to the 24th of January next. The question was lost by a majority of 131 to 62, and the vote of expulsion was carried without a division.

C H A P. II.

*Mr. Fox's India Bill. Debate. Passes the Commons by a great Majority
Is rejected by the Lords.*

ON the 18th of November, Mr. secretary Fox, in the absence of his noble colleague, detained from the house by illness, moved for leave to bring in a bill for vesting the affairs of the East India company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit

of the proprietors and the public. It was perhaps impossible for a subject of greater dignity and weight to be brought under the inspection of a British parliament. It involved the best interests, if such be the denomination we choose to bestow upon the sources of commerce and opulence

opulence of the empire. It was intimately connected with the honour and fair fame of the English nation. And, which was of a thousand times more importance, it was to give a colour to the fate and the happiness of thirty millions of men. It might also be considered in another light. The patronage and the wealth of India might prove a perennial source of influence and corruption; and, placed implicitly in wrong hands, they might overturn that balance of the constitution, which we have been habituated to view with so fond an admiration, and give a new face to the government of the island.

It is not impossible that the matter had been regarded in this last light by preceding administrations. The system of 1773, had invaded the chartered privileges of the company, had changed somewhat in almost every department of their administration; but it remained to be seen how far it had meliorated their affairs, or given order and tranquility to the vast continent of India. It was indeed narrow, disjointed and ineffective. It did not seem the result of comprehensive views of policy, or of the firmness and enterprise of heroic virtue. But however that be, and whatever were its intention, in the execution it appeared to include in it the seeds of its dissolution. Accordingly, the same ministry came forward again in 1781, with a step, that seemed to have very little of a temporising aspect. It threatened no less than the immediate recall of the present monopoly.

The subsisting government of India had long been an object from which the eyes of good men had had turned away with pain and aversion. It spoke an unambigu-

ous language of lordly despotism and shameless extortion. It was inconstant, capricious and fickle. Its effects were more deplorable, than any that systematical despotism and systematical extortion could possibly have produced. This was the light, in which, we believe, it was universally seen by men of spirit and liberality. Mr. Hastings indeed has found defenders among the best and the most venerable; and undoubtedly, whatever may be his supposed demerits, he is a man of a very different stamp from the herd of our late governors in India. For the rest, who they may be who have chosen to undertake their defence, we confess we have not yet heard.

It was in consequence of this state of things, that early in the year 1781, two committees, made up of some of the most respectable members of the house of commons, were appointed to examine into the administration of justice in the province of Bengal, and to enquire into the causes of the war then subsisting in the Carnatic. In the course of the same session several reports were brought up by both committees, and a bill was introduced and carried through the house by the chairman of the former, establishing in the judiciary proceedings of Bengal several new regulations. In the session of 1782, and during the administration of the late marquis of Rockingham, the house was moved by the chairman of each of these committees, to come to several resolutions. Some of the principal objects of these resolutions were, to bring in a bill for inflicting penalties on sir Thomas Rumbold and others, to recall from the governments of Bengal and Bombay, Warren Hastings and William Hornby, esquires, and
to

to recommend, the reducing into one the several acts of parliament made for the government of India, and the establishing some new regulations and provisions for the same purpose.

He would not have gentlemen to be led astray with the idea, that the public had no right to control the government of the company; for his part, he knew too well the great interest the public had in their prosperity ever to subscribe to that doctrine. What was the whole amount of the dividend to the proprietors? About 250,000*l*. And what sum did the nation derive from the customs paid by the company? More than 1,300,000*l*. The people of England, therefore, had a much greater stake in the business of the company than the East India proprietors.

From this time the sittings of the committee for enquiring into the war in the Carnatic were discontinued, but the committee of justice pursued their enquiries during the sessions of 1783 to 1784. In the former of these years, and soon after the dismissal of the earl of Shelburne from the helm of affairs, Mr. Dundas, late chairman of the war committee, presented to the house of commons a bill, which was intended to answer all the purposes of the desired revolution in India, but which was rejected. Indeed, leaving entirely out of the question the merits of the bill, there seemed to be a reasonableness and propriety, in a measure, which embraced objects of such unbounded magnitude, being originated with a person, holding one of the great responsible offices of government. Something however was acknowledged on all hands to be necessary. The incessant revolutions, which the

administration of this country had lately experienced, had created a delay, which, viewed in all the comprehensiveness of its consequences, was much to be deplored. The very resolutions of the house of commons for the recall of the Asiatic governors were disobeyed, and a vote of thanks to one of them substituted in their place by the court of proprietors: a proceeding, which, whatever might be its intrinsic demerit, seemed to look with no favourable aspect on a system of reform, that was to originate in the same assembly. The subject in every view pressed extremely upon a ministry, which seemed to promise so much stability and strength as the present.

The system, proposed by Mr. Fox, was marked with all the characteristics of his ardent and daring spirit. It was no scheme of a day, calculated to postpone the hour of danger, and then leave it to fall with double ruin on his successors. It was no crude and undigested plan, the child of narrow and unextensive views, and brought forward under the auspices of cowardice and irresolution. It was a measure, full of decision, and that claimed the severest scrutiny. What was asserted of its author by the ablest and the warmest of his friends, will infallibly hold; according to the decision of posterity, to his immortal honour, or his indelible disgrace. "He may live long, he may do much. But here is the summit. He can never exceed," either in public virtue or delinquency, "what he does this day."

The plan of the secretary, while it preserved the monopoly, and left untouched the question of the territorial right, proposed no less than to take from the directors and pro-
prietors

prietors the entire administration of their territorial and commercial affairs. It took from them their house in Leadenhall-street, together with all books, papers, and documents, vesting the entire management, the appointment of all officers and servants, the rights of peace and war, and the disposal of the whole revenue, in the hands of certain commissioners. These commissioners, though their appointment was hereafter to vest in the crown, were to be appointed in the first instance by the whole legislature. They were to hold their offices by the same tenure as the judges of England, during their good behaviour, and they were to be removed only by address from either house of parliament.

The whole system seemed to be formed upon the basis of openness, efficiency and responsibility. The commissioners were required to come to a decision upon every question within a limited time, or to assign a specific reason for their delay. They were never to vote by ballot, and they were in almost all cases to enter upon their journals the reasons of their vote. They were to submit once in every six months an exact state of their accounts to the court of proprietors, and at the beginning of every session a state of their accounts and establishments to both houses of parliament. Their number was limited to seven, and their names, as filled up in the committee, were William earl Fitzwilliam, the right honourable Frederic Montagu, George lord viscount Lewisham, the honourable George Augustus North, sir Gilbert Elliot, baronet. sir Henry Fletcher, baronet, and Robert Gregory, esquire. They were to be assisted by a board of nine persons, each of them proprietors of 2,000 l.

company's stock, who, as well as the commissioners, were appointed in the first instance by parliament, and were afterwards to be chosen by the court of proprietors. They were made removeable at the pleasure of any five of the commissioners, and were disqualified from sitting in the house of commons. This system was originally proposed to be extended to the term of three or five years.

The bill for vesting the government in commissioners was accompanied with a second bill, the professed object of which was the precluding all kinds of arbitrary and despotical proceedings from the administration of the territorial possessions. The bill ascertained more precisely than had hitherto been done, the powers of the governor-general and supreme council; it tended to establish a principle of openness and responsibility in India; it took from the governor-general all power of acting independently of his council; it proscribed the delegation of any trust; it declared every existing British power in India incompetent, to the acquisition or exchange of any territory in behalf of the company, to the acceding to any treaty of partition, to the hiring out the company's troops, to the appointing to office any person removed for misdemeanour, and to the hiring out any property to any civil servant of the company; it voided all monopolies; and it declared every illegal present recoverable by any person for his own sole benefit.

But that part of the present bill, upon which the principal value seemed to be placed by its author and supporters, and which received the greatest applause from impartial persons, related to the zemindars,

dars, or native landholders, whom it employed every means to secure in the possession of their respective inheritances, and to defend from oppression. It particularly endeavoured to preclude all vexatious and usurious claims that might be made upon them, to forbid mortgages, and to the subjecting all doubtful claims to the examination and censure of the commissioners. Finally, it prescribed a mode for terminating the disputes between the nabob of Arcot and the raja of Tanjour, and it disqualified every person in the service of the company from sitting in the house of commons, during his continuance in their service, and for a certain specified term after his demission.

The arguments in favour of this system were principally borrowed from two sources; the durable and comprehensive abuses that had prevailed in the government it proposed to new model, and the distressed and embarrassed state of the finances of the company. Mr. Fox remarked, that in the state of responsibility in which he was going to place himself, he felt much consolation in this circumstance, that the measure to which he should call the attention of parliament was not of choice, but of necessity. It was no idle experiment, it was no romantic speculation upon his part; the business forced itself on him and on the nation; and even if he would, he could neither escape, nor postpone its discussion. He was not therefore to be regarded as obtruding any visionary projects of his own. He came forward for no other reason upon earth than because the necessity was so urgent, its pressure so irresistible, that no farther delay could be admitted. He was happy at the same time in the assistance

he should derive from the reports of the two committees that had sat upon India affairs; reports, containing a body of information so complete, that perhaps no popular assembly had ever been so fully informed in the subject they were called to examine, as that house.

Upon the subject of finances the secretary stated, that their deplorable situation would be sufficiently obvious, if those who heard him would only recollect, that the company had applied last year to parliament for pecuniary assistance: they had asked leave to borrow 500,000 l. upon bonds; they had petitioned for 300,000 l. in exchequer bills, and for the suspension of a demand upon them on the part of government, for 700,000 l. due for customs. It might be remembered also, that according to an act of parliament in being, the directors cannot, of their own authority, accept bills drawn in India to the amount of more than 300,000 l. Thus circumstanced, the house would probably be astonished to hear, that there were bills at this moment coming over for acceptance to the amount of 2,200,000 l. sterling. It was impossible, therefore, to suggest that government was impertinently, rashly, or unnecessarily interfering with the company's affairs: on the contrary, nothing but that interference could preserve them from eventual bankruptcy. Their actual debt amounted to 11,200,000 l. and they had stock in hand, towards paying this immense sum, to the amount of about 3,200,000 l. The result of this comparison was a balance of 8,000,000 l.; a sum in the highest degree alarming, when compared with the capital of the proprietors. Such was the situation in which parliament was placed

placed at this moment. If the company were not assisted, they must unavoidably be ruined; and the ruin of a body of merchants so extensive in their concerns, and so important in the eyes of Europe, must necessarily give a very alarming blow to our national credit. On the other hand, the requisite assistance was a matter of very extensive consideration. It would be absolutely necessary to permit the acceptance of the bills to the amount he had mentioned. And to do all this, without examining their affairs, without meliorating their system, and without reforming their constitution, would be only to throw away the public money, and for the house to take the last shilling out of the pockets of their constituents, to lend it to men, bankrupts in reputation, and equally notorious for prodigality of their revenues, and absurdity and impotence in their political measures.

Upon the subject of the abuses that prevailed in the government of India, the secretary first adverted to the proceedings of that house, and of the East India company, in the affair of the recall of Mr. Hastings. The chairman of the secret committee, had moved the house of commons, that it was the duty of the East India company to recall Mr. Hastings from the government of Bengal. The house very readily and very properly agreed to the motion; judging no doubt, that it would be expedient in condemning the system lately pursued in India, to fix some mark of disapprobation upon the person who had been the soul of that system. The directors, in obedience to the sense of the house, resolved that Mr. Hastings should be recalled; but not thinking they had a power to decide finally on the subject,

they submitted their proceedings to the court of proprietors. By that court it was ordered, that the resolution of the directors should be rescinded. The whole affair however came from the directors to the then secretary of state, and was by him laid before the house of commons. But what was in the mean time the situation of the company's government in India? It was critical beyond description. It was a government of anarchy and confusion. The whole continent had been made acquainted with the resolution of that house for recalling Mr. Hastings; the resolution of the court of proprietors, by which he was secured in his government, was kept back. He was left in a situation in which even his enemies must pity him. Would any man wish to see a governor-general of Bengal thus circumstanced? Could the affairs of the company prosper in such a state?

Beside these contradictions another had lately occurred. The court of proprietors had voted their thanks to Mr. Hastings. These thanks must be communicated to government, who acting under the spirit of the resolutions of the house of commons, could not perhaps suffer them to be conveyed to India. This naturally led Mr. Fox to comment upon the character of the company, and the nature of their connection with their servants abroad. There were a few persons among them, who, being real proprietors, endeavoured to promote the trade of the company, and increase its revenues. For the rest, their views were directed not to commercial, but to political purposes. The former were naturally inclined to support that governor, who enabled them to make large dividends; and who for that purpose,

after

after having peculated for his private advantage, had no other way to prevent his being called to account, but by obliging the unhappy natives to undergo a second fleecing for the benefit of the proprietors. The latter could not better gratify their wishes, than by supporting a governor, who had in his power so many opportunities of providing for his friends.

The next charge of abuse was derived from that regular and uniform disobedience of orders, which had characterised the company's servants. In bringing forward a comprehensive scheme for the reformation of that government, it was not his intention to enter into any retrospect; accusation was by no means his object; but it was not possible to illustrate his observations, without occasionally alluding to particulars. The supreme council of Bengal had resolved in opposition to Mr. Hastings, to send two gentlemen, Mr. Fowke and Mr. Brisslow, to reside, the one at the court of the nabob of Oude, the other at Benares. Mr. Hastings however refused to send them: the directors transmitted the most positive orders to carry the vote of the supreme council into execution. Still Mr. Hastings disobeyed; and he alleged in his defence, that he could not employ persons in whom he had no confidence. Towards one of these gentlemen the subsequent conduct of the governor-general was curious indeed. He granted to Mr. Fowke a contract, with a commission of fifteen per cent, which he observed was a great sum, and might operate as a temptation on him to protract the war. "But," added he, "the entire confidence I have in the integrity and honour of Mr. Fowke, amounts to a full and perfect security on that head."

To these instances, the secretary added the business of the expulsion of the raja of Benares from his dominions, and the confiscation of the princesses of Oude, which he commented on with much severity.

The system for the government of India, was a subject of much asperity in the house of commons. It was espoused with earnestness and enthusiasm, by those whose habits had formed them to an attachment for the minister; and it was attacked with all the vehemence of indignation, and all the energy of invective, not only by those persons, who might be supposed to aspire to the great offices of administration, but by several country gentlemen, perfectly independent in their character, and of the highest reputation for integrity and probity. It was said, that Mr. Fox had once been regarded by them with the fondest admiration. They had expected from him the deliverance of the empire, and the securing our liberties upon the most permanent basis. They recounted the perseverance, the animation and the ardour of his exertions, when a leader of opposition. It was impossible to hear him without being convinced. It was impossible to doubt of the singleness of his zeal, and the sincerity of his reprobation. But they must ever regard the connexion he had formed with the nobleman, against whom his efforts had been so well and so successfully directed, as an instance of political defection and apostacy that would admit of no defence. They had augured every thing unhappy and every thing tremendous from that moment. Happy would they have been, had these dark and melancholy apprehensions been shown to be ill founded. But the measure of that day proved

but too well how justly they had judged. It was big with corruption and misfortune. It was impossible that a stain so deep could ever be removed from the character of the secretary. It was impossible that he could ever hereafter be trusted as the minister of this country. In fine, the passing of these bills into a law was deprecated, as an event, which would render the future sittings of that house ludicrous and absurd. The crown, robbed of its brightest jewel, would be no longer worth the wearing. The speaker, by leaving the chair, in order to the bills, going into a committee, would consign the constitution, the liberties, the glory, and the dignity of the British empire, to ultimate and irretrievable ruin.

But the most regular and systematical opposition to the bills brought into parliament by the secretary of state, was conducted by Mr. William Pitt. Two objections were principally insisted upon by this gentleman and his supporters; the one built upon its infringement, or rather annihilation of the charter of the company; the other, upon the new and unconstitutional influence it was calculated to create.

India it was true wanted reform; but not such reform as this. It wanted a constitutional alteration, and not a tyrannical one, that broke through every principle of equity and justice. By the bill before the house an attack was made on the most solemn charters. It pointed a fatal blow against the integrity and the faith of parliament; it broke through every tie by which man was bound to man. This charter did not owe its birth to the foolish prepossession, or the mad prodigality of a Plantagenet, a Tudor, or a Stuart. It was a fair purchase made of the public, an

equal compact for reciprocal advantages between the proprietor and the nation at large.

The principle of this bill once established, what security had the other public companies of the kingdom? What security had the bank of England? What security had the national creditors, or the public corporations? Or indeed what assurance could we have for the great charter itself, the foundation of all our privileges and all our liberties? It would be folly in the extreme to suppose that the principle, once admitted, would operate only on the present occasion, and only on the affairs of the East India company. Good principles might sleep, but bad ones never. It was the curse of society, that when a bad principle was once established, bad men would always be found to give it its full effect.

The charter conveying the rights of the company was conceived in the clearest and strongest terms that could be imagined. It was clearer, stronger, better guarded in point of expression, than that of the bank of England. The right, by which our gracious sovereign held the sceptre of these kingdoms, was not more fully confirmed, was not farther removed from the possibility of all plausible question.

The bill under consideration included a confiscation of the property, and a disfranchisement of the members of the East India company. What was the idea of confiscation? Was it not the seizing by violence the property of one individual, and the transferring it to another? It was impossible for this to take effect in a fuller and clearer manner than was required by this bill. The bill required the directors to deliver up all lands, tenements, houses, books, records, charters, instruments, vessels, goods,

money and securities. Imagination was at a loss to guess at the most insignificant trifle that had escaped the harpy claws of a ravenous coalition. The power indeed was pretended to be created in trust for the benefit of the proprietors: but, in case of the grossest abuse of trust, to whom was the appeal? To the proprietors? No; but to a majority of either house of parliament, which the most drivelling minister could not fail to secure with the patronage of above two millions sterling given by this bill.

It had been suggested, that the bill was not a bill of disfranchisement, because it did not take from the proprietors their right to an exclusive trade. Was this trade the only franchise of the proprietors? There was a property in this kingdom, a freehold, for instance, to which a franchise was annexed. The franchise might be taken away, yet the property remain. But surely the freeholder would loudly and justly complain. The case was parallel as to East India stock. Persons possessed of stock to a certain amount were entitled to a vote upon every important question of the company's affairs. The purchase money was more considerable from this intrinsic value it was supposed to possess. This privilege was to be taken away by the bill; and yet it was asserted, that the proprietors would not be disfranchised. God forbid that the people of England should have many such defenders of their franchises in a British house of commons!

Nor was the bill so objectionable when regarded as annihilating the most sacred charters, as it was in the other view in which they beheld it. No, it was harmless as the waste paper on the table, compared to the consequences that must

necessarily follow to the liberties and constitution of this country from its passing into a law. The bill was calculated to increase the influence of the crown, and that in a degree beyond all precedent enormous and alarming. Seven commissioners, chosen ostensibly by parliament, but really by administration, were to involve in the vortex of their authority the whole treasure of India. These, poured forth like an irresistible torrent upon this country, would sweep away our liberties and all we could call our own. If the secretary expressed himself apprehensive of the influence of Mr. Hastings, an individual unknown in this country, but for his situation in India; if he shuddered at the supposed prevalence of Asiatic interest, under the name of a subject unconnected with respectable families and extensive factions, how much greater reason was there to fear lest the wealth and patronage of India, thrown into the hands of uniting factions, and these armed with the power of the crown, should perpetuate their authority and render it irresistible?

But the opposition did not confine their strictures to the intrinsic merits of the bill. They expatiated on the motives, which they believed to have suggested its original idea. The secretary had acknowledged himself to be a party man, and a man of ambition. These indeed were the principal features of the measure before the house. It there appeared, that nothing could satisfy his inordinate ambition, short of a perpetual dictatorship. They professed to perceive in him many respectable qualities, but they could by no means consent to see him exalted upon the ruins of the constitution. "He would be crowned. How that might

might change his nature, there's the question." This idea was placed in a great variety of lights, and illustrated by comparisons borrowed from Cæsar, from Cromwel and from Catiline.—It appeared, that he was prepared to sacrifice the king, the parliament, and the people, at the shrine of a party. He desired to elevate his present connexions to a situation, in which no political convulsions and no shiftings of power might be able to destroy their importance, and put an end to their ascendancy.

In addition to these animadversions, it was remarked by several independent members, that a few sessions ago, they had voted that the influence of the crown was too largely increased, and had lent their hand to its diminution. This had been in some degree effected; but what was the proportion of influence, diminished by the destruction of a few boards, compared to that which would be created by the present bill? Induced by this recollection, they enumerated the battles they had fought in this venerable cause. They would not have been hurt in the degree in which they now were, if the secretary had deserted alone, and had not deluded, and carried along with him numbers of men, high in the public estimation, and with whom they had formerly thought it an honour to associate. In the mean time they intreated Mr. Fox, that he would not hurt their feelings by the mention of the name of a late noble marquis, who would have been among the first to reprobate a scheme big with such fatal consequences. And they called upon those, who had formerly been their fellow soldiers, if they had any remaining attachment to British liberty and the British constitution, if they had ever been sincere in

their patriotic exertions, to come over and vote with them in this great and deciding question.

Mr. Dundas, the late lord advocate, did not object to the measure under consideration, because it increased the influence of the crown, but because it did what was much worse, created a new, enormous and unexampled influence, which it placed in the hands of the minister and his party for five years. In this the secretary had out-heroded Herod. Mr. Dundas did not accuse him of deserting the cause he had formerly supported. On the contrary, he had gone beyond all his former achievements in reducing the influence of the crown. He was creating an immensity of patronage, independent of the crown and of parliament, and that would follow him into private life. He was creating a fourth estate in the realm, big with the most alarming consequences, and that in its progress might overturn the crown and subvert the constitution of Britain.

Previously to the second reading of the East India commissioners bill, a petition was presented from the proprietors and another from the directors of the company, representing the measure as subversive of their charter and operating as a confiscation of their property, without charging against them any specific delinquency, without trial, and without conviction; a proceeding contrary to the most sacred privilege of British subjects. They therefore prayed that the acts of delinquency presumed against them, might be stated in writing, and a reasonable time allowed them to deliver in their answer; and that they might be heard by themselves or their counsel, against the bill. Meanwhile the chairman, who was a friend to the system of reform,

and who was afterwards named in the committee as one of the seven commissioners, resigned his office in the company's service. About the same time a state was delivered in, on the part of the directors, of their pecuniary situation, the design of which was to overthrow what had been asserted upon that subject by Mr. Fox, upon the opening of the business. In this estimate they represented the creditor side of the account as amounting to 14,311,173l; and they brought themselves in debtors in the sum of 10,342,692l. Of consequence the result of their statement was a balance, in favour of the company, of 3,968,481l.

The arguments of the counsel were of course nearly coincident with those of the opposition. As soon as they were withdrawn, Mr. Fox rose, and with much acuteness, ingenuity and detail, controverted a great number of the articles in the estimate of the directors. He said, that he was really surprised, that, after the various objections that had been stated to his system, he found himself this day attacked upon a ground where he had least expected it. The violation of charters, the despotism and oppression of the bill were topics, which he expected to have heard enlarged upon in every possible variety of expression. But these grounds were nearly abandoned; and now he was to be attacked on the side where he felt himself most strong. Yet he would confess that he was sorry he was so strong there, since his strength must be founded in the weakness of the company. It was an old maxim of policy in times of danger from a foreign enemy, to paint the resources and the condition of the state in the most favourable colours; but our pre-

sent situation was such as not to allow of the practice of these deceptions. No effectual remedy could be applied, if we did not begin with looking that situation in the face.

The secretary went on to state, that he had objections to make to different parts of the paper upon the table, to the amount of something more than 12,000,000l. sterling. He would not affirm that they would carry conviction to the minds of all who heard him, but he would freely declare that they were convincing to him.

The first article in the account, held out as the property of the company, was the sum of 1,200,000l. originally advanced by the company as a consideration for the purchase of their charter, and which was not liable to be repaid, but upon the dissolution of the monopoly. This sum ought in candour to have been stated at the price it would probably obtain, should the company think proper to sell the stock towards the payment of their debts. And as this was two fifths below the nominal value, he should conceive himself intitled to a deduction of 1,680,000l. The debts from France, for the subsistence of prisoners in the war which concluded in 1763, for expences on the Manilla expedition, and for hospital expences, amounting to 422,011l. were such as it was surely highly improper to include in the statement of property applicable to the discharge of the company's debts. The next article, upon which the secretary thought proper to advert, was that of the merchandise exported to India, but not arrived when the last accounts were drawn, to the amount of 1,219,091l. He objected to 600,000l. of

of this article, as consisting of military stores to be consumed in India, and therefore incapable in any form of being applied to the liquidation of their debts. The next article was for the advance of freight to be deducted on the arrival of their ships, 172,334 l. To this article he had a very great and solid objection. The company had advanced the freight on fifty-three ships; of these fourteen had come home, two had been burned and blown up, and there remained thirty-seven, on which the remaining freight and demurrage were still to be paid, at the rate of 50,000 l. per ship. So that instead of this sum which they had taken to their credit, they were to be charged on the account with 1,850,000 l. for which they were bound, and which they must pay. The secretary desired to know, what parliament would have thought of any minister in that house, who should have presented an account so miserably fallacious. The following sums of 12,300 l. as the value of their shipping, and of 253,616 l. for their warehouses in this country, Mr. Fox objected to *in toto*. They could not be brought forward but on the presumption of their bankruptcy, a presumption which he had never made, and which could not be taken. To the article of 703,824 l. the prime cost of certain cargoes on their passage to Bengal, he objected in part. It was well known, that the company suffered a considerable loss upon Bengal goods; and he would take this loss at 112,824 l. The cargoes from Bengal to the other presidencies, which were stated at 304,515 l. consisted of military stores, and the entire sum was for that reason deducted from the account by the secretary. Up-

on the same principle was struck off the sum of 680,009 l. from the quick stock at Bengal. The sum advanced by them to the board of trade ought to be less by 160,000 l. The article of 789,828 l. as the debt due from the nabob of Oude, Mr. Fox wished at once to strike off, along with every other article of the same nature. He believed, that the feelings and the magnanimity of the country would go with him in saying, that they would rather be doomed to pay all that the company owed, ill as they could at this time bear it: ill as the sinking fund could sustain the shock, they would rather apply to that, than wring it from the princes of the country, by aiding them in the oppression and ruin of their innocent people. To the estimate of the quick stock at Madras, Mr. Fox made similar objections, and by virtue of them reduced the balance in favour of the company from 2,078,078 l. to little more than 500,000 l. From the quick stock at Bencoolen, he deducted 100,000 l. which were exhausted in the expences of the establishment. The entire quick stock at St. Helena, 27,518 l. was disallowed on the same principle. The balance against the company at Bombay, which was taken by the directors at 967,085 l. the secretary increased to 1,177,085 l. There was an additional arrear to be taken as due to the army in India, beyond what the account stated, of 140,000 l. The sum of 300,000 l. due to the suba of the Decan, was also totally omitted. These objections taken together he considered as amounting to 9,400,000 l. To this was to be added, the sum due to the proprietors, 3,200,000 l. which would make the whole considerably more than 12,000,000 l.

A rejoinder to the animadversions of the secretary was afterwards delivered in by the directors. The difference between their representations of the company's situation, turned chiefly upon two points; the first, whether any property beside that which was now in hand, ought to be taken into the estimate of available property for the discharge of their debts; the second, whether or no the balance was to be struck upon the supposition of their bankruptcy, and the consequent sale of their houses, warehouses and shipping. Another objection was started to the secretary's having enumerated the capital of the proprietors among the debts of the company. Never, it was said, had it in any former instance been heard of, that the original stock of the trader should be enumerated in the catalogue of his debts, and that he should be treated as insolvent unless he were able to make up that sum.

Having refuted the fallacious representation the company had made of their finances, Mr. Fox said, that he was now ready to declare, that if every shilling of that property were real and forthcoming, a bill of the nature of the present would not be the less necessary. He trusted, that the measure he had the honour to introduce, would not be so far degraded, as for it to be said for a moment, that it originated in the poverty of the company. If any misunderstanding had hitherto taken place upon that head, he trusted, that it would cease henceforth, and that so odious a libel upon this country would not pass current, as that sordid motives only had induced the government of England to do that, which we were bound to do

as politicians, as Christians, and as men, by every consideration which made a nation respectable, great and glorious.

The bill had been combated upon various principles; but to the hour he was speaking, it had not been canvassed upon its own intrinsic merits. The nature and substance of these attacks, he construed as the strongest comment upon the excellence of the measure. If a more rational opposition could be made to it, no doubt it would have been made. Such as they were however, he would endeavour to remove the difficulties that had been created.

Much had been said respecting the violation of charters. The novelty of the proceedings now under consideration, had been mentioned. Certainly persons who talked thus had never read the other acts, by which the company's charters had been altered to a great extent. The regulating act of 1773, had effected various changes, and had given the whole military and civil government to parliamentary commissioners, though unfortunately to commissioners in India. The different acts by which the dividends of the company had been restrained, had pointed directly at their commercial concerns and had affected their property. The necessity, in the present situation of affairs, of some alteration of the reigning system had been universally acknowledged, and his opponents had warned the house against palliatives and half-measures. He would be glad to hear how it was possible to adopt a new system by parliamentary authority, without striking at those charters which intitled the company to continue the old one.

The plea of necessity was therefore

fore the plea to which he had adverted. But it had been objected to him, that necessity was the creed of slaves. He would tell those objectors, that it was also the creed of freemen. Every syllable that had been uttered, respecting the intangibility of claims made venerable by prescription and parchments, was a battery against the main pillars of the British constitution. No man would affirm, that a trust to a company of merchants stood upon the solemn and sanctified ground, by which a trust was committed to a monarch. The arguments therefore of his opponents might have been adopted with additional propriety by king James the Second. He might have claimed the property of dominion; but what had been the language of the people? "No, you have no property in dominion. Dominion was vested in you, as it is in every chief magistrate, for the benefit of the community to be governed. It was a sacred trust delegated by compact. You have abused the trust. You have exercised dominion for the purposes of vexation and tyranny, not of comfort, protection and good order. We therefore resume the power which was originally ours. We recur to the first principle of all government, the will of the many; and it is our will that you shall no longer abuse your dominion."

Under the head of influence, Mr. Fox animadverted upon the inconsistent objections of Mr. Dundas and the country gentlemen. It had been charged upon him by the latter, that all he had formerly done in reducing the influence of the crown was nothing, compared with the immense accession of power that he was now acquiring for it. Certain however it was, that this

bill as little augmented the influence of the crown, as any measure that could be devised for the government of India, with the slightest promise of success. The very genius of influence consisted in hope or fear, fear of losing what we had, or hope of gaining more. Make the commissioners removeable at will, and you set all the little passions of human nature afloat. Invest them with power, upon the same tenure as the British judges hold their station, removeable upon delinquency, punishable upon guilt, but fearless of power if they discharge their trust, and they will be liable to no seducement, and will execute their functions with glory to themselves, and for the common good of the country and mankind.

The secretary intreated the house to compare the bill now upon their table, with the bill brought in during the last session by the lord advocate of Scotland. The bill of Mr. Dundas had created an arbitrary and despotic power in one man over millions of his fellow-creatures, not in England, where the remedy was always easy and at hand, but in the East Indies, the scene of every mischief, fraud and violence. The bill of the preceding session afforded the most extensive latitude for malversation; the bill before the house guarded against it with all imaginable precaution. It presumed the possibility of bad administration; for every word in it breathed suspicion. It supposed that men were but men; it confided in no integrity; it trusted no character: it annexed responsibility, not only to every action, but even to the inaction of the powers it created. Mr. Dundas had remarked, that he would have been better pleased with the bill

bill had it confided the affairs of India to a new secretary of state, or had it even blended them with the business of Mr. Fox's office. Mr. Fox begged to submit it to his audience, what would have been the probable comments of the other side of the house, had either of these propositions originated with him.

But, said Mr. Dundas, I have no apprehensions from the tendency of this bill to augment the influence of the crown; the object of my terror is the influence it creates in opposition to the crown; the novel principle it establishes of an *imperium in imperio*. It was impossible, as the secretary conceived, for Mr. Dundas to have so despicable an idea of the good sense of that house, as to expect the slightest attention to this remark. It was intended only for the people without doors. But even there it would produce no effect. The multitude knew the fallacy of it as well as the learned gentleman himself. They knew that the dissolution of the East-India company had been wished for scores of years, by many good men in this country, for the very reason that it was an *imperium in imperio*. The worst species of government was that which could run counter to all the ends of its institution with impunity.

Nothing could possibly create the smallest expectation of benefit, in any person who understood the situation of India, but a system of permanency. Allowing, for argument's sake, to the governor general of India, under Mr. Dundas's bill, the most unlimited and superior abilities, with soundness of heart and integrity the most unquestionable; what fair hope could be entertained of the success of his projects, when perhaps before

he could enter upon the execution of one of them he might be recalled, in consequence of one of those changes in administration, which of late years had been so frequent? "If," added the secretary, "the dispensers of the plan for governing India, (a place from which the answer of a letter cannot be expected in less than twelve months) have not greater stability in their situations than a British ministry, adieu to all hopes of rendering our Eastern territories of any advantage to this country; adieu to every expectation of purifying the Indian system, of reform, of improvement, of regulating the trade upon its proper principles, of re-establishing the natives in comfort, and of securing the perpetuity of these blessings by the cordial reconciliation of the Indians with their former tyrants, upon terms of amity, friendship and fellowship." As to the circumstance of the commissioners being nominated by parliament in the first instance, it was so far from being any thing new, violent and alarming, that the house would recollect that in no parliamentary commission down to the commissioners of the land-tax, had it ever been otherwise.

The secretary had already spoken of himself, and he must add some other observations on the same subject. The house would see that the awkward task was rendered indispensable, infinitely more having been said concerning him in these debates, than concerning the question which was the proper subject of agitation. He had been charged with desertion and apostacy from those principles of liberty upon the former assertion of which he was now so highly complimented. In reply to this charge he would assert, that were they to search the his-

history of his life, they would find that the period of it, in which he had struggled most for the real, substantial cause of liberty, was that very moment. What was the most odious species of tyranny? Precisely that which the bill was intended to annihilate: that a handful of men, free themselves, should execute the most base and abominable despotism over millions of their fellow-creatures, that innocence should be the victim of oppression, that industry should toil for rapine, that the harmless labourer should sweat, not for his own benefit, but for the luxury and rapacity of tyrannic depredation: in a word, that thirty millions of men gifted by providence with the ordinary endowments of humanity, should groan under a system of despotism unmatched in all the histories of the world.

But the charge was still repeated, and that side of the house were deserters. A few cold and disaffected members fell off, then turned about, and to palliate their own defection, called the body of the army deserters! They had not deserted; here they were a firm phalanx. Deserted indeed they had been in the moment of disaster, but never dejected, and seldom complaining. Some of those who rose upon their wreck, and who eagerly grasped the power they had had the labour of erecting, now called them deserters. They retorted the term with just indignation. But an honourable gentleman had advised Mr. Fox not to mention the name of the marquis of Rockingham, who would never have countenanced a bill of this kind. This was, indeed, imposing hard conditions on those who had suffered a sort of political martyrdom in the cause of that nobleman, and had

surrendered pomp and power rather than remain, where his principles ceased to be fashionable, and were withering into contempt. At no period of his life did Mr. Fox mention the marquis with more confidence, than at this moment, when he said, that his soul spoke in every line of the bill before the house, for his soul spoke in every measure of virtue, wisdom, humane policy, and national honour.

A game of a twofold quality was playing by the other side of the house upon this occasion, to which he hoped the house, and he hoped the kingdom would attend. They were endeavouring to injure administration through two channels at the same time; through a certain great quarter, and through the people. They were attempting to alarm the first, by asserting, that the bill increased the influence of ministry against the crown; and they were rousing the people under an idea that it increased the influence of the crown against them. That they would fail in both, he doubted not. In the great quarter he trusted, they were well understood, and the princely mind of that high person was a security against their devices: they were running swiftly to take off whatever little imposition might have been put upon any part even of the multitude. He wished to rescue the character of the public understanding from the contemptuous implication that it was capable of being gulled by such artifices. He felt for his country's honour when he said, that Englishmen, free themselves, and fond of giving freedom to others, disdained such stratagems, and were equally above the silliness of crediting the revilers of this act, as above the baseness of confederating and making a com-

mon cause with those, who would support a system that dishonoured the country, and kept thirty millions of the human race in wretchedness. He made allowance for the hare-brained delusions of folly and ignorance, and the effects of design. To such evils every measure was liable, and every man must expect a portion of the consequence. But for the serious and grave determinations of the public judgment he had the highest value; he ever had, and ever should have. If it were a weakness, he confessed it, that to lose the good opinion of the meanest man gave him some pain; and whatever triumph his enemies could derive from such a frame of mind, they were welcome to. But he would risk his all upon the excellence of this bill. He would risk upon it whatever was most dear to him, whatever men most valued, the character of integrity, of talents, of honour, of present reputation and future fame: these he would stake upon the constitutional safety, the enlarged policy, the equity and wisdom of this measure. And he had no fear, when he said (whatever might be the fate of its authors) that this bill would produce to this country every blessing of commerce and revenue; and that by extending a generous and humane government over those millions whom the inscrutable dispensations of providence had placed under us in the remotest regions of the earth, it would consecrate the name of England among the noblest of nations.

The speech of Mr. Burke upon this grand, turning point of the then administration, was perhaps the most beautiful, sublime and finished composition, that his studies and his labours had produced. He declared himself a little concerned

to perceive the spirit and temper in which the debate had been all along pursued upon one side of the house. The declamation of gentlemen who opposed the bill had been abundant and vehement; but they had been reserved, and even silent, about its fitness or unfitness to obtain the object it had in view. By some it was taken up (by way of exercise he presumed) as a point of law on a question of private property and corporate franchise; by others it was regarded as the petty intrigue of a faction at court, and argued merely as it tended to set this man a little higher, or that a little lower, in situation and power. The void had been filled up with invectives against coalition; with allusions to the loss of America; with the activity and inactivity of ministers. The interest and well-being of the people of India, the interest which this nation had in the commerce and revenues of that country, could scarcely obtain the attention of a moment. It was not right, it was not worthy of that house in this manner to depreciate the value, to degrade the majesty of this grave deliberation of policy and empire.

The claims of the East India company under its charters had been asserted in very lofty language, and had been mentioned by the phrase of the chartered rights of men. The phrase, Mr. Burke observed, was full of affectation and ambiguity. The rights of men, that is, the natural rights of mankind, were indeed sacred things; and for any public measure mischievously to affect them, ought to be an objection fatal to the measure, even if no charter could be set up against it. If these natural rights were farther affirmed by express covenants, they were in a still better condition: they partook not

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only of the sanctity of the object, but of the solemnity of that public faith by which they were secured. Such were the charters of king John and king Henry the third; and these charters had made the very name dear to the heart of an Englishman. But there were charters, not only different from these, but formed on principles the very reverse of theirs. The rights they communicated (to speak of them in terms of the greatest possible moderation) did at least suspend the natural rights of mankind at large, and were liable to fall into a direct violation of them. Such was the charter of the East India company. It was stamped by the faith of the king; it was stamped by the faith of parliament; it had been bought for money, honestly and fairly paid; it had been bought for valuable consideration, over and over again. More than this could not be asserted by the most strenuous advocates the company had to boast.

It was true however of every species of political dominion, and every description of commercial privilege, none of which were original rights, or grants for the mere benefit of the holders, that they were in the strictest sense a trust; that the persons to whom they were delegated were accountable, and that they were liable totally to cease, when they substantially varied from the purposes of their existence. The very charter, which was held out to exclude parliament from all interference, was the thing which at once gave a title, and imposed a duty upon them, to interfere in all cases of flagrant malversation. Parliament had sold, it was admitted, all they had a right to sell; that is, their authority, not their control. They had not a right to make a market of their

duties: and passively to bear with oppressions committed under the sanction of their authority, was, in truth and reason, to be an accomplice in the abuse.

The strong admission, Mr. Burke was conscious, that he had made of the company's rights, bound him to do a great deal. He ought to be able to show that the object affected by the abuse was great and important, that the abuse was habitual and of considerable magnitude, and that without an entire change of system it was utterly incurable. All this ought to be made as visible to him as the light of the sun, before he would strike off an atom of the charter. His reluctance for the sake of a theory, however specious, to the destroying any established system of government, was insuperable.

After having stated the extent of territory and population, which was the object of this bill, Mr. Burke described the quality and character of the inhabitants. They did not consist of an abject and barbarous populace; much less of gangs of savages, like the Guaranies and Chiquitos, who wandered on the borders of the river of Amazons or the Plate. They were a people for ages civilized and cultivated; cultivated by all the arts of polished life, while we were yet in the woods. There had been (and still the skeletons remained) princes once of great dignity, authority and opulence. There were to be found the chiefs of tribes and nations. There was to be found an ancient and venerable priesthood, the depositary of their laws, learning and history, the guides of the people while living, and their consolation in death; a nobility of great antiquity and renown; a multitude of cities, not exceeded in population and trade by those of the first class

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in Europe ; merchants and bankers, individual houses of whom had once tied with the bank of England, whose credit had often supported a tottering state, and preserved their governments in the midst of war and desolation ; millions of ingenious manufacturers and mechanics, millions of the most diligent, and not the least intelligent tillers of the earth. Here were to be found almost all the religions professed by men, the Bramincal, the Mussulman, the eastern and the western Christian.

In describing the magnitude and atrocity of the abuse, Mr. Burke affirmed, with respect to the conduct of the company towards powers and states independent, or that not long since were such, that there was not a single prince, state, or potentate, with whom they had come into contact, whom they had not sold ; that there was not a single treaty they had ever made which they had not broken ; and that there was not a single prince or state that had ever put any trust in the company, and was not utterly ruined. Mr. Burke's first instance was in the Great Mogul, the descendant of Tamerlane. This high personage, as high as human veneration could look at, was by every account, amiable in his manners, respectable for his piety according to his mode, and accomplished in all the oriental literature. Money was coined in his name ; in his name justice was administered ; he was prayed for in every temple through the countries we possessed—but he had been sold. To this example Mr. Burke added the sale of the Rohillas, those of the nabob of Bengal, of the polygars, of the Maratta empire, of Ragoba the pretender to that empire, and of the suba of the Decan. The transac-

tions in the beginning, and during the whole course of the Maratta war, furnished a very copious list of instances under the second head.

In regard to the ruin of such princes as had confided in the company, the house would be pleased to look to the history and present condition of the nabob of Oude. In the year 1779 this country had been afflicted with a general famine ; a calamity which was known to relax the severity even of the most rigorous government. In this situation the president of Bengal had put an absolute negative upon the representation of the prince, adding, that perhaps expedients might be found for affording him a gradual relief, but that these could not be applied at once, and that their effect must be distant. This distant relief however never arrived, and the country was ruined. Mr. Hastings acknowledged, that the “ event had proved the reverse of his hopes, and had yielded nothing but accumulation of distress, debasement and dissatisfaction to the nabob, and disappointment and disgrace to himself.” But in the midst of this grand waste of the company's dominion, one country, like an island, still bore the marks of fertility and plenty. “ The whole of his country, say the enemies of its unfortunate prince, is what the whole country of the Rohillas was, cultivated like a garden, without one neglected spot in it. Fizulla was supposed, in the course of a few years, to have doubled the population and revenues of his country.” Dr. Swift had somewhere said, that he who could make two blades of grass grow, where but one grew before, was a greater benefactor to the human race than all the politicians that ever existed. This prince, who would have been deified

by antiquity, who would have been ranked with Osiris, and Bacchus and Ceres, and the divinities most propitious to men, was for these very merits attacked by the company's government as a cheat, a robber and a traitor. His territory, smaller in extent than the county of Norfolk, already paid to the British government 150,000*l.* per annum, and a demand was now made upon it to the amount of 300,000*l.* more. The situation of Faruckabad appeared to be similar to that of the territories of Fizulla. To this might be added, the affair of the polygars, and the situation of the prince who had ruined the polygars, Mahomet Ali Khan. The story of the raja of Benares, and of the princesses of Oude were also related by Mr. Burke with much warmth of colouring.

From the conduct of the company towards the independent powers and states that surrounded them, the house would turn to the situation of the countries immediately under the charter government. In the year 1772, and about the time in which Mr. Hastings had become president of Bengal, these provinces were laid waste with a famine. The succour, which the new president and council lent to the afflicted nation—was it possible to believe the relation?—was the setting up the landed interest of a whole kingdom, of a kingdom to be compared to France, to public auction. No preference had been given to the ancient proprietors. They must bid against every usurer, every temporary adventurer, every jobber and schemer, every servant of every European, or they had been obliged to content themselves, in lieu of their extensive domains, with their house, and such a pension as the state auctioneers thought fit to assign.

Another reform had since come upon the back of the first, a new scheme of œconomy had taken place, and had deprived them of the pension. The menial servants of Englishmen, persons, “whose fathers they would not have set with the dogs of their flock,” entered into their patrimonial lands. Mr. Hastings's banian, after this auction, had been found possessed of territories yielding a rent of 140,000*l.*

A total revolution in the year 1781 had also taken place in the native administration of justice. In one of the usual freaks of legislation, the council of Bengal had transferred the judicature, till then exercised by the principal Mussulmen, to a body constituted of certain English servants of the company, and the Gentoo zemidars of the country, who had never petitioned for it, and, for any thing that appeared, never desired the boon. The natives however had soon the consolation of perceiving that the English government fared no better. A board of justice and revenue had been planned by the president and council in 1772, and so far ratified by the court of directors, that they gave precise orders that no alteration should be made in it without their consent. In this constitution (whether in other respects good or evil) there had been authority, communication, mutual check, and control. They had been obliged to enter on their minutes their reasons and dissents; so that a man of diligence and tolerable sagacity, sitting in London, might be able from them to form some judgment of the spirit of what was going on on the farthest bank of the Ganges and Burrampooter. This constitution however, without any previous step, at one stroke, by the authority

rity of a single individual, had been swept away. The chief of each council, and one European collector of revenue, only remained. Their continuance was publicly declared to be only temporary and permissive. A committee had been formed in Calcutta, to whom not only the functions of all the inferior, but even those of the supreme administration of revenue were delegated. In the obscure and silent gulf of this committee every thing was now buried. The thickest shades of night surrounded their transactions. The directors, who had dared to talk with such confidence of their revenues, knew nothing about them. What used to fill volumes was now comprised under a few dry heads on a sheet of paper. The judicial institution had undergone a similar change, and judges were placed at the head of each court taken from the junior servants of the company.

Mr. Burke proceeded to point out a few of the many lines of difference, which were to be found between the vices of the company's government and those of the conquerors who preceded us in India. The several irruptions of Arabs, Tartars and Persians had been for the greater part wasteful in the extreme: our entrance into the dominion had been with small comparative effusion of blood, and was less effected by open force than by various frauds and delusions. But the difference in favour of the first conquerors was this; the Asiatic conquerors had soon abated of their ferocity, because they made the conquered country their own. Fathers there deposited the hopes of their posterity, and children there beheld the monuments of their fathers. Poverty, sterility and de-

solation were not a recreating prospect to the eye of man, and few there were who could bear to grow old among the curses of a whole people. If their passion or their avarice drove the Tartar lords to acts of rapacity or tyranny, there had been time enough in the short life of man to repair the desolations of war by the arts of magnificence and peace. But under the English government all this order was reversed. Our conquest there, after twenty years, was as crude as it had been the first day. The natives scarcely knew what it was to see the grey head of an Englishman. Young men (boys almost) governed there without society and without sympathy with the natives. They had no more social habits with the people than if they still resided in England, nor indeed any species of intercourse, but that which was necessary to the making a sudden fortune with a view to a remote settlement. Animated with all the avarice of age, and all the impetuosity of youth, they rolled in one after another, wave after wave; and there was nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endless, hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and passage, with appetites continually renewing for a food that was continually wasting. Every rupee of profit made by an Englishman was lost for ever to India. With us were no retributory superstitions, by which a foundation of charity compensated for ages to the poor, for the rapine and injustice of a day. With us no pride erected stately monuments, which repaired the mischiefs pride had produced, and adorned a country out of its own spoils. England had erected no churches, no hospitals *, no palaces, no schools;

* Mr. Burke excepted the trifling foundation at Calcutta.

England had built no bridges, made no high roads, cut no navigations, dug no reservoirs. Every other conqueror of every other description had left some monument either of state or beneficence behind him. Were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any thing better than the ouran-outang or the tyger.

The commercial conduct of the company had not been a whit more prudent and judicious than their conduct as statesmen. They had paid no attention to the principle of buying cheap and selling dear; they had been prodigal in their contracts; they had made no provision for the bills which were drawn upon them; and instead of that accuracy, which was essential to a merchant, they had invented a new principle of account upon honour, which in reality amounted to an entire annihilation of the principle of all accounts.

Mr. Burke proceeded to examine the last question he had stated, whether in its present state the government of the East India company was absolutely incorrigible. Under this head he declared, that if the court of directors had not uniformly condemned every act which that house or any of its committees had condemned, if the language in which they had expressed their disapprobation had not been more indignant than any ever employed in that house, he should have entertained some hopes. But when he reflected on the uniformity of their support to the objects of their uniform censure, and the state of insignificance and disgrace to which all of those had been reduced whom they approved, and that even utter ruin and premature death had been

among the fruits of their favour, he must be convinced that in this case, as in all others, hypocrisy was the only vice that never could be cured. The death of colonel Monson and sir John Clavering, and the disgrace of Mr. Francis, men who had been sent out to reform the abuses of the company's government, and whose conduct had received their uniform applause, amply confirmed this observation. But worse, far worse, had been the fate of the poor creatures, the natives of India, whom the hypocrisy of the company had betrayed into complaint of oppression and discovery of peculation. The first woman in Bengal, a person of princely rank, who had paid above 200,000*l.* a year quit-rent to the state, was, according to very credible information, so completely beggared by her thoughtless trust in the company's honour, as to stand in need of the relief of alms. The affair of Nundcomar was well known. By an insult on every thing which India held respectable and sacred, he had been hanged, for a pretended crime, upon an *ex post facto* British act of parliament, in the midst of his evidence against Mr. Hastings. The accuser they saw hanged. The culprit, without acquittal or enquiry, triumphed on the ground of that murder; a murder not of Nundcomar only, but of all living testimony, and of evidence yet unborn. From that time not a complaint had been heard from the natives against their governors. All the grievances of India had found a complete remedy.

This had been their conduct, and it had been the result of the alteration which was insensibly made in their constitution. The company, in the sense in which it

was formerly understood, had no existence. The stock was of no value, whether it were the qualification of a director or proprietor, and it was impossible it should. A director's qualification might be worth about 2,500*l.* and the interest was about 160*l.* a year. Of what value was that to him, whose son, before he was in Bengal two months, sold the grant of a single contract for 40,000*l.*? Accordingly the stock was bought up in qualifications; and its end was to support against justice some man of power who had made an obnoxious fortune in India, and to obtain in return his patronage, that he might pour the spoils of the East, "barbaric pearl and gold," on their children and dependents. Mr. Hastings had informed us, that he had two hundred and fifty of that kind of raw materials, who expected to be speedily manufactured into this merchantable quality. He had two hundred and fifty young gentlemen, some of them of the best families in England, as hostages for the good behaviour of that house, and of his constituents; and, loaded for years as he had been with the execrations of the natives, and the censures of the directors, and struck and blasted with resolutions of that house, he still maintained the most despotic power ever known in India. The servants in India were no longer appointed by the directors, but the directors were chosen by them. The house in Leadenhall-street was nothing more than an exchange for their agents, factors and deputies, to take care of their affairs, and support their interests.

Mr. Burke went on to answer some of the objections that had been raised against the bill. With respect to the increase of the influence of the crown, he was not

obliged to have recourse to this expedient. Much, very much the contrary. But if he were unable to correct a system of oppression and tyranny, that went to the utter ruin of millions of his fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects, without some increase of that influence, he was there ready to declare, that he, who had been active to reduce it, should at least be as active and strenuous to restore it again. He was no lover of names; he contended for the substance of good and protecting government, let it come from what quarter it would. He concluded his speech with a beautiful and animated panegyric upon the mover of the bill. He confessed he anticipated with joy the reward of those whose whole consequence, power and authority existed only for the benefit of mankind; and he carried his mind to all the people, and all the names and descriptions, that, relieved by this measure, would bless the labours of that parliament, and the confidence which the best house of commons had given to him who best deserved it. The little cavils of party would not be heard where freedom and happiness would be felt. There was not a tongue, a nation, a religion in India, which would not bless the presiding care and manly beneficence of that house, and of him who proposed to them this great work. Their names would never be separated before the throne of the divine goodness, in whatever language, or with whatever rites pardon was asked for sin, and reward for those who imitated the godhead in his universal bounty to his creatures.

The bill was opposed, in the course of these debates, among others, with much asperity by sir James Lowther, Mr. Duncombe, Mr.

Mr. T. Pitt, Mr. Powys, Mr. Martin, the marquis of Graham, Mr. Jenkinson, Mr. Arden, Mr. W. Grenville, Mr. Beaufoy, Mr. Wilberforce, lord Mulgrave, and Mr. Wilkes. It was warmly supported by Mr. Lee, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Adam, Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Rigby, lord Maitland, sir Henry Fletcher, the chairman, and Mr. Wilkinson, one of the directors of the East India company. During the progress of the bill, a petition was presented by the mayor and common council of the city of London, praying that it might not pass into a law. In the committee it was determined that the commissioners should not be disqualified from sitting in the house of commons; but the same privilege was not extended to the assistants. Upon the motion of sir William Dolben, the duration of the bill was fixed to the term of four years. Beside the opposition it encountered with regard to its principle, much complaint was made of the indecent haste with which it was carried through the house. It was supported, however, through all its stages by a considerable majority of members. The division, upon the second reading, was, ayes 217, noes 103; majority, 114.

On the ninth of December, Mr. Fox, attended by a great number of members, presented the bill at the bar of the house of lords. Upon this occasion earl Temple declared, that he was happy to embrace the first opportunity of entering his protest against so infamous a bill, against a stretch of power so truly alarming, that went near to seize upon the most inestimable part of our constitution, our chartered rights. The duke of Richmond rose on the same side, and insisted much upon the inconsistent con-

duct of the whig part of the present administration, which he illustrated from the protests signed with their names, and entered upon the journals of the house of lords, against the regulating bill of 1773. Lord Thurlow expressed himself with much decision. He observed, that, in the first instance, the bill was a most atrocious violation of private property; a proceeding which touched every Englishman to the bone, and could only be justified by the strongest necessity. This necessity, he said, must be fully and fairly proved by evidence brought to the bar of that house, and not by reports from a committee, to which he should pay as much attention as he would to the adventures of Robinson Crusoe. They were told that the finances of the company were much deranged. But would parliament in its justice forget, that the company was restricted from employing that credit which resulted from its great and flourishing situation? Would parliament forget that the bill-holders were willing to extend the period of payment, and that if the restrictions were taken off to-morrow morning, every demand due to the state would be discharged? Would parliament forget that the politics of this country had involved the company in an extensive and ruinous war, and that while we encountered loss, misfortune and disgrace in every other quarter of the globe, this delinquent company had surmounted the most astonishing difficulties in India? Would parliament forget that when peace was restored to this unfortunate country, the conquests of this delinquent company were given up, to prevent farther sacrifices of our more favourite possessions?

Lord Thurlow remarked upon

the language of lord Loughborough, who, while he held up his character to public detestation, cautiously suppressed the name of Mr. Hastings. Whence this remarkable and preposterous delicacy? If he be a depopulator of provinces, if he be a plunderer, and an enemy to the human race, let his crimes be dragged into the light of day, and let him be punished. In his mind, Mr. Hastings was one of the most venerable characters that this country had produced. He had served the East India company for thirty-three years, and twelve years as president of Bengal. He possessed a most extensive knowledge of the languages, the manners, the politics, and the revenues of Indostan. He was a man, whose integrity, whose honour, whose firmness of mind and whose perseverance had encountered difficulties that would have subdued the spirit of any other man, and had surmounted them. No impediment, no opposition could have been more formidable than that of the commission*, which seemed to have been sent out for the express purpose of thwarting and opposing all his measures. When he considered the scene of confusion that ensued, the factious and personal spirit by which these men had been animated from the hour of their landing, he sincerely wished they had died before they had set foot in India. But Mr. Hastings had been able to surmount so arduous a trial. And such was the vigour of our go-

vernment in Bengal, such were the regulations for the administration of justice in the provinces, and such the æconomical arrangements formed in the civil and military departments, that he did not believe it would be in the power of the folly and ignorance of the most favourite clerks Mr. Fox's directors could send out, to throw Bengal into confusion in the term that was assigned for the duration of his bill.

The second reading took place on the 15th of December, when counsel was called to the bar of the house of lords on the part of the directors and proprietors of the East India company. At eleven o'clock in the evening the counsel requested of the house an adjournment to the next day, for the conclusion of their evidence; and a motion being made for that purpose, it was carried, contents 87, not contents 79. On the 17th it was moved that the bill be rejected. The principal speakers against the bill were earl Gower, lord Rawdon, lord Walsingham and lord Camden. It was supported considerably in detail by the earl of Carlisle. Lord Sandwich employed all his wit and humour upon this memorable occasion. And the earl of Derby displayed a degree of eloquence, sincerity and pathos, that astonished his audience, and might have done honour to the most acknowledged abilities. The bill was at length rejected, contents 95, not contents 76.

* Sir John Clavering, colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis.

C H A P. III.

Interference of Lord Temple. Resolutions against secret Influence. Address against a Dissolution of Parliament. Recess. Further Proceedings in the Committee on the State of the Nation. Mr. Pitt's India Bill. It is rejected.

SUCH was the concluding scene of an administration, from whose vigour its partisans had conceived the most sanguine hopes, and whose strength had been represented by its enemies as so vast and irresistible, as to be qualified in its progress to break down all the holdings of monarchy, and all the barriers of the constitution. Proportionable to the prevalence of these ideas must be the astonishment that so sudden and premature a dissolution is calculated to create. It cannot be supposed that men of such unrivalled abilities, when they entered upon a measure of so unparalleled magnitude, could have done other than count the costs of their undertaking, and consider beforehand the probability of the assent or opposition of the several branches of the legislature. Here therefore was a sudden and most extraordinary change in the sentiments of one house of parliament, which could only derive from an extraordinary and adequate cause. So sudden was this revolution, that the proxies of several lords were withdrawn from the ministers, in whose hands they had been placed, only a few hours previous to the final decision.

The secret and silent event that occasioned this grand revolution, we are able to state. Though it was such as not to admit of legal and judiciary evidence, its evidence however is abundantly sufficient, if examined at the bar of history. On the 11th of December, earl Temple had a conference with his

majesty, which appears to have principally turned upon the bill then depending in parliament. Though it had been generally believed that the most entire cordiality and confidence upon all points did not subsist between the king and his ministers, yet upon this measure, which respected the government of our East Indian possessions, they had obtained his perfect concurrence. It was probably the language that had been held by some members during the debates in the house of commons, who, among other things, had asserted, that if the bill passed into a law, the crown would be no longer worth the wearing, that had first excited doubts in the royal breast. In the mean time earl Temple left the sovereign a complete convert to the system and views of opposition.

The conversion however was somewhat of the latest, and it seemed difficult, in consistency with the honour of the prince, and the forms of the constitution, to give it its full and desirable effect. The medium that suggested itself to the king and his adviser, was that of the lords, many of whom were in habits of personal intimacy with the sovereign, and who might be supposed ready to gratify his wishes, could they only be satisfied of the revolution that had taken place in his sentiments. This information earl Temple undertook to communicate. What personal interviews passed between him and these noblemen is not known. But a circular card,

supposed to have been written by lord Temple upon this occasion, was produced by Mr. Fox in the house of commons. It was here stated, that "his majesty allowed earl Temple to say, that whoever voted for the India bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as his enemy. And if these words were not strong enough, earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger or more to the purpose."

An interference of so extraordinary a nature, was not likely to pass without animadversion and censure. In a political constitution, so complicated and intricate in its nature as the English, it seemed to be of the utmost consequence, that one branch of the legislature should not interfere with, or endeavour to influence the deliberations of the other two. This had been regarded in various parts of our history by the friends of liberty with the utmost jealousy; and of all the imprudencies that brought the unfortunate Charles to the block, there was none that excited so great a flame, or bred so much ill humour among his subjects, as his having come down to parliament to deliver his opinion upon a bill depending before them. The circumstances of the present case were however certainly different; but it was such as to furnish at least a specious pretence for the declamations of those to whom liberty should be the stalking-horse of ambition, and to be capable of exciting the serious alarms of men, the most virtuous in their dispositions, and the most sincere in their principles.

But, exclusively of the blow that seemed in this case to have been struck at all that in which Englishmen most prided themselves; the

immediate consequences it produced were of a very comprehensive nature. It had defeated a system that would certainly have changed the face of the whole continent of India, and which, as some imagined, would have totally overturned the British constitution. And it displaced a ministry, from whose principles the most extensive benefits or the most tremendous misfortunes had been predicted. The friends of that administration were not likely to regard the event with complacency, supineness or indifference. Irritated by all the motives that could awaken the most contemptible avarice, or the most generous ambition, furnished with a subject of declamation, as plausible, as comprehensive, and as interesting, as rhetoric could demand, or poetry invent, it was not to be supposed that they would stop short of almost any lengths that such advantages could afford them.

These considerations however, if taken alone, would have furnished only a few columns for a newspaper, or, at the most favourable estimate, an happy opportunity for the display of an eloquence and ability, that might recommend its possessors to a future share in the government of their country. It could have produced no immediate effects. It could not have furnished that grand spectacle, which for many weeks seemed to engross the attention even of the idle and incurious, and which involved Englishmen, already distinguished for their propensity to political speculations, ten times deeper in the sea of politics than ever. The advantage by which this eminence was obtained, was the decided majority which administration possessed in the house of commons, and which, in a considerable degree, followed them

them into private life. They were made up of two connexions, each of whom purified from their grosser particles by the changes of two preceding years, was marked by the most perfect consistency, fidelity and firmness.

These propensities were improved in them by considerations which opened no improbable prospect to their ambition. A contest between the crown and the house of commons had been long untried, and if carried on with the most determined resolution by both parties, it was by no means certain which would come off victorious. But short of this they had much to expect, from the superior advantages in point of courage and perseverance, which a body of men usually possess over an individual; from the veneration which this branch of the legislature has maintained in the hearts of Englishmen; and from the sense of honour and shame in the minister, against whom they should point the artillery of their resolutions. For a number of years their votes had decided upon the existence of administrations. It seemed by various men, not deficient in judgment, experience, or courage, to have been given up as impracticable, for a minister to act in defiance of the representatives of the people. From them there lay but one appeal, to the body by whom they had been originally elected. And the popular and respectable names of liberty and privilege, it was natural to suppose, would in this resort, be more than a balance for the cause of aristocracy and prerogative.

The cause, thus interesting to every spectator, and pregnant with the most momentous consequences, was opened on the 17th of December, the day which had been pre-

viously selected for the decision of the fate of the India bill in the house of lords, with a resolution moved by Mr. William Baker, and seconded by lord viscount Maitland, importing: "That it was now necessary to declare that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion of the king, upon any bill or other proceeding depending in either house of parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, was a high crime and misdemeanour, derogatory to the honour of the crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of parliament, and subversive of the constitution of the country." This motion was followed by two resolutions. One, by the same mover, "That the house would on the 22d instant, resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider the state of the nation." The other suggested by Mr. Thomas Erskine, "That it was necessary to the most essential interests of the kingdom, and peculiarly incumbent on that house, to pursue with unremitting attention the consideration of a suitable remedy for the abuses which have prevailed in the government of our East-Indian possessions; and that that house would consider as an enemy to his country, any person who should advise the king to prevent, or in any manner interrupt, the discharge of this important duty."

These resolutions naturally occasioned very animated debates. The house was urged by Mr. William Pitt, to put an immediate negative upon them, as it was extremely unworthy of their dignity, to found any proceeding upon rumours and hearsay, which no man would own, and which no man could trace. If it were the duty of parliament to take up rumours,

wherever they were to be found, the house would never be in want of sufficient employment. That monster, public report, was daily fabricating a thousand absurdities and improbabilities, and it was the greatest sarcasm upon every thing serious and respectable, to suffer her to intrude upon the national business, and for the house to follow her through all her shapes and extravagancies.

But it was asked, how ministers were to act when circumvented, as they complained of having been, by secret influence, and when the royal opinion was inimical to their measures? In his opinion, their duty, in a situation thus dishonourable and inefficient, was obvious and indispensable. The moment they could not answer for their own measures, let them retire. The servants of the crown were worse than useless, whenever they were without responsibility.

To these remarks it was added by earl Nugent, that the resolutions went, in his opinion, to an utter annihilation of all sovereignty in this country. What, were not the peers, by their rank and situation, the hereditary counsellors of the crown? Would that house dare to derogate from the high and discriminating dignity which the constitution, for the best and wisest purposes, had annexed to their situation in society? Indeed, so unquestionable was the right, that not only every peer, but every member of the house of commons, and every subject in the kingdom, had a title, under certain modifications, to address the sovereign. But the tendency of these proceedings was to make the prince a kind of prisoner of state, and to shut out from him every species of information that was unacceptable to

the existing administration. Their design was to over-awe and suppress the good old English spirit, that would not be silent in the moment of danger. But would parliament set itself to check these exertions, which every individual was called upon, by the original laws of rectitude, to put forth in the crisis of public calamity, when innovations, subversive of every birthright we enjoy, were brought forward by the strong hand of authority? Did they mean to keep the few virtues, which yet would stem the torrent of national ruin, at a distance from the ears, which only could listen to their voice with success? "I vow to God," continued he, "were any relation of mine to be found capable of advancing such bold truths to the royal father of his people, and were he to be dragged before this house, and to receive condign punishment, I should think it, in common with all his friends, a triumph, which would illustrate his name to the latest posterity."

By some, who notwithstanding opposed the resolutions now offered to the house, it was acknowledged that the conduct alluded to carried with it an appearance somewhat clandestine and dishonourable. They could have wished that a measure so hypocritical and insidious, and big with so tremendous consequences as the India bill lately before that house, could have been defeated by some more manly and spirited proceeding. They could have wished, that an infamous combination of men, that in defiance of principle, and in defiance of shame, had seized upon the government of their country, could have been driven from their present elevation, simply by the exertions and indignation of a free and generous people. But at any rate
a great

a great good had been obtained. And perhaps it was not wise, with too accurate a discrimination, and too severe a scrutiny, to examine into the events that had produced it. They rejoiced in the happy and illustrious consequences that might be expected to follow, and if at any time they were obliged to look back to the cause, they would find in it only a confirmation of a philosophical maxim, and would content themselves to deplore, that great and important good was seldom obtained for society, without some alloy of human weakness and absurdity.

The motions were strenuously supported by lord North and Mr. Erskine. But the principal weight of the debate on this side of the house, naturally fell upon Mr. secretary Fox. The rumour he said, had been treated with a levity, which amounted to a sarcasm and lampoon on the dignity of the house. It had been put upon a level with anonymous rumours in a newspaper; but he could tell gentlemen, that it was something stronger and more serious. Was there a man in that house who had not heard it? Was there a man that would stand up and say that it had not had its effect? How often had the friends of the nobleman in question been called upon to negative the proposition before the house, by vouching for his innocence of the charge? Would any of them lay his hand upon his heart, and disavow the fact in that nobleman's name? How had the question, thus unsuccessfully put to the friends and abettors of secret influence in this, been answered, by the noble principal in the other house? Had he been ready, and eager to vindicate his own character, and rescue that of

his sovereign, from so foul a reproach? No; but he replied in that mean, insidious, equivocal, temporising language, which tended to preserve the effect, without boldly and manfully abiding by the consequences of the guilt. Such was the answer, as mysterious and ill-designed as the delinquency it was intended to conceal; and the man only, who could stoop to the baseness of the one, was the most likely in the world to screen himself behind the duplicity of the other.

So much had been said about the captivity of the throne, while the king acted only in concert with his ministers, that one would have imagined that the spirit and soul of the British constitution were yet unknown in that house. It was here wisely established as a maxim, that the king could do no wrong. But how? Not by suffering tyranny and oppression to pass with impunity, but that the minister who advised or executed an unconstitutional measure, did it at his peril. What was the distinction between an absolute and a limited monarchy? That the sovereign in the one was a despot, and might do as he pleased; and that in the other, he was himself subjected to the laws, and consequently not at liberty to advise with any one on public affairs, not responsible for that advice.

Had this alarming and unconstitutional interference happened in matters of inferior consequence, the evil would not have appeared so great and alarming. But let the house consider the nature of the business it was intended to suppress. No bill had ever been more loudly demanded by the exigence of the case, or investigated at greater length, and with more ability,

lity, than that he had had the honour to introduce. He dared any one to mention a single argument against it, which had not been candidly and fairly tried, not by the weight of a majority, but by the force of plain and explicit reasoning. It had at length passed under the sanction of a large and honourable majority of the most independent and respectable characters in this country. Thus circumstanced however, it would in all probability be lost in the lords. But he intreated the house to consider the manner in which it was likely to meet such a fate. Was it by the voice of an independent majority? Could any man view the lords of the bedchamber in that respectable light; and the whole fortune of the measure now depended on their determination? He was far from saying, that men in high office and elevated rank, ought not to be expected to possess high and elevated sentiments, an exquisite sense of personal honour, and the most perfect probity of heart. But how did this description agree with their mode of managing their proxies? These they cordially gave in before a rumour of the king's displeasure reached their ears; the moment this intimation was made, in the same day, within a few hours, matters appeared to them in quite a different light, and the opinion which they embraced in the morning was renounced at noon. Upon this occasion, he could not help recollecting a saying of an able statesman, by whom a similar treachery had been experienced, which he had always admired for its boldness and propriety, "I will never again," said he, "be at the head of a band of janissaries, who surround the person of the prince, and are ready to strangle the minis-

ter at the nod of a moment." Such then being the true merits of the case, the fate of this bill, without example in the annals of that house, would be handed down to the remotest posterity, not as a trophy of victory, but as an instance of the grossest perfidy, and would, as it well deserved, be branded with infamy and execration.

Mr. Pitt had told administration with his usual confidence and triumph, that their duty, circumstanced as they were, could be attended with no difficulty: the moment the sovereign withdrew his confidence, it became them to retire. "When the hour comes," said the secretary, "and it may not be very distant, that shall dismiss me from the service of the public, the honourable gentleman's example of lingering in office, after the voice of the nation had called him to quit it, shall not be mine. I did not come in by the fiat of majesty, though by that fiat I am not unwilling to go out. I will apprise gentlemen however, that the situation of ministers is extremely delicate. They stand pledged to the public, and a very honourable majority of this house, not to relinquish the affairs of the state, while they are in so much anarchy and distraction. And what ministry could wish for a stronger or more desirable foundation, than such a majority as have constantly voted with us? The people of England have made me what I am. It was at their instance I have been called to a station in their service, and perhaps it would not be treating them well, hastily to abandon the post to which they have raised me. I ever stood, and wish only to stand on public ground: I have too much pride ever to owe any thing to secret influence: I will not even be

be the minister of a great and free people on any condition derogatory to my honour as a gentleman.

“It is impossible,” continued he, “not to be surpris’d at the extreme eagerness of the honourable gentleman about our places, when twenty-four hours at most, would give him full satisfaction. Is the honourable gentleman’s youth the only account that can be given of the strange precipitancy and anxiety which he betrays upon this occasion? If however a change must take place, and a new ministry is to be formed and supported, not by the confidence of this house or the public, but the sole authority of the crown, I for one shall not envy the honourable gentleman his situation. From that moment I put in my claim to a monopoly of whig principles. The glorious cause of freedom, of independence, and of the constitution, is no longer his, but mine. In this I have lived, in this I will die. It has borne me up under every aspersion to which my character has been subjected. The resentments of the mean and the aversion of the great, the rancour of the vindictive and the subtlety of the base, the dereliction of friends and the efforts of enemies, have not all diverted me from the line of conduct which I had originally chosen.

“The question before the house involves the rights of parliament in all their consequences and extent. The disease is come to a crisis, and this is the juncture which defines the patient to live or die. The deliberations of this night must decide, whether we are to be freemen or slaves; whether the house of commons shall be the palladium of liberty or the organ of despotism; whether we are henceforth to possess a voice of our

own, or to be the mechanical echo of secret influence. We are robbed of our rights, with a menace of immediate destruction before our face. From this moment farewell to every independent measure. Whenever the liberties of the people, the rights of private property, or the still more sacred privileges of personal safety, are vindicated by this house, the hopes of the public, anxious, eager, and panting for the issue, are to be whispered away, and dispersed to every wind of heaven, by the breath of secret influence. A parliament, thus fettered and controlled, instead of limiting, extends beyond all limit and precedent the prerogative of the crown, and has no longer any use, but to register the decrees of despotism, and the arbitrary mandates of a minister.” At length the house divided upon the question, ayes 153, noes 80; majority 73.

It cannot be doubted, that the situation, in which the country was now involved, was full of speculation and uncertainty, and big with the most alarming consequences. On the one hand, for the crown boldly to enter the lists with the house of commons, was a conduct that had had no example in the annals of the present royal family of Great Britain. Indeed their omnipotence seemed at length on all hands to have been fully admitted: and the kings of England, satisfied with the ample revenues of their civil list; with the complaisance and attention they might naturally expect from their ministers, be they who they would; and with that extensive and overpowering influence, which enabled them, in all common cases, to call into power what party they pleased, appeared quietly to have acquiesced in this limitation of their authority. To resume a claim,

claim, that seemed already to have been yielded, to enter into open war with the house of commons, to bid defiance to their resolutions, to refuse conformity to their representations, and, moved by their want of complaisance and servility, to put an end to their existence, was certainly a conduct by no means eligible, and that demanded much firmness and resolution.

On the other hand, the situation of the prince was critical, and he had gone too far to be able easily to recede. He had shown much displeasure against his present ministers, and that rather in a style of indignation and hostility than of conciliation. To receive them again into confidence, if we consider it under its most favourable aspect, was to sacrifice the feelings of personal dignity and personal pique to the benefit of the community. It was to do something more, it was to yield up a point, which few princes had ever cheerfully yielded, between the prerogative of the crown and the liberties of the people. It were certainly better never to have stirred the question, than to sit down under the disgrace of a recantation. Besides these difficulties, which the case must always have involved, there was one peculiar to the present crisis. The ministers were committed upon their Indian system, and could not, without a total sacrifice of personal independence and the reputation of principle, change the basis of that system. In the mean time, the sovereign had declared himself in the most peremptory language, totally adverse to the measure; and it would have been difficult, not to say impossible, to have discovered a medium, that would preserve unwounded the honour of both.

In this situation, the king did not attempt, what previously to the trial, he judged to be impracticable. He determined upon an entire change of administration. Pursuant to this resolution, at twelve o'clock on the night of the 18th instant, a message was delivered to the secretaries of state, intimating, that his majesty had no farther occasion for their services; and directing that the seals of office should be delivered to him by the under secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable. Early the next morning letters of dismissal, signed Temple, were sent to the other members of the cabinet. Immediately the places of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer were conferred on Mr. William Pitt, lord Temple received the seals as secretary of state, and earl Gower was appointed lord president of the council. In consequence of these proceedings, a general resignation of offices, without almost a single exception, took place to a degree beyond what had ever been remembered in a similar event.

If the house of commons had endeavoured, previously to the adoption of these decisive measures by the prince, to guard against the event of a dissolution, their apprehensions were now much increased. An effort was made by Mr. Dundas on the 19th instant, to induce the house to adjourn to the next day, which was Saturday, for the purpose of reading the land-tax bill a third time, which was the most important business then depending in parliament. This circumstance however, was deemed to afford some kind of protection against their precipitate annihilation, and the adjournment was carried for Monday. On that day the bill

bill was suffered to pass the house of commons. The same day earl Temple resigned the seals of secretary of state, on the plea, that in his private capacity, and unprotected by the influence of office, he might be ready to answer for his conduct, the moment any charge should be produced against him. His resignation was exposed to some degree of ridicule, as the accusation, exactly as it then stood, had been notorious, and even proceedings held upon it in the house of commons, previously to his appointment. On Tuesday the arrangement of a cabinet was nearly completed, lord Thurlow being appointed chancellor, the duke of Rutland keeper of the privy-seal, and the marquis of Carmarthen and lord Sidney secretaries of state.

On Monday the 22d instant, the house being in a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Erskine moved, that an address be presented to the sovereign, "stating, that alarming reports had gone forth of an intended dissolution of parliament, and humbly representing to the king the inconveniencies and dangers that appeared to that house likely to follow from a prorogation or dissolution, in the present conjuncture of affairs; suggesting that the maintenance of public credit, the support of the revenue, the disorders prevailing in the government of the East Indies, and the state of the company's finances, required the immediate assistance of parliament; and representing the ill consequences of referring these last in particular to a new parliament, unprepared by the long and intricate enquiries, which for two years past had engaged the attention of the present house of commons." It concluded with intreating the sovereign "graciously

to hearken to the advice of that house, and not to the secret advice of particular persons, who might have private interests of their own, separate from the true interests of the king and his people."

This address occasioned some debates, but was finally carried without a division. In the course of these debates, Mr. Henry Bankes informed the house that he was authorised by the first lord of the treasury, to assure them that he had no intention to advise a dissolution or prorogation of parliament, and that if any idea of that nature should be adopted by government, he would most certainly resign his present situation. Mr. Bankes went on to intreat the house, if they were not satisfied with these assurances, to furnish him with stronger language in which to express his meaning; and he presumed to hope that now, that the supposed necessity of addressing the king was removed, the opposition would of course let the address drop, and not press it upon the committee. In these assurances and these sentiments he was followed by Mr. Dundas. Mr. Fox however represented what had been thrown out as not sufficient to induce the house to alter their conduct. He had much reliance upon the honour and integrity of Mr. Pitt, but it must be remembered, that the cabinet at this moment consisted only of two persons; and that, when it was completed, it was very possible that the first lord of the treasury might be left in a minority upon this question; nay, the question might be carried against the cabinet itself, by the secret advisers of the crown. In that case it would be a poor compensation to that house and the nation for Mr. Pitt to resign his offices.

On the 24th of December, the address was presented to the king, who returned the following answer.

“ Gentlemen,

“ It has been my constant object to employ the authority intrusted to me by the constitution to its true and only end, the good of my people; and I am always happy in concurring with the wishes and opinions of my faithful commons. I agree with you in thinking, that the support of the public credit and revenue must demand your most earnest and vigilant care. The state of the East Indies is also an object of as much delicacy and importance as can exercise the wisdom and justice of parliament. I trust you will proceed in these considerations with all convenient speed, after such an adjournment as the present circumstances may seem to require; and I assure you, that I shall not interrupt your meeting, by any exercise of my prerogative, either of prorogation or dissolution.”

The same day two resolutions were moved in the house of commons by lord viscount Beauchamp and the earl of Surrey; the one, to prevent the lords of the treasury from permitting the acceptance of any more bills from India, till the company should prove to that house that they had sufficient means for their payment, after having discharged their current demands, and the debt due to the public: the other, to address the king not to grant the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, except during pleasure, before the 20th of January. The ostensible motive for this last resolution was the reformation that had been intended in the court of that duchy. Its

real design probably was to preclude the new administration, whose continuance in office seemed to be extremely precarious, in return for the few days in which they might direct the government of the country, from gratifying their friends with sinecures for life. The resolutions were carried without a division. At length the house adjourned itself from the 26th of December to the 12th day of January 1784. Two days previous to the adjournment, the king came down to the house of lords in order to pass the malt-tax bill, the land-tax bill, and such other bills as were ready for the royal assent.

The recess of parliament could not be unacceptable to either of the great parties into which the nation was divided. The majority of the house of commons, whether they regarded the question in which they had just committed themselves, as referring to a grand constitutional object, or as a medium of private ambition, could not in all events but derive considerable advantage from this circumstance. They no longer either could, or would appear to be, animated by private animosities, by petulance, by rage, or any of the little exacerbations that might be expected to be produced by the collision of factions. Whatever might be their motive, it could not on that account be of the less importance for them to preserve the character of gravity, sobriety and wisdom. It was their business to join moderation with firmness, and not to be less cool than they were unalterable in the assertion of their privileges. And if they had been sufficiently sanguine when they first broke ground in this important contest, their hopes were certainly not a little fostered when they looked

ed to the character of the present cabinet. If in the king, and any of the counsellors they might hypothetically suppose called in to his assistance, they had built upon the probability of instability and irresolution, this probability seemed to be increased by the appointment of a first minister, young and inexperienced, of whose modesty many had talked, and whose fickleness they conceived to bear some proportion to his temerity. It had long been necessary, for an administration, that expected to guide the helm of this country, to embrace a considerable extent of party, connexion and influence. But the present cabinet was made up of the shreds and remnants of parties, whose principals were supposed to be shy of making one in a holiday pastime and an ephemeron administration.

On the other hand the leisure of the present season enabled the ministers to complete their arrangements; to form their system of politics, and to endeavour to gain partisans to the cause in which they were engaged. At the same time that they were thus active in proceedings in some measure common to all administrations, but which are not intended to stand foremost upon the page of history, they were not careless to embrace those opportunities which were calculated to increase their honour and extend their reputation. The patent sinecure of clerk of the polls in the court of exchequer, falling vacant by the death of sir Edward Walpole, it was bestowed upon colonel Barrè in lieu of a pension of nearly the same value, payable to that gentlemen whenever he should be possessed of no office under government. This conduct acquired to the minister the warmest eulo-

giums : eulogiums, that will probably be thought somewhat extravagant, when it is considered, that for him to have taken the place for himself or any of his intimate connexions, all the circumstances of his situation considered, would have been not less indecent, than utterly subversive of all credit for disinterestedness, and of all confidence. Meanwhile young and unexperienced as the new ministers were affected to be represented, it does not therefore appear that they were more awkward or mal-adroit in the pursuit of their designs than any of their predecessors in office. If they did not open the parliament upon its re-assembling, with a majority on their side, this is not to be imputed to their impolicy or their indolence. A circumstance so untoward however required on their part some plan of conduct and some resolution. The ground was either to be fairly and explicitly ceded, or a bold and inflexible countenance assumed. To trifle with their situations, was to sport with the business and the exigencies of the country, without any adequate object by which to justify the procedure ; was to sacrifice, in the most ignominious manner, the sovereign whose champions they had declared themselves ; and was to fix a blot upon their names, which would be as durable as the constitution of Britain, or the records of history.

So early as three o'clock, on the day appointed for the re-assembling of parliament, Mr. Fox rose, in order to gain possession of the house, and moved the order of the day, that the ministers might not be at liberty to bring forward any other business previous to their going into the committee on the state of the nation. He was of course interrupted by the servants of the crown,

crown, who had gone to their reelection, and who now took their seats in parliament. Administration endeavoured to meet the manœuvre by a stratagem on their part, and claimed the first hearing, as they had a message to deliver from the king. This message related to a small party of Hessian troops, which, on account of the inclemency of the season, had been obliged to take up temporary quarters in this kingdom. The argument however was over-ruled, and the house proceeded at the usual period in the channel that had originally been marked out for them.

Opposition had prepared no less than five resolutions, which were this day submitted to the sense of the house. The first, prohibited, under the same appellations that had been employed in the motion against secret influence, the issuing any of the public money after a prorogation or dissolution of parliament, unless the act shall have previously passed, appropriating the supplies to the specific services. The second, ordered accounts to be laid before the house of the money already issued for these purposes. The third, prohibited the issuing of any money till this account should be presented, and for three days afterwards. These resolutions were brought forward by Mr. Fox. In addition to them it was moved by the earl of Surrey, first, "That, in the present situation of his majesty's dominions, it was peculiarly necessary that there should be an administration, which had the confidence of that house and the public." Secondly, "That the late changes in his majesty's councils had been immediately preceded by dangerous and universal reports, that the sacred name of the king had been

unconstitutionally used to affect the deliberations of parliament: and that the appointments made were accompanied by circumstances new and extraordinary, and such as did not conciliate or engage the confidence of that house." In fine, Mr. Fox moved, "That it be ordered, that the second reading of the mutiny bill be deferred to the 23d day of February."

In the debates upon this day, it was observed by the chancellor of the exchequer, that he was by no means anxious to prevent the house from going into the committee. It was not his desire to prevent gentlemen from saying any thing that they might imagine would support the clamour that had been so insidiously raised in the country, the petulance they had shown before the recess, the unjustifiable violence and the unprecedented steps they had employed for the purpose of exciting jealousies for which there was no real foundation. He was happy to see the house met again, that now the ministers of the crown might be able to face the insinuations that were thrown out, and to meet the enquiries that might be agitated; and he assured them, that he would not shrink from any attack, question, or charge, that might be made against him.

He intreated them however to consider that this was the first day that the new ministers had met them in parliament. They had been constituted and called into office chiefly on the ground of the India bill. They had not opposed the last bill by cavilling: they had not objected to it from envy to the parents of it. They had opposed it because it created a new and enormous influence by vesting in certain nominees of the minister the patronage of the East. This was the

the point upon which they were at issue. Their first duty was to lay before parliament a system for the government of India. This he was prepared immediately to perform, if the house would agree with him in postponing the order of the day. And he hoped, whenever the subject was brought forward, that gentlemen would lay aside pique, party and prejudice, and meet him fairly and simply upon the merits of his bill.

But he should be asked, why he had accepted of office, and how he could presume to expect attention to his system, when a majority of that house seemed to have declared war against him. To this he would reply, that he had proceeded upon one plain, single, intelligible principle, and his conduct would be understood and applauded by the nation and the world. He had come in to save the country from the India bill, which threatened destruction to its liberties. In this critical situation, when it was endeavoured to force that despotic system upon the king and the people, the sovereign had done him the honour to call for his services. It was impossible therefore, that by receding he could lay the prince and the nation at the mercy of the authors of that bill. It had been suggested, that it was dishonourable to hold an office in government in defiance of a majority of the house of commons. To this he would say, that his honour was in his own keeping, and he would not allow that any other man could prescribe to him the line in which it was to be preserved.

But they were called upon to vote, that administration had not the confidence of that house. Upon what action of the ministers was this vote to be founded? What had they done to forfeit the confi-

dence of the house of commons? They had not taken a single step; they had not entered upon any measure. What then would be the tendency of this vote, but to proscribe one set of ministers, and to thrust another set into the closet of the sovereign? It would be more manly to insert the names of the ministers whose appointment they demanded, in the resolution, and to save to the prince the miserable and ridiculous farce of appointing men in the choice of whom he had no share. But it was the prerogative of the king, the most sacred and honourable privilege annexed to the crown, and which he would upon all occasions vindicate and assert, to elect its own ministers. Parliament indeed had a right to demand their dismissal, if upon trial they were found incompetent and improper; but to do this in the first instance, was to engross to themselves the executive branch of the constitution, and to reduce the diadem of these kingdoms to a splendid and unmeaning pageant.

The arguments of Mr. Pitt were answered considerably in detail by Mr. Fox and Mr. Thomas Erskine. It was asserted by the latter, that the whole opposition on the score of India was a pretext, and that it had been equally violent on the ground of the late coalition, before the system for the government of India had been introduced into parliament. He said, that he did not conceive it to be very decent in the minister to tell that house, that he had come into office to save the country from the mischiefs of the India bill. The India bill was not the bill of an individual, but the bill of the house of commons, carried through it by a most respectable and honourable majority of almost two to one. He was asto-

nished

nished that when the affairs of India were the first objects of government, Mr. Pitt could venture to take upon him the conduct of government in a house of commons, adverse to all his principles upon the subject, and the majority of which he had loaded with the most opprobrious epithets. He was astonished, that he could expect to continue one day the minister of this country, in that situation.

Mr. Erskine drew a contrast between Mr. Pitt and the late earl of Chatham. He said, that the earl of Chatham had uniformly thrown himself for his political existence upon the support of the house of commons. He had come into office in defiance of the efforts of cabal and intrigue. It was by the secret advisers of the crown that his measures had been defeated, that his reputation had in some measure been darkened, and that he had accepted of a peerage for which his best friends never heartily forgave him. It had been the subject of his most serious lamentation that he had found "a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself." In imitation of the glorious example that was set him, the son, in his first appearances in that house, had supported the genuine cause of liberty. Every eye had been turned upon him with heart-felt pleasure, and he had been the object of joy and idolatry to the nation.

——— Look you now what follows.

Dark, secret influence, like a mildewed ear,

Blasting this public virtue. Has he eyes!
Could he this bright assembly leave to
please,

To batten on that bench!

The parallel started by Mr. Erskine, was pursued by Mr. Fox, who predicted, that Mr. Pitt would

one day experience the fate of his father, and would have reason to rue his having ever abetted that secret influence, which, if he should at any time become respectable, formidable and independent, would most assuredly undermine his power, and effect his ruin. Mr. Fox had much veneration for the character of the young man who now held the reins of government; he admired his virtues, and respected his abilities. But what was the language his appointment exhibited to every member of that house? Was it not saying to him: "Spend not your time in politics; cease to study the constitution of your country; aim not at distinction and eminence in the senate; study rather the arts of ductility and secret intrigue; these are much better calculated to give you distinction in the state; these will render you the object of royal regard." Mr. Pitt himself, if he would conciliate the favour of a monarch who acted upon these principles, must sacrifice every ingenuous quality in his nature. He must substitute cunning instead of wisdom, complaisance instead of honesty, and meanness instead of fortitude and magnanimity.

But it was improper for the house to enter into a vote of censure against ministers, since the appointment of ministers was the prerogative of the crown. It certainly was, and let no man expect from the majority of that house a different language. At the same time the privilege of the house to demand from the crown the removal of ministers, was not less clear and unequivocal. This indeed was admitted. But it was said that the commons had not a right in the first instance to reject the appointment of ministers, and that they were

were bound to give such men as the sovereign should think fit to chuse a probation, candid and impartial. Would any man however say, that the crown might not trust the great offices of state to hands so perfectly unequal, that it might be proper for the house of commons to meet the mischief before it had run its full career, and to advise the sovereign to dismiss administration before any gross act of misconduct had been committed? But leaving this supposition out of the question, might there not be circumstances in the appointment itself, big with as much mischief, acting as inimically to the first principles of the constitution, as any that could possibly be incident to their subsequent conduct? And was it in any degree improper, could it be imputable to the house of commons, that they overstepped their peculiar province, or intrenched upon any of the other branches of the legislature, if in such a case they set themselves strenuously to oppose the impending danger, and nobly defended the public weal from being undermined to its basis?

Mr. Fox did not wish to give any delay to the India business. It was the duty of the house to go into the discussion of it without loss of time, and as soon as it was possible to go to it with the probability of success. To do that, they must go to it unembarrassed and with freedom; and this he averred they could not do while the danger of dissolution hung over their heads. That they were under this danger was clear and unquestionable. It was meanly and equivocally couched in the answer to the address of that house. It was in the rumours of the day. It was the spirit of every part of the conduct

of ministers. This was the language of their proceedings: "If you dare to assert an opinion of your own, nay, if you do not without reason or argument change your sentiments, you shall be dissolved. But if you do change your opinion, if you support the ministers of the day, you shall live; long life and prosperity to the present parliament!" It had been doubted, and that by a lawyer no less great and venerable than lord Somers, whether it were in the prerogative of the crown to dissolve the parliament during the progress of a session. Mr. Fox was not lawyer enough to go to that length with lord Somers; but if it were a prerogative, it was at least like the undoubted privilege of the house of commons to refuse supplies to the crown, a privilege that could never be put in practice without extreme confusion, and which was not to be called forth but in the last resort.

Mr. Dundas, who had just accepted the office of treasurer of the navy, spoke in reply to the animadversions of opposition. Mr. Dundas said it was extremely easy for Mr. Fox, with a majority at his back, to draw down the indignation of the house on the head of any individual member under the pretence of his insulting the house. But they had little reason to fear the consequences, while they could plead the example of that gentleman himself. Had the house forgotten what for twelve years together had been the language of Mr. Fox? Had they forgotten the American war, and the great variety of topics that had been discussed in the course of it, during which on no occasion had he spared those, whom he found it convenient to attack in the most bitter, opprobrious and unqualified language, merely be-

cause they were supported by a majority of that house?

Mr. Dundas intreated the commons to go with him in reflecting for a moment, how the sovereign must feel, and what sort of language he must hold to himself, when he heard of these resolutions. "You send me back the ministers I have just chosen: have I not then a right to chuse my ministers? Certainly yes, you say. But What crime have they committed? what is it they have so soon perpetrated? Not one act of their administration is yet passed. Are they therefore men so weak and insufficient that you will not bear with them even for a moment? Is the minister who devotes himself to the house of commons particularly so unpopular and incapable? I had singled him out as a man of talents the most astonishing, of integrity the most incorrupt, of reputation the most exalted. I had fondly imagined him the favourite of my people. I had been taught to fancy that in celebrating his name the whole nation joined in one anthem of praise."

Mr. Dundas treated the charge of secret influence as ridiculous, and capable only of deceiving the meanest of the vulgar. No men had ever stood clearer of secret influence than the present administration. What was the utmost that common report itself, the patron and fabricator of lies, had ever said? That lord Temple had indiscreetly, wantonly, and it might perhaps be said unconstitutionally, published the private opinion of the sovereign on the subject of the India bill, and that in consequence of this step, and through the tergiversation of the lords of the bed-chamber, the bill had been thrown out in the other house. But was lord Temple a minister? Did lords

of the bed-chamber compose the cabinet of the prince? Who therefore were the men that the resolution meant to slander? Mr. Dundas called upon lord Surrey to amend his motion, and to charge in it by name every minister of the king on whose character he meant the stigma to light. He desired any man even to insinuate, that one member of administration had ever had the least share in that secret influence, in a retrospect of which they were to be turned out of office. They were not even accused; they had a right to be accused, and they would deny every tittle of the imputation.

The contrary assertion however was strenuously maintained by the other side of the house. They entered into a history of the present administration, and asked, What it was that must be regarded as the most probable inducement of any peer to tarnish his honour, and become the message-carrier of the crown, but the prospect of undue and personal advantage? No other cause but that of secret influence was capable of being produced as the ground of the overthrow of an administration of high integrity, of great ability, and fully enjoying the confidence of the people and their representatives. The nobleman who had been the vehicle of that influence was intimately connected with the politics of the individuals composing the present administration. He had himself been their fore-runner in office, and the chancellor of the exchequer had just as much analogy to secret influence, as the creature had to its creator.

Mr. Fox regarded the situation of the minister as a conspicuous proof of the ground upon which he stood. What was the reason that induced lord North to resign his situation

situation at the head of the treasury, but that he refused, in conformity to the wishes of the secret advisers of the crown, to continue in office after the house of commons had withdrawn from him their support? This was the cause that had of late rendered that nobleman so obnoxious in the closet. But what he nobly and like a lover of the British constitution had refused to do, the present administration had been called in to perform. They were to exhibit to the public the novel example of the servants of the crown continuing in office without the confidence of that house. They came in therefore under the auspices of secret influence, and the avowed champions of prerogative. Mr. Fox had himself been much in the habit of differing from a majority, but it was upon points in which he had no concern as the servant of the public. This was a proceeding of which there were daily examples, and which had never been considered as a ground of accusation against any man. If he had at any time found the sense of the house against him as a minister, he should immediately have resigned, and have said to parliament, You must find some other instrument to do your business, I will never be the agent in a cause I do not approve.

The third motion proposed by Mr. Fox was withdrawn, for a time at least, on account of some public inconveniences that were represented as springing from it. In the course of the day there were two divisions, one, upon the motion for the order of the day, the other upon the concluding resolution proposed by lord Surrey. In the former the numbers were ayes 232, noes 193, majority 39: in the second, ayes 196, noes 142,

majority 54. The house did not break up till near seven in the morning.

On the 16th of January a motion was made by lord Charles Spencer, and seconded by Mr. Wm. Baker, grounded on the resolutions lately offered to the house by the earl of Surrey, and asserting, "That the continuance of the present ministers in trusts of the highest importance and responsibility, was contrary to the principles of the constitution, and injurious to the interests of the king and his people." Upon this question the house divided, ayes 205, noes 184, majority 21.

During the discussion of these subjects, the opposite parties were actuated by a much higher degree of earnestness and animosity than usually takes place in parliamentary debates. In consequence of this temper various little anecdotes were dragged into public view, which at any other time the general spirit of prudence and good humour would have suppressed. Mr. Philip Yorke, nephew and heir to the earl of Hardwicke, brought forward, with much solemnity and emphasis, a charge against the ex-ministers, of having during their continuance in office sent down to Scotland the sum of 500l. to defray the travelling expences of such members of parliament in that country as were in the interest of government; and of having more recently offered to a gentleman in that house a place of 500l. a year on the event of their restoration to office, under the express stipulation that he should in the mean time lend them his voice and support in parliament. The accusations however were completely wiped away by the Portland administration in the opinion of all sides of the house;

and the manly and intrepid manner in which they met the charge, gained some additional credit to their character. On their side, general Ross related in a circumstantial manner an interview that had passed between him and the earl of Galloway, lately appointed a lord of the bed-chamber in which he represented the earl as having assured him, that whoever voted in support of the late ministers would be considered by the king as his personal enemy. At the same time some strictures were made, and particularly by sir Richard Hill, upon the conduct of the prince of Wales, who about this time frequently appeared in the gallery of the house of commons, and who had voted with the Portland administration in the lords upon one of the questions relative to Mr. Fox's India bill.

On the 14th of January the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his projected motion, for leave to bring in a bill for the better government of India. He rose in performance of his engagement to the public and the house, and to discharge a duty that was indispensable to him in the situation which he held. He was not deterred by the circumstances of the times, or the peculiar situation in which he stood with that assembly; because he knew the subject of India to be the most immediate concern of the country, and that which before all things claimed the consideration of parliament. He was aware that any proposition that came from him was not likely to be treated with lenity, and indeed from what he had heard, he must be permitted to apprehend, that from some persons it would obtain neither impartiality nor justice. He anticipated the triumph which he should afford to a certain description of men, when

he informed the house that the plan he had to propose had been exhibited to the public in the resolutions of the proprietors of India stock, and that his ideas had received the concurrence of the company. He was not much affected with the clamour, that his was to be a half measure and a palliative, if in this description was to be included every thing that did not proceed to the confiscation of property, and the disfranchisement of a numerous and respectable body of men. He confessed himself to be so miserably weak and irresolute, as not to venture to introduce a bill into that house on the foundations of violence and intrenchment. He wished to be tried by a comparison with the bill of Mr. Fox, and he trusted to the candour and fairness of the house, that if they found the provisions of his bill as effectual with less violence, affording as vigorous a controul with less possibility of influence, securing the dominion of the East without confiscating the property of the company, and beneficially changing the nature of their government without infringing on the chartered rights of men, that they would give him a manly and liberal support without enquiring what party of men or what side of the house was to be benefited by his success. He trusted they would not love his plan the less for being destitute of the rapidity, the grasping principle, the enormous influence, the inordinate ambition and the unconstitutional tendencies of the bill that had been rejected. He trusted they would find he had not objected to that bill from motives of personality and caprice, and was now to seduce them into the approbation of a measure, more speciously coloured, but in truth stolen from that

that to which he had denied his assent.

The general objects to be provided for in the formation of a system for India were the civil and military government, the revenues, and the commerce. The question respecting the persons in whom the property of their territories vested, had never been finally settled. There were claims to be ascertained, and interests to be divided. The claims of prescription and general justice were to be attended to; the happiness of the natives was to be studied; and last of all, they were to consider what were likely to be the effects of the government of India on the government of Britain; how it might affect our constitution in point of influence, and how it might be rendered at once vigorous and unalarming. In his attempt to secure these points, he would lay down certain principles that to him appeared indispensable. The civil and military government of India, or in other words, the imperial dominion of our territories in the East, ought to be placed under other control than that of the company of merchants in Leadenhall-street, the control of the genuine and legitimate executive branch of the constitution. The commerce of the company should be left as much as possible to their own superintendence: commerce ought always to be left to the merchant unshackled, unembarrassed with interferences, which might impede its current, and diminish its security. Finally, capricious effects from the government of India on the constitution of Britain were to be assiduously avoided. Mr. Pitt understood well, that it was more easy to exhibit principles than to adopt provisions. He only exhibited them to serve as land-marks to the

house in the examination of his system, since he should succeed or fail, just so far as he reached, or came short of these ideas.

A control in the executive branch of our legislature over the concerns of the company, was not new; it had been established by the bill of 1773. But the former interference of ministers had not been beneficial, because it had not been active and vigilant. His proposal therefore was, that a board should be instituted for this individual purpose, to be appointed by the king, and to consist of the secretary of state for the home department, the chancellor of the exchequer, and a certain number of the privy council. The dispatches of the company were to be submitted to this board, were to be subject to their control, and were not to be sent to India till countersigned by them. In order to prevent questions, respecting what those things might be, that belonged to the commercial and to the political concerns of the company, it was proposed, that the dispatches upon the former subject should be submitted to the board, and that, in case of any difference, the appeal should be to the king in council. The company had cheerfully yielded to the crown the appointment of the councils abroad. This concession Mr. Pitt had not accepted. He thought however that the appointment of the commander in chief should be clearly in the crown. He proposed that he should have a voice in the council next after the president; that the king should be empowered to bestow the reversion of his office; that the king might recal the governor-general, the presidents, and any members of their councils. He yielded the appointment of all officers, with the single exceptions he had stated, to

the court of directors, subject to the approbation of the king, and that in case of a negative, the directors should proceed to a second choice, and so *toties quoties*. He took from the court of proprietors their privilege of rescinding or altering the proceedings of the court of directors. With respect to the government abroad, it was Mr. Pitt's idea, that their authority should comprise in it a considerable discretion, accompanied with the restraint of responsibility. He proposed, that there should be a revision of the establishments in India with a view to retrenchments, that appointments should take place by gradation, and that there should be erected a new and summary tribunal for the trial of offences committed in that country. The chancellor of the exchequer admired the spirit of Mr. Fox's bill with respect to the zemidars; but he thought general indiscriminate restitution as bad as indiscriminate confiscation. He proposed therefore that an enquiry should be instituted for the purpose of restoring such as had been irregularly and unjustly deprived, and that they should be secured against violence in future. These last provisions were not included in the bill he had prepared for the consideration of the house, but they formed a part of his general ideas for the reformation of India.

The bill was brought up by Mr. Pitt, and read a first time on the 16th of January. The second reading was appointed for that day seven-night. In the investigation that was made into the merits of the system, Mr. Fox observed that it was his intention to consider it dispassionately, and with the deference and candour it deserved. He hoped no person would suspect him of

prejudice on a point, which so materially affected the prosperity and character of the nation, and the welfare and happiness of a vast number of the human race.

The evils existing in the administration of India were great and enormous. They derived from the want of energy in the government at home, and the undue and corrupt influence by which the servants of the company had been enabled to dictate to the proprietors and the directors. Mr. Pitt had challenged a comparison with the bill that had passed the house of commons, and it was their business to compare them in their various tendencies to correct these evils, and to obtain the advantages of a good, an humane and permanent government. The bill under consideration, by continuing the powers of the court of directors, and by rendering them dependent for their existence upon the proprietors, had no tendency to eradicate any mischief, or to obtain any valuable improvement. Matters were allowed to move on in their former track. Those who superintended must look to their constituents, and these might still be decided not by motives of public utility, not by the sentiments of cool deliberation, but by corrupt influence and personal interest. No where was the connection between representative and constituent bodies better exemplified than in that house. There every man wished to accommodate himself to the inclinations of the electors, and was anxious to conciliate their approbation, friendship and good offices, that he might not be dismissed. Equal to and greater than this must be the influence of the servants abroad over their masters at home, since they had not only the power of election in the first instance,

stance, but the means of corruption in the second.

Another objection to the bill was that it insured no effective mode of obedience. According to every respectable idea of jurisprudence, the executive authority in every well regulated government, ought to be placed in as few hands as possible. This was the constant theme of those who declaimed on the advantages of monarchical government; and their reasonings ought certainly to be admitted, so far as they were agreeable to the maxims of freedom. The governors however in the present system were not only numerous, but they consisted of two distinct bodies, constituted on different principles, actuated by various motives, and influenced, as it might sometimes happen, by opposite interests. The one is to have the power of nomination, the other the privilege of recal. In the same manner, the civil governor was to be appointed by one party, and the commander in chief by another. But was it not the first object of every well-regulated society to preserve an entire correspondence between the civil and the military government, and a complete subordination of the former to the latter? The author of the bill had foreseen, that between powers so independent of each other, an appeal would be sometimes unavoidable; and where was it lodged? In one of themselves, in a party concerned, who could not in the eye either of equity or law, interested as he was in the issue of the plea, act with fairness and candour. Legislatures had never appeared so ridiculous as in forming laws, which made no allowance for the imperfections of human nature. In so divided a government as this, where could there exist either energy or

execution? Founded in principles so heterogeneous, how could it be other than the constant victim of internal distraction?

By this bill, the governor-general was to have the same powers of interior regulation as he had before. Did not the very aspect of this system hold out the most flattering encouragement to all the various modes of intrigue, speculation and outrage, which had been brought into use in that miserable quarter of the globe? Could succession and gradation be easily established under an officer possessing the very same privileges, as those, with which it has been so long the habit to act without regard to order or merit? Was it likely that these abuses would be avoided at a distance which rendered discipline impracticable? But this bill provided the remedy of recal. And of what value was this remedy? Did not all the officers of state, whether political or military, depend upon the governor-general? Would they not regard him therefore as one in whose official existence they were peculiarly interested? Would they not, if he should chuse to be refractory, strengthen his principles of disobedience? The governor-general must be more than man to withstand so potent a temptation. Surrounded and fortified by a variety of individuals in every department of life, who owed their existence to him, it was not the orders of a body of men however respectable, that were in a great measure unconnected with the country in which he resided, that could affect him.

A considerable source of objection to the bill which had been adopted by that house, had been the influence it was supposed to create. The bill of Mr. Pitt created an equal proportion of influence,

fluence, but lodged in different hands, and exerted in a different manner. The present bill lodged it in the crown; by the former it had been placed in parliamentary commissioners. Whatever influence had been embraced by that bill, had been avowedly for the purpose of creating a strong and efficient control in this country over our possessions in India. It was full of openness, responsibility and fairness; every thing was to be canvassed with freedom in that house. But the present plan carried upon the face of it, the features of its authors, and the circumstances to which they owed their existence. It was full of dark design, and secret influence. Would any man say, that the appointment of the servants of the company upon this system, would not in fact originate in the crown, and that the most extensive patronage would not be derived to it? But this was done in a covert and concealed manner, under the auspices of inviolable prerogative, and unaccompanied with the character of responsibility.

To finish the character of this system, and its comparison with that by which it had been preceded, Mr. Fox would observe, that the one had gone substantially, effectually and permanently to a regulation of an entire system of Asiatic management, the other partially, imperfectly and superficially. Every degree of confusion and distraction that could be supposed, was not merely not provided against, but was actually fostered and brought into existence by the bill now proposed. Mr. Pitt had some time since suggested to the house, that he had formed a plan for the reform of India, in order to induce them to reject the bill of the late

ministers. He had employed the entire Christmas recess in correcting and completing his system: and now in the mature and polished state in which he had submitted it to the consideration of parliament, what was its character? Were Mr. Fox to give a schoolboy an exercise, how he might most effectually involve the affairs of the company, he believed the invention of man could not have hit on an expedient so likely to answer the purpose. He was therefore decidedly against the principle and regulations of the present bill. It tended to no reformation at home, and no correction of abuses abroad. It tended not to remedy any of the evils which had subsisted for so long a time, or to put a period to those barbarities, which had stigmatised and rendered infamous the character of Britain and the annals of India. If adopted, the company might send out their orders to their servants, they might, as in former instances, replenish their letters with morals and ethics, but he did not hesitate to say, that our Eastern possessions would be irrecoverably lost to this country.

Mr. Lushington, a director of the East India company, remarked to the house, that the fact respecting the concurrence of that company had been mistated. The propositions of the minister had not been communicated to the directors, at least so as to have their acquiescence, prior to the discussion in the court of proprietors. He related circumstantially the hurry and precipitation with which they had been carried through the latter court. He complained from these circumstances, of not having obtained an opportunity of delivering his sentiments upon them at the India-house. It was asserted how-

ever by commodore Johnstone, that the matter of their being submitted to the proprietors previously to the directors was purely accidental; that they had since been discussed in the court of directors, that they had there met with no opposition, and that they had been unanimously agreed to, though Mr. Lushington himself was present. At length the house divided upon the question for the bill's being sent to a committee, ayes 214, noes 222, majority 8.

The question was no sooner disposed of, than Mr. Fox rose, in order to secure the existence of parliament upon the supposed faith of the king's answer, by moving for leave to bring forward again, under certain modifications, his bill for vesting the affairs of India in the hands of certain commissioners or directors. Upon this occasion he remarked, that he was ready, in deference to the sense of some very respectable gentlemen, to yield to them every part of his bill, except the two grand principles of having a government at home, and a permanent government. He was ready in particular to give up the affair of the patronage, though he conceived the cession to be upon the whole inimical to the measure, and to suffer matters to run in the channel of succession and regular gradation.

The house of commons was now excited to the highest degree of uneasiness and anxiety upon the point of a dissolution. The question was not less interesting to every individual within those walls, than to what the majority conceived to be the cause of freedom and the community. The answer of the king to the address that had been presented previously to the Christmas recess contained in it something of ambiguity, and had experienced

various interpretations. By Mr. Fox it was observed, that the phrase, of "not interrupting the meeting of parliament," was fallacious and sophistical; and that its design apparently was to hold the sword of dissolution suspended over the commons, to descend upon them or not, as they should appear in their conduct to be intrepid or servile. It was remarked however by some of his friends, that they did not apprehend from that answer, that there was any intention to dissolve or prorogue the parliament. They would not read the answer with the eye of a special pleader, but as the king admitted the necessity of vigilance and attention to public affairs, they conceived that he admitted as a just inference, that an interruption of the proceedings of the house would be prejudicial to them. If any minister, it was added, had put such a fallacy, as this must be upon any other interpretation, into the most sacred mouth in the kingdom, he had grossly insulted the house of commons, and been guilty of a piece of duplicity, that would have disgraced the lowest pettifogger in practice; of which a Newgate solicitor would have been ashamed. The comments of different persons upon the answer being thus irreconcilable, the chancellor of the exchequer was now called upon from all sides of the house to give a satisfactory explanation of its meaning.

It was long before Mr. Pitt could be prevailed upon by the extreme and apparent anxiety both of his friends and his opponents, to rise from his seat or utter a single word upon this delicate question. He at length rose to remark that it would be much unbecoming in him to comment upon the words of a gracious answer of the sovereign deli-

delivered from the throne. It was however objected to him that this was a new doctrine; that the answers of the king and the speeches from the throne, were regarded by the constitution as the speeches of the minister, that he was responsible for them, and that of course it belonged to him to explain them when they were not sufficiently understood. To this he replied, that the argument which had been employed, was with him a strong reason for refusing to give an explanation in his place, as an individual member of the house of commons, and for which he was not responsible, of an answer in which his responsibility was involved as a minister of the sovereign. He added, that he would never compromise or bargain away the prerogative of the king, by promising generally, and without any expression of limitation or qualification, not to exercise the prerogative of dissolving parliament in the course of a session. For the rest he would not descend to answer interrogatories which he did not think individuals intitled to put to him. He had not long been accustomed to the violence of that house, or to their harsh language; but he had been long enough accustomed to it, to assure them that neither unsupported slander, nor intemperate language, should ever succeed to discompose his mind.

In the course of this debate several members, and among them some of the greatest favourers of the present administration, rose, and successively pressed the chancellor of the exchequer to give some decision respecting a dissolution of parliament. His obstinate and invincible silence at length spread a general opinion among the commons, that the event would be an-

nounced to the public the next morning. The consternation that took place on this conviction was extreme. The ill humour and discontent of the house rose to the highest pitch; and such appeared to be their temper at the moment, that any resolution, tending to throw a difficulty or cast a stigma upon that measure, would probably have been carried by a great majority. Mr. Fox at length interposed with the house. He requested them to give the chancellor of the exchequer time to recover from the chagrin into which the rejection of his bill might have thrown him, and he prevailed upon them to suspend all farther proceedings to the next day, which was Saturday. Mr. Pitt however having on that day in answer to the interrogatory of Mr. Powys, informed the house, that he had no intention to prevent their meeting on the following Monday, and added, that the situation of the country was such as would, in his opinion, render an immediate dissolution of parliament a very improper measure, they immediately broke up. On Monday a resolution was entered into by the commons, moved by Mr. Eden, and seconded by Mr. Charles Marham, purporting, "That it appeared to that house that the king's answer contained assurances upon which they could not but most firmly rely, that he would not by the prorogation or dissolution of parliament, interrupt them in the consideration of proper measures, for regulating the affairs of the East India company, and supporting the public credit and revenues of this country: objects which in the opinion of the king, the house and the public, could not but demand their most immediate and unremitting attention."

C H A P. IV.

Addresses. Meeting at the St. Alban's Tavern. Efforts for an Union. Resolutions of the Lords. Question of the Supplies. Dissolution.

SINCE we have been able to look back, in a manner somewhat calm and disinterested, upon this great contest, it seems to have been the universal opinion, that if the two parties had been left to themselves, and the people of England had stood by, the mute and silent spectators of the solemn transaction, the house of commons must infallibly have been the victors. Without their concurrence no public business could have been pursued. To have maintained them therefore in existence during their natural term, or for any considerable period, would have been to have yielded the contest, and to have thrown down the cherished defences of monarchy. To have dissolved them, upon the supposition we have stated, must have been a nugatory measure. The nation took no part in the contest, the house of commons must therefore be presumed to retain the same character notwithstanding the incidental and unimportant event of a re-election. Of consequence the republican part of our constitution must have gained new strength; what has usually been understood by the term of our liberties must have been extended; and the limitations of monarchy must have been, shall we say, brought within a narrower compass, or only more accurately defined and more immutably established?

Such then were the ideas of that large and powerful body of men in this country who had inlisted themselves under the standard

of the coalition. Such were their sanguine expectations, and such the undoubtingness of their confidence. Filled with the impression of large measures, rapid and comprehensive systems, and grand constitutional questions, they lost in the vast ocean of eternal politics, those little, trifling, imperceptible circumstances, which should ever claim a share in the attention and disquisitions of the statesman. While the heavens were clear over their heads, while the blue expanse stretched in all its radiance on every side, they did not perceive that little cloud in the corner of the scene, which was quickly to overspread their hemisphere, and to brew the dreadful storm that overwhelmed their systems with undistinguished ruin.

The vulgar, by which we would not be understood exclusively to mean the poorer part of the community, are seldom disposed to give a very implicit credit to the professions of heroic virtue. Every man is to himself the standard of his nature, and of those emotions of the soul which he is not inured to feel, he is not easily induced to credit the existence. The man particularly, who by the sweat of his brow earns the subsistence of his family, conceives that that lucre, which his situation obliges him to make almost the indeviante object of his attention, is upon a larger scale the object alike of the bearded sage, the solemn pedant, the supple courtier, and the haughty statesman. To descend to a common and obvious in-

instance, we have heard it frequently enquired by persons of this class, what is the salary that is annexed to the station of a member of parliament: nor is it possible to persuade them, that for mere honour, dignity and rank, unconnected with any emolument, men would labour so hard, and disburse so lavishly.

If they are ever to be persuaded to entertain liberal and charitable sentiments of any man, it is of the man whom they conceive to be overwhelmed with adversity, and to be borne hard upon by the unfeeling hand of power. Thus situated, the long opposition to the administration of sir Robert Walpole, and the long opposition to the administration of lord North, alike obtained to themselves a flourishing and enviable reputation. But when opposition has once gained the ends of its existence, when it has placed itself in the situation of the men against whom its efforts were directed, it also participates their fate. There is no article that makes a more conspicuous figure in the received and orthodox creed, than that of the poet; "It is the bright day that brings forth the adder:" and however the virtues of adversity may sometimes be preserved in prosperity, in the jealous and illiberal criticism of the public they are almost never acknowledged. We make not these observations from a particular attachment to any party. For ourselves, we are persuaded of the integrity of the leaders of both; that is, we are persuaded that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox in the contest we are relating, each of them believed his predominant motive to be the public welfare.

"A man's reputation," says Hamlet, "may survive him half a year;" and if the administration

of lord Rockingham retained its public honours entire for near three months after it came into power, this is to be looked upon as partaking of the nature of a miracle. In the unfortunate dissensions that ensued upon the death of that nobleman, each party lost much; and from that moment a great part of the public looked with scepticism and contempt upon the patriotism of both. In the subsequent coalition, between Mr. Fox and the great object of his political persecution, whatever may be its merit as a measure of general policy, there were all those specious circumstances which appeal immediately to the scorn of the multitude, and which excite prejudices almost invincible.

It were however unphilosophical and childish to affirm, that circumstances, which did little more than bring back the multitude to the opinion they are inured to entertain of men in power, could alone have produced very formidable effects. An appeal which has a much stronger and more decisive effect is to be traced to the new burthens which in times of public misfortune the statesman is obliged to impose upon the community at large. Fortunate is the minister whose invention in this kind, however prolific, escapes untarnished from the scrutiny of meagre poverty and successful avarice, of political impotence on the one hand and supercilious indolence on the other. It was from circumstances of this sort that the receipt tax, a source of revenue which obtained the applause of many unprejudiced thinkers of all parties, proved the basis of a more extensive and deep-rooted unpopularity than was almost ever created by any single unconnected measure. Of the two distributions we have

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made, it fell upon that which has much weight in the common weal, and which is ever eager to have this weight perceived and acknowledged. It disturbed old habits, it opposed rooted prejudices, and it gave trouble and inconvenience to such, as are not easily turned from their accustomed line of practice, and are not proverbially known for their conformity and compliance with the inclinations or supposed advantage of another. An imposition that would have fallen upon the poor, the helpless and unprotected, that would have forced the necessary bread from the hard hand of the peasant, would probably have come off with a milder fate.

Soured by the receipt tax, taught to hold administration as cheap and worthless by the coalition, the next object of attention to the people of England was Mr. Fox's India bill. Measures of general policy have often been adopted by the wily, insidious courtier, as the obvious subjects of craft and delusion. To the philanthropist they come recommended by their apparent wisdom and beneficence; the man of sentiment and taste perceives in them something of the sublime, the magnificent and the pathetic; and as they are little level to the comprehension of the vulgar, they more successively throw a veil over the incroachments of power, and the sinister exertions of self-interested hypocrisy. On the other hand it must be granted, that measures of great and enlarged policy are peculiarly exposed in their outset, to obloquy and censure. It is a maxim of comprehensive philosophy, that all private evil terminates in universal good. The converse of this principle, that all extensive sublimary good comprehends in its march a degree of partial mischief,

is not less true. The good that is procured, as it is extended to greater numbers, falls in a more slender portion to every individual. The mischief, the more private and the more isolated it is, is the more strongly felt, and the more deeply resented. But what is of still greater consequence is the peculiar degree in which such measures are exposed to the danger of misapprehension and misrepresentation. By these the most alarming fears may be created in men who are least of all connected with the business, and the most intemperate opposition in those who are to derive from it the greatest benefits. These considerations might alone account in a considerable degree for the unpopularity of the India bill. But, if we add to them the many serious objections that were taken up by men, the most independent in their principles, the most untarnished in their integrity, we shall no longer be at a loss for a source of the most comprehensive and alarming consequences.

Influenced by some or all of these causes, the common-council of the city of London had in the first instance got up, along with the East-India company, to represent their objections to both houses of parliament. On the 16th of January the same body presented an address to the sovereign, expressing the infinite concern with which they had lately beheld the progress of a measure, inimical to the prerogatives of the crown, to the chartered rights of the East-India company, and to the safety of this free government. They thanked the king for the dismissal of his late ministers, expressed their admiration of the conduct of the house of lords, and declared their resolution always to support the constitutional exercise

of prerogative. This address was almost immediately followed by similar addresses from the merchants and traders of the city of London, from the city of Norwich, and from various other populous and respectable places.

The contagion seemed now to be gradually extending itself from one part of the kingdom to another, and every gazette threatened the ruling party in the house of commons with three or four representations of this kind. But it was impossible, that so considerable a body of men should look with supineness upon proceedings of so alarming a nature, or should not endeavour to stem the torrent which threatened destruction to all their schemes and all their prospects. Superior in abilities, equal at least in property and personal influence, lately possessed of the most enviable popularity, full of confidence and full of resources, they were not backward to meet the enemy in the field he had chosen, and to provoke the contest at his favourite weapons.

On the 19th of January an advertisement was inserted in the public papers by the sheriffs of London, summoning a county meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex, which had been solicited by the friends of the new administration. On the 21st inst. this meeting was held. The partisans of the house of commons repaired early and in considerable numbers to the place of appointment, and an address was carried by a majority of the meeting, representing to the king the peculiar situation of the country, the necessity there appeared for the utmost exertion and diligence on the part of ministers, and their despair of seeing the smallest success of this kind obtained without the co-operation of parliament: it there-

fore concluded with imploring the sovereign to appoint such an administration, as might possess the confidence of parliament and the public.

Loud and reiterated complaints were however made of this address as having been obtained by art and management. It was particularly said, that the room in which the meeting was held was not sufficiently large to admit the whole body of the freeholders who had come to give their voice, and that a majority had been obtained purely by the superior assiduity of the successful party in previously gaining possession of the room. Influenced by these representations, the same authority appointed a second meeting for the 19th of February. In this meeting every question was carried in a very decisive manner for the new administration.

A contest of the same kind, but carried on with much greater spirit and perseverance, and attended with a more doubtful success, took place in the city of Westminster, of which Mr. Fox was one of the representatives. In this place he possessed every advantage for stemming the tide of popular favour. The city of Westminster constitutes a body of men of a very singular character. It comprehends within its limits an high degree of republican pride and an unlimited servility; much independence of spirit and much aristocratical subordination. Sources of influence so opposite and contradictory in their tenour have seldom been brought under the same management, or wielded by the same hand. With the aristocracy indeed Mr. Fox could boast of the most important advantages. Born of a high and distinguished family, immediately descended from a minister of great abilities,

abilities, and of much weight among the parties into which our government is divided, he seemed to have an hereditary claim to power. What was of more consequence than these, his superior and unequalled abilities, his manly, rapid and astonishing eloquence, were calculated to induce any party, at the head of which he was inclined to place himself, to receive him with open arms. Accordingly from the moment in which he took that regular and untemperish part, which has been maintained by him for several years, he has been able to league with him a connection of men, more formidable in numbers and rank, and more powerful in their influence than any of their competitors. Abilities and wealth are not always united; and there is nothing to be more earnestly desired by a body of men already sufficiently complete in respect to the latter, than to place at their head a man of talents, activity and industry. But these were not all the recommendations of Mr. Fox. He was not less firm and explicit than he was able; and the selfish and ungenerous passions were never known to maintain a successful contest in his breast with the calls of friendship and the emotions of esteem. His noble friends were therefore attached to him in no common degree; and were we to talk in the style of merchandize and calculation, we might say that in his case the established order was reversed, and the indolent and overbearing patron assumed the station of the assiduous and indefatigable dependent.

The aristocratical party in this metropolis, were its parts always harmonised and united with each other, would far outweigh the popular party. But this is by no

means the case. To assert therefore the principles of liberty with the whig and the republican, and to conciliate the kindness of the vulgar, must in this situation be an important object.

In the outset of his political career, Mr. Fox had been much governed by the courtly maxims which had distinguished the conduct of the late lord Holland, and provided he obtained the objects of that passion, by whatever name we chuse to denominate it, which nature had made his ruling one, he cared little about the popular applause which was to attend the pursuit of it. But having differed with the absolute minister of the day, he turned his attention to new objects, and his views became more extended and comprehensive. Friendship, esteem, personal attachments, had been originally proposed by him as the ladder of his ambition. Driven from this hold, he took refuge in the bosom of the people. Naturally of a comprehensive mind, naturally fraught with good humour and general kindness, the field of popular applause seemed to be perfectly congenial to him. And as it was impossible for him to pursue any thing in a cold, indifferent and uninterested manner, he accordingly went very considerable lengths for the attainment of his object. Having obtained a seat in parliament, as the representative of Westminster, he entered into habits of intercourse with a considerable part of his constituents. He met them in public at regular intervals, he appealed to them upon all occasions, and he treated them as the proper and chosen judges of every part of his conduct. One of the disadvantages of popularity did not wholly apply to the present instance. Its transient nature is

counteracted by the habits of personal intercourse, and the partialities of acquaintance and friendship balance in some measure the fickleness and inconstancy of public opinion. Accordingly in the example before us, Mr. Fox, by the unpopular measures in which he had engaged, lost much more with the people of England, than with the inhabitants of Westminster.

On the second of February an address was presented to the king, purporting to be the address of the dean, steward, and burgesses of this city, and thanking his majesty for the removal of his late ministers. This address was immediately censured by an advertisement from a meeting of the electors in the party of Mr. Fox, as having been obtained without public notice, without summoning the inhabitants to a general meeting, and by private solicitations from house to house. Sir Cecil Wray, the colleague of Mr. Fox, who had presented the address, and who upon this occasion ventured to appear among his former partisans, met with a reception so rude and mortifying as to oblige him to take refuge in a sudden retreat. In the mean time the friends of the late minister invited the inhabitants, by public advertisement, to a meeting in Westminster-hall, to consider of an address to the king upon the present situation of affairs. Counter advertisements were issued by the friends of administration; and it having been found necessary by the former, from motives of convenience, to change the day of appointment from the 10th to the 14th instant, a partial meeting was summoned by the latter for the day originally chosen, in the Court of Requests. The persons who came forward upon this occasion were sir

Cecil Wray, Dr. Jebb, lord Mahon, and lord Mountmorres. On the 14th both parties appeared to muster their entire force, and a scene of greater confusion was scarcely ever exhibited under the auspices of the highest authorities in a civilised country. The extremities of party are at all times unamiable. In this case they were provoked (and this is natural) by the party who felt their popularity in almost every corner of the kingdom; and they were met (and this is surely to be excused) by the party who, if they had been silent and inactive upon the occasion, must have given up one of the most important parts of their defence. Meanwhile the sobriety of freedom, and the generous regards of public happiness, were lost in private animosity, contempt, absurdity and barbarism. Vociferation was opposed to vociferation, and tumult to tumult. In the midst of the confusion, an attempt was made by some obscure and contemptible individual to disable, or otherwise materially injure Mr. Fox. Disheartened in spirit, if not overpowered by numbers, his friends at length proposed a division, and drew their forces into the area in the front of the hall. The fascination of party carried the leaders one step farther, and each of them published a body of contradictory resolutions, the one carried by a prodigious majority, the other by a majority of at least six to one. The opposite addresses were exposed for public signature, but that of Mr. Fox was never presented.

The last struggle of the kind we have related, was of all others the most important to the parties concerned, to which they both came with a kind of reluctance and diffidence, and in which the success

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was, if possible, more questionable and uncertain than in the city of Westminster. The county of York greatly exceeds in extent any other division of the kingdom. It had long distinguished itself in the foremost rank among the inhabitants of this country, as the assertors of liberty and the advocates of purity and renovation. Their decision therefore seemed of all others the most proper, from which to infer the independent and unbiassed opinion of the people of England. The meeting of this county for the purpose of addressing the sovereign was not held till the 25th day of March, when, after several hours debate, the show of hands was declared by the sheriff to be in favour of the new administration. A more accurate decision was however demanded by means of a division, and upon the division the sheriff declared himself unable to decide in favour of either party. Some misrepresentation having been made of the proceedings in the ministerial newspapers, an account was published, stating the above facts, authenticated by the sheriff, and signed by the duke of Devonshire, the earls of Surrey, Carlisle, and Fitzwilliam, lord Stourton, lord John Cavendish, sir Thomas Dundas, and more than sixty gentlemen of property and consequence.

But the spirit of these exertions, on the part of opposition, was greater than their efficacy, and seemed calculated only to illustrate and ascertain the victory of ministers. Addresses poured in from every side, from corporations, from cities, from manufacturing towns, and from counties. Every address served to inspire perseverance and energy into the successful party, and to hasten and render irresistible the event of this extraordinary contest.

In the mean time a number of those persons, who had kept themselves most aloof from the collision of spirits and the enthusiasm of controversy, had conceived a wish to see the great leaders of either party uniting to form a broad and extensive administration. There is a propensity in all men to regard the scenes in which they are concerned, or of which they are the spectators, as the most important that ever filled the theatre of the universe. As the events are the most important, by a natural consequence the actors are the most eloquent, the most accomplished, and of the highest ability. If two persons, who have adopted opposite sentiments upon great political questions, maintain the contest for any length of time, and with doubtful success, the modest, the unassuming and the humane are immediately led to reflect what prodigies might be performed, what boundless and invaluable benefits might be produced by the union of men, who, when thus opposed to each other, are able to distract an empire. An opinion of this kind had gained many disinterested partisans to the coalition of lord North and Mr. Fox. A similar opinion at this time induced many persons to wish for a new coalition, and a more complete union of parties.

It has been a proverbial maxim, that in the midst of turbulence and confusion, the voice of reason can obtain no attention; and that it is only in the serenity of a political calm that her low and unobtrusive whispers are heard. The maxim is not always true. In a free government, like ours, it is the calm of permanence and the spring-tide of prosperity that beyond all things render him that sits at the helm, deaf to the sageness of wisdom and the sobriety of advice. It is, on the

other hand, in the season of war and calamity that the barriers of the constitution gain additional firmness, and the principles of liberty are extended and realised. In like manner it is in the very turbulence and madness of faction, when party against party wages a doubtful strife, that the independent, the unconnected and the unpretending assume to themselves a degree of weight and importance greatly beyond their natural proportion.

In the present instance the weight seems to have been felt individually, before the idea was conceived of a combination of forces. The strength of each party being so formidable to the other, and their numbers seeming to approach every day to a more accurate balance, every eye was turned, every bosom was ready to receive those men, who, partly from the exquisiteness of their integrity, and partly perhaps from a certain feebleness and indecision of intellect, seemed to hesitate between the opposite measures, and to afford to the philosopher and the statesman no ground from which to infer the tenour of their future conduct. A character of this kind, that in the present moment of turbulence and anxiety engaged the foremost attention, was Mr. Thomas Powys. He was absent on the day upon which the great question of secret influence was moved, previously to the Christmas recess; but he afterwards declared, that had he been present at that time, he should have supported the resolutions. He had been among the warmest and most vehement opponents of Mr. Fox's India bill. He was clearly of opinion, that it was improper to adopt measures for removing an administration without trial, and without an explicit and regular charge being exhibited against them. At the same time he was an enthusiastic admirer of the republic-

can part of our constitution. He had strongly and individually opposed the resolutions that were pointed against the reigning administration; but when the resolutions had received the sanction of the house of commons, he knew not how to bear that they should be disobeyed and treated with contempt. His sentiment upon this head was not founded on the impressions of a false and factitious honour: he would not have thought the house of commons degraded, could they have been persuaded to rescind them from the journals; but he believed that the most respectable, the most sacred, the popular part of our constitution ought not to experience the minutest degree of neglect and inattention. Distracted for a moment between the opposite feelings of esteem for Mr. Pitt, and veneration for the representatives of the people, he declared, that, however necessary and indispensable was the measure, he knew not how to advise Mr. Pitt to resign; he knew not how he could be expected to agree to march out of the fortress with a halter about his neck. Upon mature reflexion however Mr. Powys was convinced, that no disgrace could possibly rest upon one party, for consulting by the most inestimable sacrifices the more sacred honour of the other. From this moment his conduct became clear, explicit and uniform; and he constantly voted for the remainder of the session with the party of the ex-ministers.

Various hints, recommending a junction of parties, had been thrown out early in the present contest by unconnected individuals. The hints seemed to be received with much attention and applause, and the contagion of their ideas was continually spreading. At length, by a kind of concert, a general meeting

was invited of such members of the house of commons as were desirous of promoting this purpose, to be held at the St. Albans tavern, on the 26th of January. Upon their assembling, their numbers amounted to fifty three persons, and they immediately prepared an address to be presented by a committee of their body to the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt. The committee consisted of the honourable Thomas Grosvenor, the honourable Charles Marsham, sir William Lemon, and Mr. Powys. The first difficulty that was started originated with the duke of Portland. He declared himself happy in obeying the commands of so respectable a meeting, but declined an interview with Mr. Pitt so long as he remained in his ministerial capacity. It was suggested however by this nobleman, in an after-communication, that if any expedient could be devised for removing this embarrassment, he should with much willingness contribute every thing in his power to promote the object of their wishes. The expedient here alluded to, and which had been practised in some recent instances, was for the minister to make a public declaration in the house of commons, that the offices of government were only held by him and his colleagues till the arrangement of a new administration should be completed. Actual resignation however, and this expedient were equally rejected by Mr. Pitt. The negotiation being thus, in the language of the meeting, suspended, their next measure was to move a resolution in the house of commons, the declared purpose of which was that of softening differences, and relieving any asperity that might be supposed to belong to preceding resolutions. The pur-

port of the motion was, "That the present arduous and critical situation of public affairs required the exertions of a firm, efficient, extended, united administration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate divisions and distractions of this country." The motion was carried unanimously.

A second resolution was moved by Mr. Coke of Norfolk, declaring the continuance of the present ministers in office to be an obstacle to the forming a vigorous administration. And on the day following it was moved by the same gentleman, that both these resolutions be laid before his majesty.

These motions were objected to by Mr. Dundas, as being directly in opposition to the resolution that had been submitted to the house by the St. Albans meeting. It was the object of the former motion to promote an union of parties; it was the direct tendency of the latter to render that union impracticable. How could Mr. Pitt, disgraced by a resolution, the object of which was to compel him to relinquish his situation, unite himself afterwards with men who had employed against him acts of so unpardonable indelicacy and violence. Mr. Dundas therefore trusted that every one who with sincerity had supported the last resolution, would give their peremptory negative to the present proceedings. He observed, that a house of commons might prevail against the other house of parliament, it might prevail against the crown and the prerogative, but in no instance could it promise itself success when it was in open contest with the people. At present there was not a society of an hundred persons in the country, of which

ninety-nine were not the firm and avowed friends of administration. In such circumstances then, was it safe for that house to levy war upon the public, and to afford room for a general opinion, that there existed a combination within those walls against the interests and the wishes of the people of England? What would be the consequence of such apprehensions? All confidence in the dignity, the honour and the justice of the house would be forfeited, and mankind would pass the door of it, not with sentiments of veneration and respect, but with expressive marks of derision and contempt.

Commodore Johnstone reprobated the appeal that was made to the honour of the house, and the persuasives that were held out to consistency and perseverance. A mistaken notion of honour was calculated to plunge the house into difficulties, which it should be the object of every honest man to oppose and prevent. It was an impression of false honour that set the house of commons at variance with their constituents on the great question of the Middlesex election. It was an appeal to the honour of the house that had procured support to the American war; gentlemen, having once voted for it, were called upon to act with consistency, and not betray the dignity, the pride and the respect, which, it was contended, had stood committed from the first vote into which the house had entered upon the subject.

For the country gentlemen, they urged Mr. Pitt to move the previous question upon these resolutions, and then to bring forward a motion for rescinding all the resolutions into which the house had entered against the present ministers. In both these measures they would support him; but if he declined these steps, it

was confessed by several of them, and particularly by Mr. Powys, that they thought the house could not put a negative upon the present motion.

Mr. Pitt replied, that he should certainly be glad to have the resolutions already upon the journals re-considered, with a view to their being rescinded, but he thought himself obliged to give the present motion his direct negative. The reduction of the great majority, by which the opposition had carried their first question, into the trifling one by which his India bill had been rejected, must convince them of the decline of their cause and the hopelessness of their proceedings.

It had been urged, said Mr. Pitt, as a step requisite, on his part, to an union of parties, that he should resign the offices with which his sovereign had honoured him. To this he must observe, that he foresaw the greatest evils to the nation from such a proceeding, and that, circumstanced as he was, neither his principles nor his feelings inclined him to a compliance. The delicacy of his present situation required discretion; and he was determined to sustain it with as much firmness and decency as he could. This resolution was the result of deliberation, and no invective or aspersions from his opponents should induce him to counteract the dictates of his own judgment. This direction, he trusted, would not lead him into any very palpable mistake; and while he retained a confidence of that sort, it was in vain to expect that he would become the dupe of the stratagems of any man.

Mr. Pitt considered the resolutions of the house of commons as by no means binding upon the principles of an individual. The
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very bulwark of our constitution was freedom of speaking and freedom of action. The control of parliament could not reach to these things, and could not make that a species of conduct to be avoided by the individual, which had before been his duty and his honour. If however the house insisted upon the dismissal of ministers, if they believed them to be as criminal as they were insinuated to be, the road to their removal was open. There were two constitutional means that might be employed for this purpose; they might either by impeachment proceed against them for their crimes, or they might go up immediately with an address to the crown. The charge therefore, of their disturbing the tranquility of the country, and of their impeding the business of the public, was invidious and groundless. Why did not the leaders of opposition come boldly forward and urge the house to one or other of these decisive steps? It was as futile as it was improper to be coming down from time to time founding the minds of gentlemen, and exciting them to crowd the standard of opposition to a ministry which they had it so much in their power to remove. It would be more manly and more candid at once to pronounce their sentence, and decide upon their fate. For the present measure, it wanted the humility and respect of an address, at the same time that it determined nothing. It was sullen in its aspect, and it approached the throne in a way by which the crown could return no answer, and which prevented them from hearing the gracious sentiments of his majesty upon the subject.

Mr. Fox observed upon the inconsistency of ministers in blaming a measure as harsh, and at the same

time urging the house to a measure much stronger and more serious. A charge was demanded, and an address urged. Before parliament adopted either the one or the other, it was fit that the world should be apprised who it was called for an address, who challenged a charge, who rendered both necessary. And was Mr. Pitt prepared to justify this strong and indispensable exertion to that house, to his own mind, and to his country?

But it was now sufficiently manifest, if there had been before an individual unconvinced of it, that Mr. Pitt considered himself as superior to the house of commons, that he stood forward as the unconstitutional minister of the crown, and in this character despised the resolutions of that significant assembly. The house was of consequence reduced to the disagreeable and mortifying situation of being insulted and despised by one of its own members with impunity. Was it possible, when things were fairly and deliberately considered, to account for the obstinacy of the minister? What motive could prevail with him thus to tantalize the public, and to trifle with the welfare and the constitution of England? By what topics could the secret advisers of the king delude at once the master and the servant? Was it possible they could persuade the minister, that he would depart from his own dignity by acceding to the wishes of that house? Where was the condescension in yielding his judgment to theirs, and preferring the collected wisdom of parliament to his own understanding? In his mind, instead of letting him down, it would give a new lustre to his character; it would shew that he was not blinded by a momentary exaltation, and that he had not thrown the reins upon the

neck of presumption and self-confidence.

But they were told that it was a lessening of majesty to suppose his choice in this instance to have proved abortive. "O foolish advisers of the king!" exclaimed Mr. Fox. "He, whose most glorious and only throne is in the hearts of a loyal and grateful people, to be thus at variance with their representatives, does your advice peculiar credit! Ye would honour him with the foulest dishonour that can ever happen to a sovereign! Ye would exhibit him over all Europe, not as possessing the cordiality of his subjects, but as squabbling and contending with those, on whom he depends, from whom his supplies originate, and without whom his prerogatives are insignificant and useless. We would make him respected all over the world, we would make him a blessing to his subjects, we would make his reign happy to himself, and happy to all who are interested in his prosperity. We would make him the glorious and patriotic monarch of a wise, contented and pacific nation." Upon the two last resolutions the house divided; the former being carried by a majority of 19, and the latter by a majority of 24.

On the 11th of February the meeting of the country gentlemen at the St. Albans tavern came to a resolution declaratory of their opinion, "That an administration, founded on the total exclusion of the members of the last or of the present administration, would be inadequate to the exigencies of the public affairs." This resolution was the same day read in the house of commons, and in consequence the persons principally concerned successively rose to deliver their sentiments upon the subject. Mr. Fox

declared himself a friend to the union. He observed that this was not a period that admitted of any regard to the little punctilios of personal importance, and that the various necessities that pressed upon their attention, required an immediate and decisive remedy. The late transactions between Russia and the Porte, and our relative situation with foreign powers, called for a management, to which the confidence of the house of commons was essential, and which, according as we acquitted ourselves, might be productive of the best or the most pernicious consequences. The report which had been just laid upon the table from the committee appointed to enquire into the illicit practices that were used in defrauding the revenue, demanded an immediate and effectual attention. If two millions annually were to be saved to this country, the reform, however necessary, could scarcely be received with cordiality in every part of the kingdom, and must therefore demand harmony in our government and confidence in administration. The credit of the state called for every species of support, and this would inevitably occasion taxes to an unprecedented extent. The measures which could no longer be withheld in consistency with the public safety, involved in their execution a degree of unpopularity, that no ministry could venture to encounter without the support of a great and respectable majority of that house. These and various other considerations caused the necessity of an immediate union of parties to stare every man in the face.

In the mean time Mr. Fox intreated those gentlemen, who so laudably endeavoured to bring about an union, not to suffer themselves

to be hurried away with an idea that it was easily to be produced. Union might live upon the tongues of men when there was no cordiality and no harmony in their sentiments. To all appearance indeed union might exist, but in fact disunion and distraction would only be found in the council, if the several parties, however they might differ in particular points, did not all stand upon one great and broad principle. He had already experienced this misfortune in one of the two governments in which he had borne a part; and he had rather, if a union upon principle could not be expected, that no union at all should take place. He had rather differ in that house, where he could assign his reasons, and where the house could decide, than in a situation the nature of which was, that a man could not relate the causes of the difference. An union not founded upon principle would be fallacious, and infinitely more dangerous to the country, than the divisions which at this time prevailed within the walls of that house.

The house however seemed so generally interested in the idea of a coalition, that Mr. Fox thought them entitled to as full an explanation on that head as he was able to give them. He paid many compliments to Mr. Pitt's abilities; he respected what he had always understood to be his political principles; none of these did any one with whom he had conversed with him to renounce. It was obvious that at least on his part there could be no animosity or spleen, that could stand in the way of a compliance with the wishes of the house. Whatever might have occurred in the heat of debate, he trusted the right honourable gentlemen and himself were alike sensible, that there could be no personal contention and no personal

disrespect between them. What was the object of Mr. Pitt's ambition? Was it not glory, a reputation grafted on the advantage which he trusted the country might one day reap from his exertions in her service? A nobler, a more magnanimous passion he would say, never fired the human breast; and whoever was not animated by such a principle, did not deserve any share in the public confidence, was no proper object of popular approbation, was not an eligible candidate for Englishmen's attention and applause. Here also he was not without hopes, that he should be permitted to put in his claim to a share in the same principle. He protested that every other consideration was in his opinion trivial and of no weight; that no sacrifice was too great to be offered at such a shrine, and that he would go any lengths with the man, who would meet him upon this truly glorious, patriotic and constitutional ground.

Mr. Fox did not well apprehend where the difference between him and Mr. Pitt with respect to measures could lie. For their several plans of reform in the government of India, though already decided by the house, he was still willing to accommodate as far as possible. He had already conceded the affair of the patronage; and if any discordance of opinion should continue on that head, he saw no impropriety in submitting the whole to the discussion of parliament. The only obstacle then which remained, was the present situation of Mr. Pitt. Ready as he was to listen to the proposal of an union, he must notwithstanding declare, that he could not treat with men who refused to treat on constitutional grounds. There could be no cordial, no firm or efficient union, till the right honourable

able gentleman and his party submitted to the voice and the dignity of parliament. From this point it was impossible to recede without sacrificing at once his personal honour and the constitutional consequence of the people of England.

Mr. Pitt gave his entire assent to what had been said by Mr. Fox upon the subject of personal considerations. If they could agree upon every thing else, it was certainly impossible they should differ upon that head. There might however be men, against whom he had no personal dislike, whose private character he revered, whose abilities were eminent, and with whom notwithstanding he could never bring himself to act in the cabinet. With respect to the India bill, there were points he had hitherto maintained, and from which he felt not the least disposition to recede. And, if the part he had taken in coming into office should be the occasion of no other good, than that of such a melioration of this system, as would remove his apprehensions for the constitution, he should find great consolation in this, though his other objections should be left in as much force as ever. For the rest, he had said before, and he would repeat again, that there was no law in this kingdom that made it criminal in him to remain in office in contradiction to a resolution of the house of commons. He would however admit, that the confidence of that house was absolutely necessary, and that an administration could not last that did not possess it. But when he considered the duty he owed to his sovereign and the people, he could not reconcile the resigning to that duty or to his own honour, till a prospect should be opened for the forming an administration by whom

the country might be effectually served. Whenever that period should arrive, he trusted it would be found that he was not tenacious of power, or desirous to cling to office, but that he was actuated solely by public and patriotic considerations. With these dispositions how paltry would it be in him to resign for the sole purpose of treating about returning back into office? With what regard to personal honour or public principle could it be expected, that he would consent, as Mr. Powys had expressed it, to the marching out with a halter about his neck, then change his armour, and meanly beg to be re-admitted as a volunteer in the army of the enemy. To put himself in such a predicament, and to trust the foe to loosen the halter, and restore him to liberty and honour, was an humiliation to which neither he, nor much greater men, with whom he acted and whose sentiments he delivered, would ever condescend.

Lord North readily perceived that it was to him that Mr. Pitt alluded as the person with whom he could not unite. But from whatever quarter that language might come, with whatever flow of words or elegance of phrase it might be delivered, he would never desert or be driven from the ground on which he stood in the country, to gratify the whim, the caprice, or the unreasonable prejudice of any individual. Confident and resolute however as he felt, when he considered the language of Mr. Pitt on that side, there was another view in which the calamities of the nation and the distraction of public affairs inclined him to pay some attention to it. If in the opinion of the public at large he should be found the obstacle to the formation

of that stable, extended and united administration, which the present distractions required, he would never stand in the way of so great and necessary a measure. He appealed to the uniform tenor of his life, and warmly declared, that no love of power, no desire of emolument, no incitements of ambition should ever induce him to stand between the wishes and the welfare of his country. But in this day of concession for the public benefit, continued he, Mr. Pitt avoids the submissions that he owes to the house of commons, but states it as a matter of principle to exclude lord North. He was but a trifling object indeed compared with the constitution of Britain, and the honour, the reputation and dignity of that house. Let Mr. Pitt discharge what he owed to them, and it was of little comparative consequence what became of himself. Let Mr. Pitt bend his fullen dignity to the constitution, and though his lordship would not retire to gratify the unfounded prejudices of any man, yet neither would he allow any man to surpass him in veneration for the constitution and attachment to the interests of this country.

The declarations of lord North were received with the highest applause in the house of commons. Mr. Marham immediately rose to return his sincere and hearty thanks to that nobleman for a conduct so upright, so disinterested, so patriotic, and so noble. The chancellor of the exchequer, he said, must now be sensible that whatever obstacle might subsist to an union rested with him. He was now called upon to resign, in the manner that had been pointed out by the leaders of the opposite party. Let him do this, and if he should afterwards find any of those diffi-

culties about personal considerations that were now disclaimed, he might then resume his present employment, and upon stating the treatment he received would undoubtedly obtain an ample support from that house. Mr. Powys, who, upon former occasions, had treated lord North with much asperity, upon this occasion declared that he was not one of those who would insist upon secluding him from a share in a future administration. Of Mr. Pitt he had still the highest opinion, and he confided in his good sense, his virtue, and his patriotism, that he would deliberately consider the merits of his situation, and yield to the pressing calls of his country. Mr. Powys had also confidence in Mr. Fox and his friends, that they had fair and honourable designs in the proposition which they had submitted to both parties as the ground of an union. In calling upon Mr. Pitt to resign before they could negotiate, it was not to be supposed that they meant to trick him. The whole country would be pledged to him of their honour; the country would not bear to see a ministry formed without him. Mr. Powys added, that he would not press the chancellor of the exchequer to give an answer now: on the contrary, he wished him to take time for deliberation, and he doubted not, but in a few days, the house would receive such an answer as would remove the alarms and restore the harmony and happiness of the kingdom.

A few days after these transactions, Mr. Pitt caused it to be signified to the gentlemen who had particularly interested themselves in the business, that he still found himself obliged to adhere to his former sentiments, and to refuse the expedient either of an actual

or virtual resignation. The friends of union however did not yet despair. An idea occurred to them, which they thought might be matured into the ground of an interview, without any concession of principle on either side. The idea was, that a message should be sent from the king to the duke of Portland, intimating, that it was his majesty's desire, that the duke should have a conference with Mr. Pitt for the purpose of forming a new administration. The expedient was accordingly adopted, and it was recommended from the sovereign, that their plan should be built "on a wide basis and on fair and equal terms." The message was regarded by the duke of Portland as sufficiently adapted in its general idea to remove the embarrassment under which he had laboured. Still, however, he wished, previously to a conference, to have the terms of the message fully understood. He could have no objection to the word *fair*; it was a general term, and could be interpreted to mean nothing sinister or dishonourable. But the word *equal* was more specific and limited; and the duke of Portland thought it necessary, previously to a negotiation, that Mr. Pitt should explain what was the sense that he intended that that term should convey. In answer to this Mr. Pitt said, that in his mind a personal conference was the proper place for all farther explanations, and declared his resolution not in his present situation to descend to particulars. In this stage of the business the negotiation therefore was terminated, and the last effort of the meeting at the St. Albans was a resolution into which they entered, "that they heard with infinite concern that all farther progress towards an

union was prevented by a doubt respecting a single word, and were unanimously of opinion that it would be no dishonourable step in either of the gentlemen to give way, and might be highly advantageous to the public welfare."

It may be necessary in this place to explain, what was precisely the ground of the final separation between Mr. Pitt and the ex-ministers. This is not upon the original face of the transaction extremely clear, and it underwent much discussion in the house of commons. Three proposals had been made by the duke of Portland to the chancellor of the exchequer, none of which were accepted. The first, that the duke should be permitted to construe the message of Mr. Pitt to imply a virtual resignation: secondly, he desired that he might receive his majesty's commands relative to an interview from the sovereign in person: and lastly, he required an explanation of one of the terms of the message. The phrase of *equality* had been particularly objected to by Mr. Fox. He regarded it as delusive; he considered it as an expression that afforded small prospect of a conciliation; and he believed that it was the design of ministers merely to form an ostensible arrangement on the basis of equal numbers, without any cordial understanding, and without unity of principle. In this interpretation he had been confirmed by the reserved and uncomplimentary temper that had been manifested by Mr. Pitt through the whole of the transaction. And he had often and strongly declared, that in his opinion a greater misfortune could not happen to this country, than, that under the colour of a nominal union, there should be a perpetual struggle and

contention of strength in the cabinet; instead of that confidence, unanimity and co-operation, which alone could be productive of any essential service.

Thus it was that that prospect of restoration and harmony, which was looked forward upon with delight by multitudes in this country, and which some of the most respectable and disinterested characters it had to boast, employed their most strenuous exertions to effect, proved abortive. Certain it is that many and very important benefits would have resulted from this measure. All the doubts which had so unfortunately been brought into agitation between prerogative and privilege, might have been restored to the venerable and unviolated uncertainty in which they had so long stood. The present era was unquestionably to be considered as a crisis in the constitution of this country. There is no system of policy that has not its blind sides and its weaknesses, that a sincere friend will not be apt to divulge and proclaim. Such were the points of whether an administration of the sovereign could stand in the defiance of the votes of either house of parliament, but particularly of the commons; and whether that grand reserve of our freedom, that key-stone to the arch of our liberties, the refusal of the supplies, might upon any great and alarming event be called into exercise. With whatever popularity and eclat the late transactions were attended, however necessary and indispensable may be believed to be their effects, thus much of unhappiness must at least be confessed to be included in them. After an uninterrupted harmony between the prince and the republican part of the constitution, from the

accession of the present illustrious house, the questions we have enumerated were positively decided in one instance against the nation at large, and the latter of them perhaps irrevocably and unappealably decided. What consequences the judgment may have upon the future history of this country is yet unknown. We presume not to dissolve the charm, and invade the silence: a few more revolutions of administration will, it is to be supposed, precisely ascertain it.

But, if the miscarriage of these negotiations is calculated to excite in us some regret, it is perhaps to be confessed, on the other hand, that nothing beautiful, nothing solid, nothing permanent, could have been predicted from their success. It is impossible that a long and animated course of opposition should exist between two parties, without leaving behind it some sparks of rancour, some touches of jealousy, and some cold and unconciliating reserves. These were particularly visible, as was natural, on the side of the minister. Possessed of power, as he conceived, in an honourable manner and from unquestionable authority, harassed and tormented by what he regarded as an unprincipled opposition, and not naturally endowed, shall we add, with that kind of liberality which makes improbable allowances, he could not receive gracefully and with good humour his enemies into that fortress in the defence of which he prided himself. Something too was to be considered with respect to the two constitutional questions we have stated. That of the supplies was yet in embryo; a veil might be successfully drawn over it, and the attempt that had been made, would be a precedent, rather favourable than unfavourable to
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the rights of the commons. But the other question, that of the dismission of administration, was farther advanced. The example had been held out, and each party insisted upon a decision in its favour. The minister was clearly of opinion that the slightest retraction upon this head would be a diminution of his honour; and the opposition certainly could not give up the question, without explicitly declaring, in the face of the world, that all the complaints they had made, all the remonstrances that had resounded from one end of the kingdom to the other, were pointed at only one object, the recovery and establishment of their power.

As it was well known that a majority in the house of lords was favourable to the present administration, it was with some degree of eagerness expected by many, that they would take the field upon this important occasion, and meet the resolutions of the commons by counter-resolutions on their part. The great excellence of our constitution was said by these men to be the checks and controls it included. Whenever one branch of the legislature exceeded the bounds to which it was originally restricted, there still remained virtue enough in the others to bring back the deviating principle to its peculiar channel. It was the business of the lords in particular, by the gravity and the constancy of their character, from time to time to check the madness of a popular assembly. Earl Temple, in the beginning of the session, had told the lords that they had brought an eternal blot upon their names by the silence and supineness with which they had suffered a combination of desperate factions to seize upon the closet of the sovereign.

But these violent counsels did not seem to coincide with the general sentiment. The lords were obliged, however unwilling, tacitly to confess their inferiority in the scale of the legislature. If the sense of the nation were not found to coincide with their measures, the vehemence of their proceedings would only hold them up to general ridicule. If, on the other hand, the new administration were supported by that sense, their interference would be useless and nugatory. The conduct of the lords in the rejection of the India bill was accompanied with some circumstances that did not increase their popularity and illustrate their dignity, in the opinion even of the greatest enemies of that bill. And their assistance was not required to hold up a signal, and to animate the courage of the public. The novelty of an administration existing independent of the house of commons, and the serene and placid countenance they maintained in the midst of every attack that could be directed against them, was abundantly sufficient for this purpose.

A medium however, after some deliberation, suited to the circumstances of the public, was believed to be found between these opposite directions. They might, without aiming to be particularly forward in the business, suffer themselves to consider, whether an absolute and uninterrupted silence would be perfectly honourable; and whether a grave and solitary declaration of their sentiments might not add somewhat to their consideration and respectability. It was from ideas of this kind, that, on the 4th day of February, the earl of Effingham submitted two resolutions to the house, the latter of which, if carried, he proposed to fol-

follow with an address to the crown. Each of the resolutions was grounded upon two several resolutions of the house of commons, the first of the 24th of December, restricting the lords of the treasury from giving their consent to the acceptance of certain bills to be drawn from India; and the second of the 16th of January, declaring "the continuance of the present ministers in office to be contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of the king and his people." In reply to these resolutions, the earl of Effingham moved the house of lords to resolve, first, "That an attempt in any one branch of the legislature to suspend the execution of law, by separately assuming to itself the direction of a discretionary power vested by act of parliament, was unconstitutional." Secondly, "That by the known principles of this constitution, the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of executive government was solely vested in the king, and that that house had every reason to place the firmest reliance in his majesty's wisdom in the exercise of this prerogative." The address laid the sense of this resolution at the foot of the throne, and earnestly assured the sovereign that in this reliance they would upon all occasions support him in the just exercise of his prerogative. Lord Effingham, in recommendation of his motions, referred to a similar resolution of the house of lords in 1704; and concluded his speech with a warm eulogium of the present administration for their upright and patriotic intentions to serve their country, and rescue the constitution from the unwarrantable attacks of a faction, that had more at heart its own selfish views than

the good of the state. He was particularly animated in his panegyric upon the chancellor of the exchequer, and spoke of the manner in which he had disposed of the clerkship of the pells as a thing entirely unexampled.

Lord Loughborough replied, and pointed his opposition particularly against the first resolution. He stated the design of the act of parliament by which the discretion was conferred in the exercise of which the house of commons had thought proper to interfere with their advice. He declared that he well remembered the passing of the bill, and the nature of the discussions by which its progress had been attended. It had become necessary to allow to the treasury a discretionary power, as it was impossible to ascertain the amount of the bills that would be presented for acceptance. The sum of 200,000 l. had therefore been assumed as a kind of medium that parliament thought proper to prescribe, but which might occasionally be exceeded by the sum of 10,000 l., 15,000 l. or 20,000 l. The house of commons had understood the act of parliament in its true sense; and it being notorious that bills to the enormous amount of more than 2,000,000 l. had been sent over, or were expected, they thought it a prudent and a wise thing in the present circumstances of India affairs to vote the resolution in question. The act of parliament it was clear had been formed with no expectation of so extraordinary a conjuncture. The resolution was merely and simply a hint, a piece of advice, which the house of commons were perfectly justified in adopting. It was with the house of commons that the revenues of this country were originated. It was

was their peculiar province to watch over and control the expenditure of public money. He deprecated the ill effects which would result from the house of lords entering into counter resolutions. The consequence must be a dissension between the two houses, a diminution of that consequence and those privileges, which depended upon their harmony, and an approach to that unfortunate state, when the house of commons had voted their lordships to be useless.

Earl Fitzwilliam entered at considerable detail into the merits of the new premier. If the situation of Mr. Pitt at the head of administration was to be made the ground of voting the present resolutions, he said, he must entirely dissent from them, and desire not to have his name included in the list of those, who were willing to subscribe to all that was said in his favour. It would in his opinion have been strange indeed if the chancellor of the exchequer had not still some share of popularity; but it might deserve the attention of the house, that they were those very circumstances that were most incompatible with his official situation, that were not a little calculated to command the general suffrage. His youth, his inexperience, his predilection for the court, and his seclusion from those circles to which his equals in fortune and rank commonly resorted, were facts which would always have their weight in this country and with all the world. But surely these, however valuable they might be in a private gentleman, and whatever applause they were calculated to excite, were not the qualities of a first minister of a great and respectable country. What then had Mr. Pitt done to

give him a distinction so eminent and singular? Was he eager, after turning lord North out of power, to come in under any description and contribute his abilities to save a sinking state? No: it was beneath him to act in a subordinate situation. Was not this a most decent exhibition of the virtues of a patriot and the sobriety of a statesman? The peace that was formed in the close of that year, and the terms of which had proved so inadequate to the people's ideas; a peace so ignominious to its authors, and which would be found the greatest blot in the reputation and story of this country, he would not suppose to be that, to which Mr. Pitt's most extravagant adulators would send the house for a specimen of his talents. This inglorious peace parliament had censured and condemned, and then it was seen what had been done in office. Could it be forgotten by their lordships in what a state of confusion the particular department of Mr. Pitt had at that time been left? What proofs had then been exhibited by him of a mind, full of such resources as our exigencies required? What plan of taxation, or finance, or reform respecting any department of the state, did he produce during the few months that he continued chancellor of the exchequer. What single vestige of genius, of attention to our trade with the colonies, to our connexions with foreign courts, or our manufactures at home, were to be found in the office of the right honourable gentleman? Nor had Mr. Pitt's conduct since been more commendable and wise than in the preceding instances. How had he acted in quitting the office, to which, in his lordship's opinion, he had been thus prematurely raised? To whom

whom were all the inconveniences of last years interregnum, when the country continued six weeks without any executive government ascribable? Had not the minister then discovered the same obstinate attachment to office, the same preference of his own opinion to that of a most honourable assembly, which distinguished his present conduct? Earl Fitzwilliam would not go on to animadvert upon the means by which he had attained to office in the present instance, or upon the pertinacity with which he had kept his situation in defiance of those with whom the constitution had placed the control of his actions. These were points which few he trusted were prepared to defend, and which must eventually ruin him with many at least of those who formerly regarded him most. For his disposition of the clerkship of the pells, his lordship said, he was ready to give its disinterestedness the due share of praise; but he saw no cause for raising Mr. Pitt to an eminence, superior to every other man in the country, merely for having done an act of duty, which not to have done would have ruined his character and blasted him for ever.

Lord Thurlow supported the resolutions. He began with expressing a wish that in the present distracted state of the country, and under the pressure of public business, a coalition of parties might be effected. In the mean time however he conceived that there could be no impropriety, no just tendency to interrupt harmony and introduce discord in agreeing to the motions now before the house. He was decidedly of opinion, that any branch of the legislature was empowered to give a sentiment to his majesty, or his ministers respect-

ing their mode of procedure. For himself he would be frank enough to confess, that had he been a lord of the treasury he would not have obeyed the resolution of the house of commons; and his refusal would have proceeded from a consciousness that nothing short of an act of parliament, formally passed by the three estates of the realm, had the power of suspending any part of the statute, or the common law of England. He contended however that the resolution neither was, nor affected to be, a hint or piece of advice to the lords of the treasury. This, he said, could never have been imagined if the concluding words of the resolution "or until this house should otherwise direct," had not been entirely overlooked. Indeed the resolutions lately passed in the house of commons, could be regarded in no better a light than as the wild efforts of a childish ambition. With respect to the manner in which the present had been drawn up, he declared, that whether he considered it in a political or a commercial point of view, its ignorance could only be equalled by its stupidity. His lordship made many encomiums on Mr. Pitt for the manner in which he bestowed the clerkship of the pells. He said, he had been shabby enough, he confessed, to advise him to take it; and authorised as he would have been by the most illustrious and recent examples, he believed he should have been shabby enough to have done so himself. But Mr. Pitt was fraught with notions of purity, most uncommon in these degenerate days, and hardly to be paralleled in the brightest pages of Greek or Roman story. Lord Thurlow concluded with reprobating the nonsensical dreams about the dignity and honour of parliament,

ment, by which men were persuaded to come into measures at once childish, absurd and extravagant. This wild ambition, this ungovernable madness, demanded some check. And he conjured their lordships never to attempt themselves, nor quietly to suffer any other assembly, to set their dignity above the laws, or to forget that they owed to them, in common with the meanest subject, the most entire deference and the most unreserved obedience. The resolutions were supported by earl Falconberg, earl Gower, lord Sydney, and the duke of Richmond; and they were strenuously opposed by the duke of Manchester, earl Mansfield, and lord viscount Stormont. The first resolution was carried; contents 79, proxies 21; not contents 44, proxies 9; majority 47.

It was not to be supposed, that to direct an attack upon the authority and wisdom of the house of commons would be passed over in silence. It was taken up however in a manner grave and deliberate, and which manifested an unwillingness in the lower house to come to a direct rupture with the house of lords. Lord Beauchamp, who had originally moved the resolution respecting the bills of exchange from India, now proposed to the house the appointment of a committee, "to examine into the usage of either house of parliament, in regard to the interposing in the exercise of discretionary powers, vested in the servants of the crown, or in any body of men for public purposes." By this committee precedents were produced from various parts of the English history. The first was an instruction from the house of commons to the university of Cambridge in the year

1626, not to chuse the duke of Buckingham for their chancellor. Another was taken from the history of king Charles the Second, when the parliament of Oxford in 1680, previously to their sudden dissolution, had come to a vote, declaring, that the prosecution of protestant dissenters at that time was dangerous to the peace of the kingdom. This vote had been censured by the abettors of despotism, in king Charles's celebrated declaration, almost in the words that had been employed in the recent instance by the house of lords. Two or three precedents of a later date, and which had passed with much unanimity, were stated in the resolution moved by Mr. Dundas for the recal of Mr. Hastings, and in the votes of the house for the abolition of certain useless offices moved by lord John Cavendish and Mr. Pitt.

In consequence of the report of the committee on the 16th of February, lord Beauchamp moved the house to come to six resolutions: "That the house had not assumed to itself a right to suspend the execution of law: That for them to declare their opinion respecting the exercise of any discretionary power was constitutional and agreeable to established usage; That it was a duty peculiarly incumbent upon them, to watch over and endeavour to prevent the rash and precipitate exercise of any power, which might be attended with danger to public credit and loss to the revenue: That the resolution of the 24th of December, constituted a judicious and regular discharge of an indispensable duty: That, had the house neglected to make a similar provision in the critical situation of public affairs, they must have been responsible to their constituents for the most alarming conse-

consequences: and That the house would moderately and firmly assert their privileges, and persevere in the conscientious discharge of what they owed to the nation and to posterity."

Lord Beauchamp observed that however wise, prudent and deliberate had been the conduct of the house of commons, that of the other house perhaps had not been equally cautious and considerate. Had the house of lords, when they referred to a resolution on their journals in the year 1704, thought proper to turn to the next page, they would have found a resolution declaring that it was their incumbent duty, in case of any difference of opinion upon any point resolved by the other house, to desire a conference, in order that they might learn the reasons upon which the commons had acted; previously to their giving any decision of their own on the subject. This he said, was a precaution that might have been expected from the nobleness and candour of the upper-house. In the days of high prerogative, the commons had been enjoined not to meddle with matters of state: they had been told by kings and chancellors, that religion and the affairs of the church were things above their comprehension; but it was reserved for these times to condemn the house of commons for declaring their opinion respecting the exercise of a power on which might depend the state of public credit, the amount of the supplies of the year, and the necessity of their laying heavier burthens on their constituents. This was a power with which the house of commons was vested at all times. How much more so in an alarming situation of affairs, when there was not one minister in that house per-

sonally to make the assurances which might have superceded the necessity of the resolution, and when even the names of the new treasury board, to whom so unlimited a discretion was to be intrusted, in whose judgment and integrity so ample a confidence was to be reposed, were not so much as known. After considerable debates the house divided upon the previous question, which was rejected by a majority of 29, and the resolutions were carried without a division.

It was about this time that some fresh examples occurred of that asperity and ill humour on both sides of the house of commons which grew out of the violence of debate, and to which we have already had occasion to allude. One of them related to lord George Lenox, brother to the duke of Richmond. This nobleman had recently been appointed to the office of constable of the Tower, and a doubt was started on the part of opposition, whether this were to be regarded as a civil or military promotion, and of consequence, whether, by the law of parliament, it did, or did not vacate the seat of the person accepting the appointment, he being a member of the house of commons. During the course of the discussion, it was thought necessary to declare on the part of lord George Lenox, that he would not give his voice in any question that came before parliament. The contest at length, after about a fortnight's discussion, was on the 3d of March determined in favour of this nobleman. The severity of the procedure was retorted by an attack made by Mr. Lloyd Kenyon, now attorney-general, upon Mr. Rigby, who had held the office of paymaster for some years during the administration of lord North. This attack consisted

of a number of motions to oblige the latter to submit his accounts with all speed to the inspection of the house of commons. These motions were complained of by Mr. Rigby, as unaccompanied with those civilities which were always observed in parliament upon such occasions. The motions, though Mr. Rigby had not the smallest objection to their substance, were undoubtedly in a high degree personal, notwithstanding which Mr. Kenyon had not thought proper to communicate them, or to give the least intimation of them to Mr. Rigby, previously to their being brought forward. The attorney-general excused himself for this omission as a thing merely accidental. He went on to observe, that the obligations of his oath of office were such as not to suffer him to admit of the minutest delay in a business of so much consequence to the public. He charged Mr. Rigby with having violated a promise that he had made him when formerly in office, of paying in the balances in his hands in a few months; instead of which he had found the opportunity of obtaining from a favourable board of treasury the farther sum of 140,000*l.* in addition to 200,000*l.* already in his possession. The attorney-general added, that he had not found less difficulty with respect to the balances of the late lord Holland than of Mr. Rigby. Mr. Rigby however in reply assured the house that he had made no such promise as that to which Mr. Kenyon alluded. He added, that it was impossible in the present state of pecuniary transactions in this country to raise a large sum of money but to the greatest disadvantage; and he expatiated on the unfairness of the allusion to the 140,000*l.* which Mr. Kenyon well

knew had been paid away by him for the public service the very day that he received it. Mr. Fox, on the part of the late lord Holland, observed, that for himself he had since the death of Mr. Powel been deterred from assuming the executorship, when he saw that men in that house were made objects of favour or persecution to ministers according to the side they took in public affairs. He however added that the office would probably be immediately accepted by his brother, colonel Fox, who had not yet been more than ten days in England.

On 18th of February, and previously to the house of commons going into the question of the ordnance supply which stood for that day, Mr. Pitt thought proper to acquaint them, not as a message from the king, but as a piece of information that he conceived himself pledged to communicate, that his majesty had not yet in compliance with the resolutions of the house thought proper to dismiss his ministers, and that his ministers had not resigned.

This information brought up Mr. Fox, who delivered himself upon the occasion with a vehemence and torrent of eloquence that may be more easily conceived than described. He heard the declaration of Mr. Pitt with the greatest astonishment and concern. It was a language that house had never heard since the revolution, or at least since the accession of the present royal family. What was it but a flat and peremptory negative to the sentiments and wishes of the house of commons, who on their part had employed every caution and every delicacy? In what situation then was this branch of the legislature involved? To what a degree of

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insignificance were the representatives of the people and the people themselves reduced? Could it be said that they had any longer the least influence in the constitution of the country? He would answer boldly and to the point. In his opinion the matter was nearly at a crisis. Ministers, he readily perceived, had in their design to irritate the house, to drive them from the wholesome and temperate ground they had hitherto occupied, and to force them to disreputable extremities. He trusted however, that the firmness and magnanimity of that virtuous and respectable majority, who had gone so far and done so much, would not desert them upon so critical and trying an occasion. He trusted they would face the difficulties they had to surmount with resolution and dignity. There was evidently danger in every step, and it became them to think once and again before they acted. He called on them to consider under what a description they would henceforth sit in that house, on the supposition that the contest ended in favour of the present ministry. Did it not reduce them to a state of the most perfect nonentity and insignificance? Did it not make them as little, as ever their ancestors had made them great? Did it not strip them of all the powers and privileges with which time, the constitution and the people of England had vested them, and bring them back to that original insignificance in which some of our historians had affected to place them? And was it not in such a progress of degradation as this, that the house was interested in making a stand, and exerting, with all its remaining vigour, its last efforts in its own preservation? He therefore urged them, by their regard for the excellence of a government, which

had no parallel on the face of the earth, for the salvation of whatever they most valued as men and as Englishmen, for all those rights, which, having derived unimpaired from their ancestors, it was their duty, their honour and their pride to transmit unfulfilled to posterity, to deliberate on what was past, on their present situation, and on the probable termination of the scene before them. The point at issue admitted of no parley whatever. It was decided by one party: the other had no alternative but to render their decision as wide, as respectable and as effective, as the situation in which they stood, and the emergencies with which they were surrounded. The sort of hostility which the minister had stated to subsist between the crown and that house, could not but give something like a new turn to men's feelings and ideas. He confessed it to have impressed him with the most awful apprehensions. And was this a state of mind favourable to the discussion of a question which involved the character, the attributes, and the existence of the popular branch of the constitution? He begged to declare for one, that he was not yet ripe for a strong measure. His faculties were in a state of suspension by what he had heard, which allowed him not to say what was most proper. Whether they should go immediately into a decision, which would finally settle the dispute between the privileges of parliament and the prerogative of the crown, or whether some anterior step might not be deemed more eligible, what must be the nature of this step, and whether two or two hundred expedients might be most advisable, were questions to which in the present state of his mind he dared not hazard any answer whatever.

The hesitation of eight and forty hours could not much affect the business of the country one way or another, and it was a respite which every prospect that could be taken of public affairs abundantly justified. Mr. Fox concluded with moving that the house should adjourn to the 20th instant, which, after some debate, was carried in the affirmative by a majority of 12.

The dispute which had so long engaged the public attention and curiosity was now brought within a narrow compass. There were but two measures, that, after what had already been done, remained to be adopted, and in neither of these was there much prospect of success. To go up to the throne from time to time with addresses and representations was only to increase the contemptibleness and humility of their situation. To come openly and directly to a refusal of the supplies was undoubtedly in most cases to obtain a decision in their favour. But this ultimate resource, which our constitution had provided for the greatest extremities, was regarded with a kind of superstitious veneration and dread, which were calculated in almost every situation to prevent men from employing it. It bore a resemblance, though an incomplete resemblance, to the unsheathing the sword of war, and to the events by which in the preceding century the constitution of this country had for a time been destroyed. In this view it was regarded by the people at large; and that people, who had already declared themselves with considerable explicitness in favour of the present and against the late administration, were not in a temper to endure so violent a proceeding. Beside this, the continually decaying majorities by which opposition carried

their measures, and which were partly diminished by a kind of management and deference to the voice of the people, and partly from certain other circumstances inseparable from the character of human nature, plainly and unequivocally announced that the adherents of the ex-ministers were not prepared to follow them to the last extremities. From this moment therefore the question, as a matter of doubt, hesitation and suspense, may be considered as already over. What remains only exhibits to us the exertion of brilliant and uncommon talents, full of resources, and superior to the influence of events, in a cause already desperate.

Instead of deprecating the refusal of the supplies, as may naturally be believed, ministers were prompt to urge and eager to impute a design of this kind to the other side of the house. In the debates that were brought on by this imputation, Mr. Fox expressed his ideas upon the subject in a clear and explicit manner. That the power of withholding the supplies was a weapon with which the constitution had armed that house, and that it was warrantable for them to wield it upon every proper occasion, was a maxim founded in undeniable truth, and a maxim which he would never abandon. That the supplies ought not to be withheld lightly, wantonly and rashly, was an assertion that he had repeatedly made, and of which no man felt a fuller conviction. The question lay therefore wholly in the expediency of its exercise. The present contest was clearly a struggle between the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the people. In defence of these parliament was bound to exert every nerve of the power with which it was constitutionally vested. Mr. Fox

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however had a reason in the present case, which decided in his mind that the supplies ought not to be refused, but which might strike the house as a paradox. He had not sufficient confidence in the ministers of the day to withhold the supplies. If he were inclined to propose their being withheld, he should not be at a loss for a recent and respectable precedent. In the year 1782, lord Camelford had distinctly and avowedly moved the house of commons, that no supply should be granted. And what was it that induced him to venture upon so decisive a measure? The reason was obvious to every man in the house. He knew the temper, the principles and the disposition of the nobleman, who then directed the affairs of his country, better than to suppose him capable of setting that house at defiance. Much as he opposed him, and strong as the language was, which, in the heat of debate, he had used, still he was well aware, that lord North had a greater respect for the constitution, than to oppose his official existence to the decided opinion of a majority in parliament. He by no means intended to throw the country into confusion; but he had so high an opinion of the patriotism of that nobleman, of whom in other respects he thought very ill, that he hesitated not to believe, that he would not remain in office after the supplies should have been refused, but that he would quit his situation, and in a minute all would again be harmony and peace. But it was not so with the present administration. The house had not reliance enough on the public spirit of ministers to promise themselves any success in such a measure. The minister's love for the constitution

was not sufficiently visible to induce them to risque the experiment.

Notwithstanding these declarations on the part of opposition, several delays in the business of supply were however created by them. Their only reason for these delays was, as they said, to obtain time for themselves to take such measures of another description as they should judge proper. And indeed the menace of a dissolution appeared to be so incessantly suspended over the heads of parliament, as to render it extremely doubtful, whether or no their career might not be broken, previously to their having drawn out every resource they might be able to invent. It was however asserted by ministers that the tendency of every step in this procrastination was to stop the supplies. It was the aim of opposition to sound the minds of gentlemen, to feel the pulse of their partisans, and, provided they should be able so far to delude and impose upon them, to urge them to the most desperate extremities. These charges, as they were urged with much promptitude and confidence, so they appear to have made a deep impression upon the minds of the inhabitants of the metropolis, and of the nation at large.

On the 20th of February a motion was made by Mr. Thomas Powys, and seconded by Mr. Hussey, "That that house relied upon the wisdom and paternal regard of the sovereign, that he would take such measures as might tend to give effect to the wishes of his faithful commons." The motion was amended by Mr. Eden, in order to the expressing the same "confidence that he would remove every obstacle to the formation of such an

administration as the house of commons had declared to be requisite." The question was carried by a majority of 20, and it was followed up by a motion of Mr. Fox for an address to the king, in the words of the resolution, which should be presented by the whole house. The motion was carried by nearly the same majority. The address was presented on the 25th instant, when the king returned the following answer:

" Gentlemen,

" I am deeply sensible how highly it concerns the honour of my crown, and the welfare of my people, which is the object always nearest my heart, that the public affairs should be conducted by a firm, efficient, united, and extended administration, entitled to the confidence of my people, and such as may have a tendency to put an end to the unhappy divisions and distractions in this country. Very recent endeavours have already been employed, on my part, to unite in the public service, on a fair and equal footing, those whose joint efforts appear to me most capable of producing that happy effect: these endeavours have not had the success I wished. I shall be always desirous of taking every step most conducive to such an object; but I cannot see that it would, in any degree, be advanced by the dismissal of those at present in my service.

" I observe, at the same time, that there is no charge or complaint suggested against my present ministers, nor is any one or more of them specifically objected to; and numbers of my subjects have expressed to me, in the warmest manner, their satisfaction in the late changes I have made in my councils. Under these circumstances,

I trust my faithful commons will not wish that the essential offices of executive government should be vacated, until I see a prospect that such a plan of union as I have called for, and they have pointed out, may be carried into effect."

A second address was moved on the first day of March, and in the same manner agreed to by the house by a majority of 12. The tenour of the address was "Most humbly to represent to his majesty the satisfaction his faithful commons derive from the late most gracious assurances we have received that his majesty concurs with us in opinion, that it concerns the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his people, that the public affairs should be conducted by a firm, efficient, extended, united administration, entitled to the confidence of his people, and such as may have a tendency to put an end to the unhappy divisions and distractions of this country.

" To acknowledge his majesty's paternal goodness in his late most gracious endeavours to give effect to the object of our late dutiful representation to his majesty.

" To lament that the failure of these his majesty's most gracious endeavours should be considered as a final bar to the accomplishment of so salutary and desirable a purpose; and to express our concern and disappointment that his majesty has not been advised to take any farther step towards uniting in the public service those whose joint efforts have recently appeared to his majesty most capable of producing so happy an effect.

" That this house, with all humility, claims it as their right, and on every proper occasion feels it to be their bounden duty, to advise his majesty touching the exercise
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of any branch of his royal prerogative.

“ That we submit it to his majesty's royal consideration, that the continuance of an administration which does not possess the confidence of the representatives of the people, must be injurious to the public service.

“ That this house can have no interest distinct and separate from that of their constituents; and that they therefore feel themselves called upon to repeat those loyal and dutiful assurances they have already expressed of their reliance on his majesty's paternal regard for the welfare of his people, that his majesty would graciously enable them to execute those important trusts which the constitution has vested in them, with honour to themselves and advantage to the public, by the formation of a new administration, appointed under circumstances which may tend to conciliate the minds of his faithful commons, and to give energy and stability to his majesty's councils.

“ That as his majesty's faithful commons, upon the maturest deliberation, cannot but consider the continuance of the present ministers as an insurmountable obstacle to his majesty's gracious purpose to comply with their wishes, in the formation of such an administration as his majesty, in concurrence with the unanimous resolution of this house, seems to think requisite in the present exigencies of the country: they feel themselves bound to remain firm in the wish expressed to his majesty in their late humble address; and do therefore find themselves obliged again to beseech his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to lay the foundation of a strong and

stable government, by the previous removal of his present ministers.”

The answer of the king, which was delivered on the 4th, and taken into the consideration of the house on the 8th instant, was as follows:

“ Gentlemen,

“ I have already expressed to you how sensible I am of the advantages to be derived from such an administration as was pointed out in your unanimous resolution; and I assured you, that I was desirous of taking every step most conducive to such an object.

“ I remain in the same sentiments; but I continue equally convinced, that it is an object not likely to be obtained by the dismissal of my present ministers.

“ I must repeat, that no charge, or complaint, nor any specific objection, is yet made against any of them.

“ If there were any such ground for their removal at present, it ought to be equally a reason for not admitting them as a part of that extended and united administration you state to be requisite.

“ I did not consider the failure of my recent endeavours as a final bar to the accomplishment of the purpose which I had in view, if it could have been attained on those principles of fairness and equality, without which it can neither be honourable to those who are concerned, nor lay the foundation of such a strong and stable government as may be of lasting advantage to the country; but I know of no farther steps which I can take, that are likely to remove the difficulties which obstruct that desirable end.

“ I have never called in question the right of my faithful commons to offer me their advice on every proper

proper occasion, touching the exercise of any branch of my prerogative. I shall be ready, at all times, to receive, and give it the most attentive consideration: they will ever find me disposed to shew my regard to the true principles of the constitution, and to take such measures as may best conduce to the satisfaction and prosperity of my people."

The measure of addressing the sovereign having been fully tried, and it now appearing unquestionable that every farther experiment would be useless and nugatory, Mr. Fox observed to the house that he had had some thoughts of moving them to come to a resolution, declaring "That they would consider any man as an enemy to his country, who should advise the sovereign to continue his present administration." He was encouraged to this measure by a most respectable precedent, which had been furnished by the house of commons at the time that they put an end to the American war, though the king had at that time returned an answer considerably favourable and gracious to the address of the house, which had previously been presented on the same subject. By the earnest advice of some of his friends however he had been induced to give up this design. What he intended to bring forward was not an address, but an humble representation, since to that no answer was customary. He wished for no answer, because nothing was so unseemly, nothing could disgrace us so much in the eyes of Europe and the world, as to see the king and the parliament of England wrangling about words, and engaged in a petty and unmeaning logomachy. Mr. Fox accordingly moved, "That an humble repre-

sentation be presented to his majesty, most humbly to testify the surprize and affliction of this house on receiving the answer which his majesty's ministers have advised to the dutiful and seasonable address of this house, concerning one of the most important acts of his majesty's government.

"To express our concern, that when his majesty's paternal goodness has graciously inclined his majesty to be sensible of the advantage to be derived from such an administration as was pointed out in our resolution, his majesty should still be induced to prefer the opinions of individuals to the repeated advice of the representatives of his people in parliament assembled, with respect to the means of obtaining so desirable an end.

"To represent to his majesty that a preference of this nature is as injurious to the true interests of the crown, as it is wholly repugnant to the spirit of our free constitution; that systems founded on such a preference are not in truth entirely new in this country; that they have been the characteristic features of those unfortunate reigns, the maxims of which are now justly and universally exploded; while his majesty and his royal progenitors have been fixed in the hearts of their people, and have commanded the respect and admiration of all the nations of the earth, by a constant and uniform attention to the advice of their commons, however adverse such advice may have been to the opinions of the executive servants of the crown.

"To assure his majesty that we neither have disputed, nor mean, in any instance, to dispute, much less to deny, his majesty's undoubted prerogative of appointing to the executive offices of state such persons

sons as to his majesty's wisdom shall seem meet: but, at the same time, that we must, with all humility, again submit to his majesty's royal wisdom, that no administration, however legally appointed, can serve his majesty and the public with effect which does not enjoy the confidence of this house: that in his majesty's present administration we cannot confide: the circumstances under which it was constituted, and the grounds upon which it continues, have created just suspicions in the breasts of his faithful commons, that principles are adopted, and views entertained, unfriendly to the privileges of this house, and to the freedom of our excellent constitution; that we have made no charge against any of them, because it is their removal, and not their punishment, which we have desired; and that we humbly conceive we are warranted, by the ancient usage of this house, to desire such removal without making any charge whatever; that confidence may be very prudently withheld, where no criminal process can be properly instituted; that although we have made no criminal charge against any individual of his majesty's ministers, yet, with all humility, we do conceive, that we have stated to his majesty very distinct objections, and very forcible reasons, against their continuance: that with regard to the propriety of admitting either the present ministers, or any other persons, as a part of that extended and united administration, which his majesty, in concurrence with the sentiments of this house, considers as requisite; it is a point upon which we are too well acquainted with the bounds of our duty to presume to offer any advice to his majesty, well knowing it to be the undoubt-

ed prerogative of his majesty to appoint his ministers without any previous advice from either house of parliament; and our duty humbly to offer to his majesty our advice, when such appointments shall appear to us to be prejudicial to the public service.

“ To acknowledge, with gratitude, his majesty's goodness in not considering the failure of his recent endeavours as a final bar to the accomplishment of the gracious purpose which his majesty has in view, and to express the great concern and mortification with which we find ourselves obliged to declare, that the consolation which we should naturally have derived from his majesty's most gracious disposition, is considerably abated by understanding that his majesty's advisers have not thought fit to suggest to his majesty any farther steps to remove the difficulties which obstruct so desirable an end.

“ To recal to his majesty's recollection, that his faithful commons have already submitted to his majesty, most humbly, but most distinctly, their opinion upon this subject; that they can have no interests but those of his majesty and of their constituents; whereas it is needless to suggest to his majesty's wisdom and discernment, that individual advisers may be actuated by very different motives.

“ To express our most unfeigned gratitude for his majesty's royal assurances that he does not call in question the right of this house to offer their advice to his majesty on every proper occasion, touching the exercise of any branch of his royal prerogative, and of his majesty's readiness, at all times, to receive such advice, and to give it the most attentive consideration.

“ To declare that we recognize
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in these gracious expressions those excellent and constitutional sentiments, which we have ever been accustomed to hear from the throne since the glorious æra of the revolution, and which have peculiarly characterized his majesty, and the princes of his illustrious house; but to lament that these most gracious expressions, while they inspire us with additional affection and gratitude towards his majesty's royal person, do not a little contribute to increase our suspicions of those men who have advised his majesty in direct contradiction to these assurances, to neglect the advice of his commons, and to retain in his service an administration, whose continuance in office we have so repeatedly and so distinctly condemned.

“ To represent to his majesty, that it has anciently been the practice of this house to withhold supplies until grievances were redressed; and that if we were to follow this course in the present conjuncture, we should be warranted in our proceeding, as well by the most approved precedents, as by the spirit of the constitution itself; but if, in consideration of the very peculiar exigencies of the times, we should be induced to wave for the present the exercise, in this instance, of our undoubted legal and constitutional mode of obtaining redress, that we humbly implore his majesty not to impute our forbearance to any want of sincerity in our complaints, or distrust in the justice of our cause.

“ That we know, and are sure, that the prosperity of his majesty's dominions in former times has been, under divine providence, owing to the harmony which has for near a century prevailed uninterruptedly between the crown and

this house. That we are convinced that there is no way to extricate this country from its present difficulties, but by pursuing the same system to which we have been indebted at various periods of our history for our successes abroad, and which is at all times so necessary for our tranquility at home. That we feel the continuance of the present administration to be an innovation upon that happy system.

“ That we cannot but expect, from their existence under the displeasure of this house, every misfortune naturally incident to a weak and distracted government; that if we had concealed from his majesty our honest sentiments upon this important crisis, we should have been in some degree responsible for the mischiefs which are but too certain to ensue.

“ That we have done our duty to his majesty and our constituents in pointing out the evil, and in humbly imploring redress; that the blame and responsibility must now lie wholly upon those who have presumed to advise his majesty to act in contradiction to the uniform maxims which have hitherto governed the conduct of his majesty, as well as every other prince of his illustrious house; upon those who have disregarded the opinions, and neglected the admonitions of their representatives of his people, and who have thereby attempted to set up a new system of executive administration, which, wanting the confidence of this house, and acting in defiance to our resolutions, must prove at once inadequate, by its inefficiency, to the necessary objects of government, and dangerous, by its example, to the liberties of the people.”

The motion was carried by a majority of one.

It was now sufficiently evident that the victory of administration was already secure. It was not however till the next day, the 9th of March, that opposition may be said to have struck their colours, and surrendered a fortress, which they had defended with an unconquerable perseverance and spirit, that, whether we chuse to ascribe it to an ardent love of their country, or to an unbounded and insatiable ambition, has few examples in the history of past ages, and will probably be rarely imitated by posterity. The step to which we allude was the motion which was made for a long mutiny bill, and which opposition suffered to be carried without a division. A short mutiny bill had for some time been the measure which they had announced as their last security against a sudden and premature dissolution. It is ever with considerable slowness and reluctance, that men are brought to acknowledge the unpopularity of their own sentiments and their favourite measures. The truth however in the present case, had at length become so palpable and irresistible as to be universally admitted. In the mean time it was affirmed by the ex-ministers, that the present tide of popular favour originated solely in imposture and delusion, and that nothing was necessary but the delay of a few months, to bring back the nation to that sober sense and that sound discernment, by which they had been so long and so eminently distinguished. But even this last resource was given up by them, and the whole contest ceded without any reserve in the affair of the mutiny bill.

It was now generally understood that the present parliament was immediately to be dissolved, and it was a subject of discussion for several days in the house of commons, how far such a measure was practicable in the present situation of affairs. It was roundly asserted by sir Adam Ferguson, previously to administration's having carried their last point, that the army might be legally kept up in the kingdom, even without the passing of a mutiny bill. The house of commons had already voted the men, and it had also voted the money to pay them. Nothing therefore could at any calculation be farther necessary than the consent of the lords, and then the crown might have an army in this country with the consent of parliament. It was however replied by opposition, that the army could not be maintained without discipline, and discipline could not be employed without a mutiny bill. Nothing short of an act of parliament could deprive an Englishman of his inherent birth-right, the trial by jury. This, they observed, was so evidently and incontrovertibly true, as to stand in the preamble of every mutiny bill that had ever existed in this country. They added, that the votes of the house of commons, unaccompanied with an act of appropriation, were of course superseded by every prorogation or dissolution of parliament. Hence they inferred, that even though the mutiny bill should pass, the maintenance of the army would still be illegal; and now that the measure of a dissolution was totally unnecessary, that that side of the house had explicitly avowed their determination to support and forward the business of supply, it would be wholly unjustifiable on the part of administration. If administration dissolved the parliament in the present juncture, it would be unquestionably evident that they were

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sacrificing the laws of their country for the sake of taking advantage of a momentary and unfounded popularity, and that they dared not venture the danger of annihilating the delusion they had created, even by bringing forward the common supplies and the necessary taxes of the year. These animadversions however had little effect upon administration, and on the 24th day of March the parliament was prorogued, and the next day dissolved by royal proclamation.

In the speech which the king delivered from the throne he took occasion to observe, that on a full consideration of the present situation of affairs, and of the extraordinary circumstances which produced it, he was induced to put an end to the sitting of parliament. He felt it a duty which he owed to the constitution and to the country, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of his people by the mode of a general election. He trusted that this measure would obviate the mischiefs arising from the unhappy divisions and distractions that had lately subsisted, and that the important objects that required the consideration of parliament might be afterwards proceeded upon with less interruption and with happier effect. He could have no other object, than to preserve the true principles of the constitution, and to employ the powers intrusted to him by law for the only end for which they were given, the good of his people.

The conduct of Mr. Pitt, in the course of this long and important contest, was a subject of much animadversion. Those, who form their opinion from success, and those, who regard every proceeding with admiration that is marked with

inflexibility and perseverance, have of course extolled it as a perfect and unblemished model of heroic virtue. Others, on the contrary, whose suspicions of obstinacy are as rooted and violent, as the prejudices of the former are unreasonable, have allowed no merit to the constancy of the minister in the pursuit of an object, which they, in the first instance, decided to be unjustifiable and criminal. It may however be doubted, whether the uniformity of Mr. Pitt were so great, as either the admirers or the enemies of that quality have supposed it to be. It may reasonably be questioned whether he foresaw the end from the beginning, and whether he did not act upon the principle of those men, who, believing they have engaged in a just and an honourable cause, pretend not to perceive, and puzzle themselves not with the investigation of the consequences of their exertions. This seems to have been the meaning of the reasonings so often repeated by Mr. Pitt. He accepted of office and continued in it for the sake of averting the pernicious effects of Mr. Fox's India bill, and he was satisfied that no mischief could result from his perseverance, so greatly to be dreaded and so much to be deplored as those which had so lately impended over his country. Nor is it probable, either, that when the minister authorised Mr. Bankes to make the assurances we have related upon the subject of a dissolution, he foresaw that he should be the adviser of that measure; or that, when he pointed out to the house of commons two constitutional modes of removing him from the councils of his sovereign, by impeachment or by address, he had formed the design of continuing

in office, notwithstanding the addresses which were afterwards presented.

There are a few miscellaneous circumstances belonging to this session of parliament, which, in order not to break the chain of connexion that runs through this memorable contest, we have been obliged to postpone to this place. It was on the 19th of December moved by Mr. Lee, the king's attorney-general, that the affair of sir Thomas Rumbold, which had so long occupied the attention of the house, should be adjourned to a distant day, with the intention of its being altogether dropped. The

appointment of the new administration, which took place about the same time, was accompanied with a numerous creation of peers; Mr. Thomas Pitt, of the elder branch of the family of the minister, being created lord Camelford; Mr. Carteret, lord Carteret; Mr. Elliot, lord Elliot; and soon after the dissolution sir James Lowther, earl of Lonsdale; sir Thomas Egerton, lord Grey; sir Charles Cocks, lord Somers; Mr. John Parker, lord Boringdon; Mr. Noel Hill, lord Berwick; Mr. Dutton, lord Sherborne; and lord Bulkeley, of the kingdom of Ireland, lord Bulkeley.

C H A P. V.

Transactions in the East. Conquest and Recovery of Canara. Peace with Tippo. Dissentions at Madras. Affairs of the Province of Bengal.

IN our preceding volume we took notice of the great importance of the affairs of India, and expressed our anxiety to communicate to our readers a just, a lucid and accurate idea of the subject. As the high degree of attention it demanded of us was in some measure new, we were able to do no more in that volume than to furnish an abridged relation of the transactions of several years. The brevity we were necessitated to consult, prevented us from filling up our outline, and from endeavouring to trace the causes and the motives, at the same time that we exhibited the external face of affairs. We have now less ground to tread over, and are more at liberty to explore it in all its parts. The na-

tion has heard, and with much truth, from the heads of different political parties, that there was a great deal of what was wrong in India. The attention of the public was anxiously solicited to this quarter of the globe; and the honest pride of Englishmen, and the generous humanity of our common nature were interested in the scenes of misery and confusion that were displayed, and the various remedies that were suggested. It is our province, not to decide among these remedies, each the production of considerable abilities, but to describe the symptoms of the malady, and leave the rest to the judgment of our readers. We feel no personal enmity to any man. We respect the abilities of Mr.

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Hastings, and are forward to assert, that if he has done wrong, even the errors of so elevated a character have in them something of the sublime and the attractive. But we have nothing of this kind to suggest for the majority of his fellow-actors upon this conspicuous scene. Mr. Hastings appears among his countrymen in India, as a Cortes in the midst of Pizarros and Almagros, a man of a comprehensive mind in the midst of the robbers of provinces and destroyers of nations.

There is a view of our subject, which, as it is calculated to give our readers a just idea of its value, we beg leave to mention. The history that falls within the compass of our present volume, if it be not splendid, and do not soothe and flatter the pride of Englishmen, is yet perhaps more instructive, and more fertile of just and accurate notions upon the subject, than any period of equal length from the time that we first set foot in Hindostan. The story with which we are to set out, cannot fail to remind our readers of the first conquests of the Spaniards in America. They have there been obliged to pity an innocent and virtuous, but a defenceless and unwarlike people, under the cruel hand of their oppressors. In all this there is something too purely melancholy, and too opposite to all the genuine feelings of the heart, not to be productive of pain, and a certain intellectual humiliation, without an adequate balance of pleasure. In the story of the conquest and recovery of Canara which we have to relate, the Spaniards may be said to be brought a second time upon the scene, but not to sit down in sullen and insolent prosperity after all their crimes. The Spaniards of

Britain were overtaken in the midst of their career; and he, who is more of a man than an Englishman, will rejoice in the irregular and unmeasured, but at the same time the just and merited vengeance that was inflicted upon them by the prince whose dominions they were ravaging.

The campaign of 1783 was opened in the kingdom of Canara by brigadier-general Matthews, with the storm of Onore, on the 5th of January. The drama commenced upon this occasion in a manner worthy of the events that were to follow. No quarter was given by the victorious English. Every man they met was put to the sword. Upon this occasion we beg leave to transcribe three lines from the private letter of one of the officers concerned in the expedition. "The carnage," says he, "was great: we trampled thick on the dead bodies that were strewn in the way. It was rather shocking to humanity; but such are only secondary considerations, and to a soldier, whose bosom glows with heroic glory, they are thought accidents of course; his zeal makes him aspire after farther victory." This part of the peninsula had hitherto been untouched by the barbarous and unsparing hands of Europeans, and of consequence was full of riches and splendour. In the fortress of Onore, were found sums of money to an unknown amount, besides jewels and diamonds. A considerable part of this appears to have been secured as private plunder by general Matthews. The complaints of the military were loud; they thought, and naturally, that the acquisition of riches was the fair and reasonable consequence of the perpetration of bloodshed. But their commander turned a deaf

ear to their representations, and hastened, by adding new laurels to his fame, to hide the slander that might otherwise rest upon him.

From Onore, the western army proceeded to the nearest fortresses on the sea coast, More and Cundapour. Being joined by a reinforcement from Bombay, under the command of colonels Macleod and Humberston, and having received positive orders from that presidency to proceed for Hydernagur, the capital of Canara, general Matthews marched for the Gauts, a ridge of mountains, which divide the inland part of this kingdom from that which borders upon the sea. Here they had to penetrate a pass about eight feet wide and three miles in length, strongly fortified, and defended by a prodigious number of natives. The English however had already obtained a considerable reputation by their executions; and the use of the bayonet, the most fatal instrument of war, and which was employed by them on all occasions, created so extreme a terror in the enemy as to enable them to surmount this otherwise impregnable defile. An express from the army was immediately dispatched to Hydernagur, who returned with an offer of surrender, provided the inhabitants were not molested, and the governor was permitted to secure his private property. The wealth of this metropolis, in gold alone, is variously represented. By the accounts of Bombay it was stated only at 175,000 l. but the officers concerned in the expedition stated it as amounting to 1,200,000 l. or 1,920,000 l. It must be remembered that this was only public treasure: the private property that was seized on by the army, exclusive of this sum, was doubtless considerable. The treasure was at first

shown by the general to his officers, and declared to belong to the army. He afterwards received new light upon the subject, and informed them that it actually belonged to the Mahometan governor of the place, and was secured to him by the terms of surrender. In consequence of this new arrangement, it was sent under the convoy of lieutenant Matthews, brother to the general, to Cundapour, in order to be transmitted from thence to Bombay. Whether or no it ever reached this settlement we are not informed.

If the army were discontented with the selfish and interested conduct of their commander at Onore, their displeasure at this new instance of the same kind was boundless and extreme. Colonel Macleod put himself at the head of the malcontents, and the controversy grew to so great a length, that this officer, together with some of the principal people in the army, quitted Hydernagur, and returned to Bombay. The bitterest recriminations between the general and his officers succeeded this event. The latter charged general Matthews with a spirit of speculation, equally superior to shame, and incapable of satiety. The general in return declared of his whole army, "that they had done every thing that was disrespectful and injurious to him; that order and discipline were at an end; and that the soldiery, encouraged by the practice of their officers, were become loose and unfeeling as the most licentious freebooters."

From Hydernagur general Matthews sent out various detachments for the forts in the inland country and upon the coasts. Of the former the principal was Annanpour. The expedition against this place

was commanded by major Campbell. When a practicable breach was effected, orders were issued for a storm and no quarter. They were received with alacrity, and put in execution without delay. Every man in the place was put to the sword, except one horseman, who made his escape after being wounded in three different places. The women, unwilling to be separated from their relations, or exposed to the brutal licentiousness of the soldiery, threw themselves in multitudes into the moats with which the fort was surrounded. Four hundred beautiful women, pierced with the bayonet, and expiring in one another's arms, were in this situation treated by the British with every kind of outrage. For this conduct the troops however, we are told, afterwards received a reprimand.

Carwa and Mangalore were about the same time attacked upon the sea coast. As the siege of the latter proceeded slowly, general Matthews marched against it in person. The place was taken after an obstinate defence on the 9th day of March. And as the kingdom of Canara was now completely subdued, general Matthews put his army in cantonments for the rainy season.

The unexampled success of the western army had been chiefly owing to the death of the celebrated Hyder in the close of the preceding year. His successor indeed possessed considerable reputation; but in all instances, the death of one prince and the succession of another, is a considerable event in the provinces of Hindostan. In this country they have no idea of a delegated power less absolute than the supreme. The princes who governed Canara and Mysore, had no

check upon any ambitious views with which this event might inspire them. And it seems to have been more the interested treachery of the governor of Hydernagar, than the valour and discipline of the British forces, that effected the conquest of the kingdom of Canara.

The abilities of Tippoo, and those of his predecessor, were each of them so great and splendid, that it is difficult for the man who studies with attention the transactions of India to decide the preference. But there was much disparity in their character and dispositions. Hyder was cool, equable, affable and humane. Tippoo was ardent, eager, enterprising and inflexible. The former always accurately measured the proportion betwixt effects and causes; and, though intrepid and decisive in his conclusions, he was exemplarily patient and deliberate in discussion. Tippoo was irregular, trackless in his motions, ever bursting upon you before he was expected, and as strong and unmanageable in his feelings, as he was irresistible and almost always victorious in action. Hyder was a luminary, bright and beneficent, cheering with his beams the subjects of his sway; sublime without irregularity, and admirable without astonishment. Tippoo was a meteor, that in his orbit seemed to set the heavens on fire; brilliant, dazzling and glorious, but exciting an anxious terror in every spectator, lest himself should become the victim of his greatness. Such was the prince that was now about to pour his innumerable forces upon the ravagers of Canara.

It was on the 7th of April that Tippoo appeared before Hydernagar. General Matthews had scarcely had time to collect a force of

two thousand men, and to write to Bombay for a reinforcement. This presidency, prejudiced against him by the representations of colonel Macleod and his companions, instead of complying with his request, on the 27th of March suspended him from the command, and dispatched his rival to take upon him the direction of the western army. In the mean time the army of Tippoo is said to have consisted of about 50,000 men. They covered the hills on every side of the metropolis as far as the eye could reach. The Europeans in his service amounted to about 500 men. The engagement was short, bloody and decisive. The army of general Matthews, defeated by the avenger of his subjects, fled on every side; and, leaving the town to the enemy, took up their refuge in the citadel. Tippoo, whose first object was to prevent a reinforcement, by a capital piece of generalship, made himself master of the passes of the Gauts: thus at once preventing all assistance reaching the British army, and cutting off from them the possibility of a retreat. The garrison of Cundapour immediately upon this event evacuated the place in disorder and fled towards Onore. Tippoo was able to cut off a considerable part of them in their flight, took many prisoners, and among the rest lieutenant Matthews who had been governor of the place.

The sultan now sat down before the fortress of Hydernagur; and after a destructive cannonade of something more than a fortnight, he reduced general Matthews on the 24th of April to the demand of a truce in order to the settling the terms of capitulation. The conditions were, that all public property should remain in the fort, that the English should engage not to act

against Tippoo for a stipulated time, that they should march out with the honours of war, that they should pile their arms, and that they should have full liberty to proceed unmolested with their private property to the sea coast, from thence to embark for Bombay. The garrisons of Annanpour and the other inland fortresses were included in the capitulation. The surrender took place on the 28th of April. The general in order to prevent too much money from being found in the possession of one man, ordered his officers to draw of the paymaster general whatever they wanted. When the fort was surrendered to the sultan not a single rupee was to be found in it.

Tippoo was probably sufficiently exasperated against the garrison of Hydernagur, by the various enormities they had committed in the progress of their conquests. The circumstance of the fort being thus stripped of every thing that was valuable, finished their character and decided their fate. It was regarded by the sultan as a direct infraction of the terms of capitulation. Accordingly, the next morning he sent for general Matthews to a conference. The general, however was not admitted to the presence of the sultan, but immediately thrown into chains. Upon various pretences, Tippoo separated most of the other principal officers from the army. The general and his companions were conducted to Syringpatnam, the capital of Mysore; and after having experienced a variety of severities, he was at length put to death. This was effected, according to some accounts, by pouring melted lead down his throat; and according to others by poison. Twenty officers underwent the same fate. The

beverage that was administered was the milk of the cocoa-tree, which is said to be a most inveterate poison. As they peremptorily refused to swallow it, the executioners held their hands and shoulders, and forced it down their throats. When all of them had drank the fatal draught but three, one of them, captain Richardson, threw himself upon his knees, and earnestly intreated them, that they would at least send to the sultan for a confirmation of the sentence. This however was refused, and the execution completed.

The rest of the army was, as may naturally be supposed, detained prisoners. Much complaint has been made of the severity with which they were treated. Some doubts however may be suggested on this head. The treatment of prisoners of war, even among the refined nations of Europe, is seldom such, as to meet the approbation of the subjects of it; and the English nation in particular has little to boast upon this head. Supplies have sometimes been conveyed to them from the nations to which they belong; and yet it has generally been found, that private and voluntary subscriptions were almost indispensibly necessary to preserve them from starving. Want of food, want of cloaths, and want of untainted air to breathe in, have been the uniform hardships experienced by prisoners of war in this kingdom. The British prisoners in Canara, were most of them destitute of the resource, either of private subscription, or of supplies from their countrymen. They however received every day an allowance of food and money. These supplies were irregular and unequal; but this very inequality affords a presumption, that the severities they

experienced did not all of them originate in the direction of the sultan.

It cannot however be asserted, that Tippoo entertained much partiality and consideration for any part of the army he had reduced to surrender. The treatment even of those prisoners that had been taken in former campaigns is said to have been altered after the capture of Hydernagur. Immediately upon the determination on his part not to attend to the terms of surrender, the captured army was drawn up, and one by one rifled of every thing valuable. They were then marched, officers and soldiers, chained two and two together with handcuffs. When they arrived at their destined place of confinement, they were in some places loaded with fetters. Medicines were refused to those that were sick, it being answered to their demand, that "they had not come there to live, and that the sultan would be happy to hear they were all dead." The dead were thrown over the walls of the prison and devoured by tygers. Many arts were employed to induce the prisoners to enlist in the service of Tippoo, and one officer in particular was led three times to the foot of the gallows to intimidate him into compliance. Various converts however were made to the government of Tippoo and the Mahometan religion, and many are said to have been detained in the service of the sultan without their consent. The sepoys were obliged to work as slaves, but this treatment was not extended to any European, officer or private. It has been asserted, that, a short time before the conclusion of peace, Tippoo had issued his orders for a general massacre of the prisoners; and it is added, that it was at this

time that lieutenant Matthews and another officer were led into the woods at midnight and cut to pieces by the Canarins.

This treatment, whether it were systematical or not on the part of Tippoo, was not much relished by the British. They applied in particular to lieutenant-colonel De Cossigné, commander in chief of the French in the service of the sultan, but received no answer. This neglect greatly irritated the English officers; and a similar complaint of inhumanity has been made against M. de Suffren, who commanded the French fleet in the East-Indies. The prisoners, who were taken by him, were delivered into the hands of Tippoo. Suffren, in answer to the representation that was made to him by the naval prisoners, expressed himself extremely sorry, that they had received a less favourable treatment than the sultan had promised him, but charged their misfortunes to the refusal of sir Edward Hughes to a cartel that had been proposed on the part of the French. We feel ourselves however unwilling to admit wanton and indiscriminate accusations of this kind, and especially against a man, so elevated in his genius, so polished and urbane in his manners, and of so high a reputation for benevolence and humanity as the French admiral. Unable to exchange his prisoners, determined, as he declared himself to be, by the example he "had seen at New York of 300 Frenchmen, crowded into a prison ship, and dying of an epidemical disease," never to hold men in a naval confinement, there was no other alternative, than either to deliver them to the sultan, or to send them to the Mauritius, the latter of which would probably have been unac-

ceptable to the captives, as well as incompatible with the objects of his command. In the mean time, the prisoners in the hands of the French army are universally said to have been treated with extreme attention and humanity.

After the capture of Hydernagar, the evacuation of Cundapour, and the re-conquest of the inland country, there still remained in the hands of the English three considerable ports of the kingdom of Canara, Mangalore, Onore and Carwa. The siege of these was formed at one and the same time by the victorious Tippoo. Mangalore is the principal port in the dominions of this prince. It was defended by major Campbel, whose conduct at Annanpour we have already noticed, with a force that was regarded by the presidency of Bombay as a good foundation for a new army. Tippoo sat down before it in person on the 19th day of May. The attack and the defence were conducted with equal obstinacy and spirit. The sultan was stimulated by every motive that could influence the haughtiness of a monarch, or the regards of the father of his people; and the British fought for no less, than their booty, their liberty, and their lives. The garrison was soon reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions; and in somewhat more than two months from the opening of the siege Tippoo effected a practicable breach in the walls of the place. It was at this critical moment, that news reached the army of the sultan of the conclusion of peace between the belligerent powers in Europe. Upon this occasion the French troops in the service of this prince informed him that he could have their assistance no longer. Intreaties, threats, and

some degree of violence, appear to have been employed to induce them to alter their resolution, but M. De Coëgné was inflexible. Tippoo was therefore induced on the 2d of August to agree to a cessation of hostilities with the governor of Mangalore, upon condition of every thing remaining in its present situation, and no reinforcements of any kind being admitted into the place. The English supplied the Europeans in the service of Tippoo with a sum of money to assist them in their march towards Telicherry.

We have already said, that on the 27th of March the government of Bombay superseded general Mathews in the command of the western army. In pursuance of their resolution, colonel Macleod sailed on the 5th of April, in the Ranger sloop of war, to assume the command. In passing by Gheria, a considerable port in the dominion of the Marattas, he was seized, after a desperate engagement, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, so lately, and so solemnly ratified, and conducted back with them in triumph. This conduct on the part of the Marattas has never been explained. Colonel Macleod however was liberated on the 27th of May, and immediately returned to Bombay. He sailed once again with a considerable reinforcement of troops and vessels, and arrived off the port of Mangalore a few days after the truce had been concluded. He could not however be permitted to throw any succours into the place.

Immediately upon his arrival Mr. Macleod, whom we now find decorated with the title of general, came on shore, and demanded a conference with the sultan, by whom he was received with the

utmost respect and attention. The horrors of war had now for some years been laying waste every part of the peninsula. Sufficient glory had been acquired by Tippoo, to satisfy any ambition that was not perfectly immeasurable. Sufficient bloodshed, cruelty and devastation had been produced, to induce any man, who had a latent spark of humanity in his breast, to desire the restoration of tranquillity. Tippoo was now deserted by his European allies. These were his engineers, his officers of artillery, his masters in the art of war, and the flower of his army. Beside this he found some ground of apprehension in the offensive alliance, that had lately been concluded between the English and the Marattas. The Marattas were his hereditary and irreconcilable enemies, and the treaty, which had just been concluded, was enforced and stimulated in the execution by an agreement for the partition of his dominions. Under these circumstances the sultan expressed himself ardently desirous of peace, and willing to conclude it with the British nation on the most honourable terms.

In the conclusion of the conference it was agreed between Tippoo and the English general, that the former should dispatch messengers, at one and the same time, to the presidency of Madras, and to the peshwa of the Marattas, with proposals for the conclusion of a general pacification. In answer to these proposals a letter was dispatched about the month of October by Sindia, and another by the guardian of the peshwa, expressing their resolution to act entirely in concert with the government of the British East Indies, and, if Tippoo did not consent to the immediate evacuation of the Carnatic, to unite
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with the English, and never more to be at peace with him. Tippoo appears to have acted, through the whole transaction, with openness and candour; and he dispatched orders to his general in the province of Arcot, to enter into provisional arrangements for the evacuation of his conquests, and to come in person to Syringpatnam, along with the deputies he expected from the presidency of Madras.

Never was a neutrality less cordial and amicable, than that which was maintained between the natives and the British in the kingdom of Canara. Tippoo is said to have engaged to provide a market to supply the garrison of Mangalore with all kinds of grain, such as the country produced, and at the usual prices; and to permit such articles as the country did not afford to be conveyed to them by sea. This agreement however was very indifferently fulfilled, and the force of major Campbel was almost in a starving condition. About the same time some boats with sepoys having been wrecked near Cannanore, near two hundred of them were seized and detained by the princess, notwithstanding repeated applications made for their release by general Macleod and the resident of Telichery. This event gave occasion to a report, which seems to have spread through the whole peninsula, of general Macleod in person having been surprised by the sultan. In consequence of this report, the Marattas dispatched an officer to attack a fort of Tippoo which bordered upon their dominions, and their commander in chief encamped with his main army under the walls of Poona on the 15th of November. The presidency of Madras had previously resolved to send Mr. Sadlier, one of

the council, and Mr. Staunton, the confidential secretary of lord Macartney, to negotiate the terms of peace. At the same time colonel Fullarton was dispatched with a considerable force to the province of Dindigul to hold the sultan in awe, and in case of a recommencement of hostilities to effect a diversion in favour of the garrison of Mangalore. Colonel Fullarton had been first expedited, but the report we have mentioned having in the mean time reached Madras, Mr. Sadlier did not leave that place till the 9th of November. Colonel Fullarton, conceiving the cessation of arms as being already dissolved, attacked and made himself master of Palacacherry on the 14th of November.

The garrison of Mangalore was now reduced to the utmost extremity. On the 13th of November general Macleod sailed from Telicherry with a determination at all events to relieve the place. To effect this purpose the attack was already arranged, the ship cleared for action, and the boats brought in under the shore, in order to effect the landing of the troops. The object however was accomplished without bloodshed. Tippoo consented that the garrisons of Mangalore, Onore and Carwa, should receive one month's supply of provisions, and engaged to admit a similar supply on the same day in the following month. The relief was effected on the 25th of November. General Macleod no sooner returned to Telicherry, than he led an expedition in order to chastise the princess of Cannanore. The fortress, like that of Onore in the expedition of Matthews, was taken by storm on the 14th of December, and the princess was made a prisoner. As she was the ally and depend-

dependent of Tippoo, that prince loudly complained of the conduct of the British general, as a breach of the truce concluded at Mangalore.

The negotiations however were not broken off by the event, and a misunderstanding having taken place between Mr. Sadlier and Mr. Staunton, respecting the unconditional surrender of the fortresses, a pass was granted by the sultan for a third commissioner, who was now dispatched from Madras. Peace was at length concluded on the 11th of March 1784, on the terms of mutual restitution, the liberation of prisoners on either side, and an express declaration on the part of the sultan, that he would never revive his claim to the sovereignty of the Carnatic. It seems proper to add, that the conduct of Mr. Sadlier, who joined the English prisoners at Oscotta, by no means met the approbation of the officers recently delivered from confinement. These gentlemen had previously obtained from the commissioner of the sultan the indulgence of marching without handcuffs, but this favour was not extended to the common soldiers. Mr. Sadlier's interest was therefore solicited for this purpose, but he refused the request, and is said to have added, that "the situation in which the troops now were, was the best and securest method of marching them." Upon the conclusion of peace Tippoo, struck with the resolute and obstinate defence of the garrison of Mangalore, and irritated against the governor, who had surrendered the place to general Matthews, ordered him to be blown from the mouth of a cannon. The news of the treaty no sooner reached Bombay, than that presidency came to a resolution to suspend general Mac-

leod from the command of the army. Of the reasons and the consequence of this proceeding we are not yet informed.

There is no part of the provinces with which we are acquainted in the East Indies, that presents to us a prospect more melancholy and repulsive than the dominions of the nabob of Arcot. This prince had originally been placed and maintained by us on the throne in opposition to a competitor, whose claims were perhaps more rightful, but who was supported by the governors of the French settlements on the coast of Coromandel. Nothing has been more unfortunate and ruinous than the period of his government. His transactions however have been so much involved with those of the company's servants, that it is difficult to pronounce in what degree the calamities to which we have alluded, are to be ascribed to the indolence or the tyrannical dispositions of the nabob, and in what degree to the inauspicious interference of the English settlers. He had ruined his country by his extortions, oppressions and arbitrary proceedings of various kinds, notwithstanding which, far from having accumulated treasure, he was to the last degree necessitous, and in debt to all the world. It was this distressed condition of his affairs, combined with the improvidence and internal weakness of our government, that made his dominions the easy and unresisting prey of Hyder Ali in 1780. Having found himself totally incompetent to the arrangement of his affairs, in the month of December 1781, he made an assignment of all his revenues to lord Macartney on the part of the East-India company for the support of the war. This assignment received
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the sanction of the court of directors at home on the 5th of September 1782. In the mean time, the nabob, repenting of his engagement, dissatisfied with the conduct of the government of Madras, or more probably instigated by his fraudulent creditors of this country, remonstrated to the supreme council at Bengal, that the conditions, for which the inferior presidency had engaged, had not properly been fulfilled, and praying to be released from the cession he had made. His petition was granted by the supreme council, upon condition of his paying a specific sum, monthly, to the company, and orders were accordingly dispatched to lord Macartney. These steps were taken in March 1783, and the dispatches accompanied general Coote in the last voyage he made to the presidency of Madras.

Such was the foundation of a controversy, which has attracted much attention, and been productive of important consequences. Lord Macartney felt an entire persuasion of the incapacity and indisposition to a right mode of proceeding of the nabob of Arcot. Satisfied as much as ever of the wisdom and policy of the transaction, and convinced of the rectitude of his conduct, he was disposed to persevere in the line he had chosen, notwithstanding the groundless complaints of the tributary monarch. With these inclinations he remonstrated in strong terms against the mandate of the supreme council; urged the injustice of exposing the renters, who had undertaken with the English government in defiance of the machinations of the nabob, to the resentments of that prince; and represented the measure, as big with oppression, depredation and ruin. The government of Bengal in the mean

time, whatever were its character in other respects, cannot be charged with versatility, in consequence, and an inattention to the dignity and powers vested in it by law. They were equally tenacious with the presidency of Madras, and accordingly wrote to lord Macartney on the 15th of August 1783, repeating their former orders, and requiring an immediate and unreserved compliance. In the mean time the approbation of the court of directors arrived at Madras, and put an end to all farther proceedings on the subject.

Major general Stuart, a gentleman who had been particularly active in the arrest and imprisonment of lord Pigot, upon this occasion loudly declared himself the partisan of the government of Bengal. It was to the bold and untemperish part that he took in this affair, that, so far as we can penetrate into the mystery that obscures the internal transactions of our Indian government, are to be ascribed his subsequent misfortunes. The situation of the nobleman who now presided at Madras, was not very different from that of lord Pigot in 1776. Each of them had held himself up as a reformer, and each of them are supposed by those, who have seen the tenour of our transactions in India in an unfavourable light, to have possessed too much virtue, too much purity, and too little indulgence and management for the sinister conduct of those around them, not to have incurred much dislike and odium. Lord Pigot, as well as lord Macartney, had the misfortune to incur the enmity of the nabob, and the displeasure of the supreme council at Bengal. And to complete the resemblance each of them was opposed at home by the same individual. General Stuart was a vete-

veteran officer, who had exposed himself to all the rigours of the military life, and who had recently lost one of his legs in the service of the company. His reputation was that of a man, daring, intrepid and fearless in the very highest degree; and he had never been known to commit himself in any business, in which he did not exert every nerve, and put to hazard every thing that was dear to him, rather than sit down with the ignominy of a defeat.

Alike in situation and circumstances, lord Macartney was determined not by any timidity and irresolution on his part, to incur the fate of lord Pigot. The cessation of hostilities was no sooner concluded between the French and the English in the month of June, than, to give a kind of check to general Stuart, and to furnish him with a warning of what he was farther to expect, if he persisted in his disaffection, the government of Madras recalled him from the field, and appointed general Bruce in his place. Undismayed however by this proceeding, he appears to have been as bitter and unreserved as ever in his invectives against the civil governor. Accordingly the presidency went on to dismiss him from the service of the company, and on the 17th of September the sentence of his dismissal was passed upon him in his presence. If he intended to carry his opposition to farther extremities there was certainly now no time to be lost. He is said to have suffered so much of his design to escape him before his judges, as to declare he would dispute their sentence. Immediately after, he left the fort, and retired to a house occupied by him in the town. He was here accompanied by major Grattan, through whom he had been accustomed on parti-

cular occasions to issue his orders to the troops. He was surrounded by his secretary and aides de camp, and had a guard at his house.

It is by no means unexampled for a man to be at the same time a bad subject to the civil power, and an excellent soldier, a skilful general, acceptable to his equals, and adored by the troops under his command. Such was perhaps the character of this officer. There seems to be little room for doubt that he intended to enter without delay upon the most decisive measures, and to stake his future success, his fortune and his life against that of the governor of Madras. Lord Macartney was comparatively speaking a man of peace, surrounded with formality and pomp and the etiquette of office, and general Stuart seems to have been perfectly secure that in staking against such a character the celebrity, the intrepidity and the experience of a veteran, who was determined not to be frightened with names, or to be deterred by the arduousness of his undertaking, he must come off with the advantage. This security was fatal to his project. Lord Macartney had not gone so far, as to set the commander in chief at defiance, without being prepared for the consequences. Informed that general Stuart was busily employed in drawing out orders for the army, he that very evening dispatched the adjutant of the garrison, together with Mr. Staunton, his confidential secretary, and a small body of sepoys, to the number of sixty-six, to put him under arrest and convey him into the fort. Mr. Staunton and his companion proceeded to the general's house about eight in the evening, in the order usually observed by visitors. They ascended without interruption to the general's apartment.

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They found him employed with major Grattan and his secretary in the manner they had been informed, and immediately announced their errand. Nothing could have been more surprising and unexpected to the general. He however made objections, said he would obey the arrest at a future time, and at length seemed determined to stand upon his defence. Measures were now taken for introducing the sepoy, and twelve of them only being ready, Mr. Staunton led them up stairs, with their bayonets fixed and his drawn sword in his hand. Upon his appearance major Grattan advanced towards him, and in a tone not less expressive of firmness than reproach, asked him if his proceedings were decent, and added, that he must be answerable for them. It now appeared to be uncertain how far major Grattan meant to carry his resistance; and the success of that resistance if made, was not less doubtful. The number of Europeans was equally few on both sides. The part that would be taken by the sepoy, either above or below stairs, depended on the impression of the moment. They had been marched in an entire ignorance of the subject of their destination. They were accustomed to respect and obey the general, his secretary spoke their language fluently, and his aide de camp was in the habit of commanding them. The servants of the presidency however had the advantage of coming prepared, and with an entire knowledge of the service they had undertaken, while general Stuart and his companions were taken by surprise. Mr. Staunton accordingly assumed a loud and authoritative tone, and replied with asperity to the expostulation of major Grattan, while the general

on the contrary wasted his moments in arguing the point of law with the adjutant, and representing the informality of his proceedings, as he produced no written order. He took down the names of the persons concerned in the arrest, and insisted upon being moved from his seat, in order to ascertain the personal force employed against him. This proposal was complied with, and he was then, assisted by his own servants, conveyed without difficulty into the fort. On the 16th of October he was put on board a small vessel in the service of government in order to be brought to England.

It seldom happens that a strong and spirited measure can be taken, without involving with it new situations, that require equal exertion and firmness. When general Bruce was appointed to the command in the field, general sir John Burgoyne, who, as well as some other officers now upon the coast of Coromandel, was senior to general Bruce, was ill at Madras. It would however have been more conformable to precedent, to have named general Burgoyne, conditionally, when his health should permit him to take the field; but he does not seem to have been equally in the confidence of the governor of Madras. Not long after general Bruce fell ill, and sir John Burgoyne was ordered to join the army returning from the siege of Cuddalore. Against neither of the steps of this arrangement had he made any complaint. But the situation was different, when general Stuart was dismissed from the company's service, and sir John Burgoyne was nominated to supersede him in the entire command of the king's troops. To this he objected; and peremptorily refused to comply, unless he

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were either convinced of the crimes of general Stuart, or general Stuart had been put under arrest, and so incapacitated from the duties of his function. The proposal on the part of the civil government was in the first instance, rather a compliance with etiquette, than inclination; and, though the arrest immediately followed, they chose to accept the denial of sir John Burgoyne, and immediately issued two orders, the one constituting colonel Lang a lieutenant general, the other directing him to take the command of the whole army. The officer they had disgusted was of a character, more mild, and less enterprising, than general Stuart, and though his situation seemed more favourable for the adoption of an arduous measure, than that of the latter had been, the presidency had probably confidence enough in their knowledge of his disposition, not to dread the consequences. The event justified their determination. Though the king's forces to a man, and a part of the company's, astonished and indignant at the measure, called upon him to resist the insult, he however determined for himself, and induced four other majors general, who were included in the neglect, to retire from the army, directing the inferior officers to obey the orders of their new commander. At the same time he wrote to the governor, that he was ready, if called upon, to surrender himself into his hands.

There was a difficulty however, which was not removed by his retreat to Madras. Colonel Lang indeed was by this step left at liberty to issue his orders without danger of their being contravened; but the business of discipline, and the appointment of general courts mar-

tial, were points in which sir John Burgoyne conceived himself not equally at liberty to recede. He accordingly maintained his command of the king's troops in regard to returns, orders, and the general functions of his station till the 23d of December, when it became necessary for him to take some step, in consequence of a demand that was made upon him for a court martial upon one of the king's officers, and the appeal of two soldiers from the sentence of a regimental court martial. Sir John Burgoyne encountered various difficulties upon this occasion. He was not however to be diverted from his object, and on the 28th of December he informed the council of Madras, that he had appointed a day for the meeting of the court, and that he intended to bring before them, beside the trials already mentioned, the case of an officer, who appeared to be particularly protected by them for disobedience of orders. At the same time he referred it to the council, whether or no they would permit the court martial to be held, since he was resolved to obey their orders, and, if it were required, to withhold his power as commander in chief of the king's troops, though he must formally protest against being responsible for the disorders that might ensue. Upon the receipt of this letter on the 31st instant, the civil government resolved to put sir John Burgoyne under arrest, and by that means to put an end to the difficulties and disputes, which had so long subsisted between them and the king's officers.

From the ruinous state of the province of Arcot, and the consequences resulting from that circumstance, we turn to the condition

tion not less deplorable of the nabob visier * of Oude. His misfortunes principally originated, in the extraordinary manner in which his subsidy to the British government had been increased from 36,000 l. to 312,000 l. per annum, and, in the number of troops that was stationed in his territories from the same quarter. The last treaty that had been framed upon this subject was concluded in 1775, immediately upon the accession of the present nabob, and from that time the opulence of his kingdom and the revenues of the state had rapidly declined. In 1779, the natives were reduced to the greatest distress, and the complaints of the prince were vehement and pathetic. It was not however, at that time, at the commencement of so arduous and extensive a contest, thought advisable by Mr. Hastings to comply with his demands. But in the year 1781, Mr. Hastings made a progress to Benares and Oude, the principal object of which was stated to be the relief of the visier. Beside the importance of preserving in some degree the respectability of this prince, who formed a frontier to our provinces, his arrears to the English government had now grown considerable. In order to restore him to his former opulence and dignity, a great part of our military establishment in his country was agreed to be withdrawn, but the amount of the subsidy does not appear to have been altered. Fizzulla Khan however, the most prosperous of his dependants, and the princesses of Oude, the mother and grandmother of the nabob, were sacrificed to his immediate necessities, and a considerable part of the

confiscations were appropriated to the liquidation of the demands of the East India company.

Though these arrangements, to whatever animadversions they have been exposed upon other accounts, appeared favourable to the immediate relief and subsequent melioration of the circumstances of the visier, they were not however productive of all the advantages, that Mr. Hastings expected from them. "The event," said he, perhaps too much under the influence of the asperity of recent disappointment, "has proved the reverse of my hopes, accumulation of distress and degradation to the nabob, and of mortification and dishonour to me." The province was nearly in a state of anarchy and insurrection, and the company's debt, instead of being discharged by the assignments and extraordinary sources of money, provided for that purpose, seemed likely to exceed the amount at which it stood, at the time of Mr. Hastings's interview with the nabob. To rectify these abuses, the governor general recalled the resident and the British collectors in Oude; and he embraced this opportunity of complying with the commands of the directors, in appointing Mr. Britton to succeed Mr. Middleton in the former of these offices. One of the disgraced officers soon after died, but the other two were accused of gross abuses and peculation, and a severe enquiry was ordered to be instituted against them. With the event of this enquiry we are not acquainted.

Mr. Hastings was not better satisfied with the conduct of the minister of the nabob, than he had

* The title of visier or first minister of the Mogul empire is hereditary in the family of this prince.

been with the servants of the company in that province. This misunderstanding appeared in a very conspicuous light in the affair of Almas Ali Khan. This zemidar was regarded by the governor general as aspiring to independency. "His defection," says Mr. Hastings, "his retreat to the frontier, and the subsequent negotiations between him and the nabob, resemble more a treaty between equal states, than a transaction between a sovereign and his vassal." The minister indeed represented, that there had been no revolt on the part of Almas, and that the whole province of Oude enjoyed the most perfect peace and tranquility. But from whatever source Mr. Hastings derived his information, he was perfectly incredulous to the assertions of the minister, and regarded them as instances of the most shameless insolence and duplicity. He accordingly instructed Mr. Bristow, the new resident at Oude, that "if any engagement subsisted between the zemidar and the nabob, it must, however exceptionable, be faithfully observed; but if Almas Ali Khan had been guilty of any crime against the state, for which no immunity was provided in the engagement, or if he should break any one of the conditions of it, it should be Mr. Bristow's special care, to endeavour, either by force or surprise, to secure his person and bring him to justice." "By bringing him to justice," continued Mr. Hastings, "I mean that you urge the nabob, on due conviction, to punish him with death, as a necessary example to deter others from the commission of the like crimes; nor must you desist till this is effected. I cannot prescribe the means; but to guard myself against the obloquy

to which I may be exposed, by a forced misconstruction of this order by those, who may be hereafter employed in searching our records for cavils and informations against me, I think it proper to forbid and protest against the use of any fraudulent artifice or treachery, to accomplish the end which I have prescribed; and as you alone are privy to the order, you will of course observe the secret, that it may not transpire." These instructions were dated the 23d of October 1782.

However threatening an aspect the enmity of the governor general bore to him, the zemidar survived this dangerous and tottering situation, and lived to have his innocence and rectitude openly proclaimed. On the 30th of April 1784, Mr. Hastings, speaking of certain sums of money he had obtained of the visier, observed in one instance, "This was procured by my own suggestion from Almas Ali Khan, who complied cheerfully and without hesitation, considering it as an evidence seasonably offered for the general refutation of the charges of perfidy and disloyalty, which have been too laboriously urged against him, and carried at one time to an excess, which had nearly driven him, to abandon the country for the preservation of his life and honour, and thus to give a colour to the charges themselves."

Nothing is more distressful, than the famines with which this fertile quarter of the globe is so frequently visited. The appointment of Mr. Hastings to the presidency of Calcutta was preceded by a famine, tragical and destructive beyond what it is almost possible for us to form an idea. We have already mentioned the famine of 1779. And the year 1782 was closed by a

new calamity of the same kind, which completed and aggravated all the misfortunes of war. Fourteen thousand persons perished weekly in Madras and its environs. This most terrible of all human ills extended over the whole peninsula, nor were the provinces of Oude and Benares exempt from its destructive influence. The territory of the English government of Bengal however, by the wise and provident conduct of Mr. Hastings, escaped in some measure from sharing in the common misfortune.

Dissatisfied as the governor-general had been with the effects of the arrangement in 1781, he began at this time to relax from the severity he had exercised towards Fizzulla Khan and the princesses of Oude. A new treaty was concluded between the former and the nabob, under the auspices of the British government, on the 16th of February, 1783, by which he was restored to his dominions, upon the payment of a small fine. About the same time the mother and grandmother of the visier were re-instated in the possession of their respective appanages.

In the course of this year the complaints of the nabob of the distressed situation of his dominions became as loud as ever. It was now sufficiently evident, that the system the servants of the company had pursued with this prince ever since his accession, was no longer consistent with the prosperity, or almost the existence, of his dominions. In compliance with his representations, on the 31st of December it was resolved, finally to withdraw the British residency from Lucknow, and to accept in lieu of it the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the

company, and the current subsidy. In addition to this proceeding the governor general determined, previously to the time in which he intended to quit the presidency, to pay another visit, in compliance with the invitation of the visier and his new minister, who was upon better terms with Mr. Hastings than his predecessor, to the dominions of this prince. Accordingly, on the 7th of February, 1784, it was signified to the government of Bengal that security in due form had been given by the visier, and on the 17th instant Mr. Hastings set out on his progress for Lucknow.

It may be no disagreeable relief to the severity and distress of the proceedings we have been obliged to relate, to take notice of the arrival of sir William Jones at Calcutta, in consequence of his promotion to be one of the members of the supreme court of judicature. The elegance of manners and the brilliancy of imagination, by which this gentleman is distinguished, his love of letters, of liberty and mankind, gave a peculiar propriety to his appointment, and might afford us no uncertain prospect, if a few characters equally venerable and elevated could be found to unite with him in the glorious undertaking, of a speedy termination to all the disorders of India. One of the earliest decisions pronounced by him, was in the cause between the army and the company, respecting the treasures which were found in the fortress of the mother of the raja of Benares, which was finally decreed in favour of the company. On the 15th of January, 1784, a society was instituted by sir William Jones, for enquiring into the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences and literature
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of Asia. And thus the literature of Europe, and along with it, it is to be hoped, the arts of humanity, beneficence and peace, have at length obtained a footing in the plains of Hindostan.

C H A P. VI.

General Election. Meeting of Parliament. Westminster Scrutiny. Votes of Supply. Parliamentary Reform.

IT had been the assertion of some of the leading members of the opposition, that the popularity of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues was delusive and unfounded, and that a very short interval would suffice for its destruction. Their observation however was not completely verified. The great and memorable contest between administration and the house of commons had now endured a considerable time, and the popularity of the former, instead of diminishing, seemed daily to grow more extensive and unquestionable. Never was any decision, if we take it in all its parts, more full and explicit, than that which was given by the people of England in the present general election. In two of the earliest contested elections, which were made on the 30th and 31st of March, for the boroughs of Hertford and Hull, Mr. William Baker and Mr. David Hartley, two very distinguished adherents of the ex-ministers, were rejected. These determinations however were made upon a confined scale, and could at best be regarded only as a kind of earnest of the victory which was to follow. But the memorable day, which seemed finally to overthrow all opposition, was the sixth of April. On this day the poll was finally closed for the city of York. The importance of this place, as

constituting one of the most numerous and independent bodies in the kingdom, was lost in the two circumstances, of their election furnishing a kind of touchstone of the disposition of that celebrated and opulent county, and of the advantage possessed by the declining party in that place, in having as their leader lord John Cavendish, a nobleman of the most unspotted character, the most amiable manners, and who had hitherto filled the most elevated place in the veneration of his countrymen. Lord John Cavendish and his fellow-candidate were thrown out upon the poll, and on the same day Mr. Foljambe, the successor and heir of sir George Savile, and Mr. Weddel, declined all farther contest for the county of York. The other considerable persons in the party of Mr. Fox, who suffered in this general election, were sir Robert Clayton, member for Surrey; sir Richard Hotham, for Southwark; sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, for Suffolk; general Conway, for Bury St. Edmunds; Mr. Thomas William Coke, for Norfolk; colonel Hartley and Mr. Elwes, for Berkshire; Mr. Thomas Halsey, for Hertfordshire; Mr. Thomas Grenville, for Buckinghamshire; lord Sheffield, for the city of Coventry; Mr. John Townshend, for the university of Cambridge;

bridge; and Mr. Thomas Erskine, for Portsmouth.

But, though the majority obtained by administration in this election was the most complete and numerous, it was however impossible that a party, so elevated in abilities, and so high in their opulence, should suffer a total and unqualified defeat. In the city of Norwich, which had been among the earliest in its reprobation of the late ministers, they were able to seat as a new member Mr. William Windham. Though the contest terminated to their disadvantage, the election for Middlesex in favour of Mr. George Byng, and still more that in Buckinghamshire, in favour of earl Verney, were conducted with much perseverance and a great equality of votes. The same observation may be applied to the city of Bristol, where one of the defeated party maintained the majority upon the poll during an election of five weeks. In Bedfordshire, where it was also fought with equal arms, the contest terminated in favour of Mr. St. Andrew St. John, late one of the under secretaries of state, by a majority of one. In the city of London, after the most strenuous exertions on both sides, the number of friends and of enemies to administration were left, upon the close of the poll, exactly as in the preceding parliament.

But a struggle scarcely less conspicuous and memorable than a battle between contending nations, or a revolution in the structure of their government, was exhibited in the city of Westminster. The candidates for this place were, lord Hood, the fellow-soldier of lord Rodney in the naval engagement between the French and English on the 12th of April, 1782, and who had in a manner divided with that commander the glory of the day;

Mr. Fox; and sir Cecil Wray, a gentleman who had originally been brought in upon the interest of Mr. Fox, but who now united with lord Hood in opposition to him. The election commenced on the first of April. During the two first days Mr. Fox maintained a majority over both the other candidates. On the third of April however, the tide was turned against him, partly, as it was supposed, through the instrumentality of the immediate dependents of the crown, and continued in that direction for the three following days of the poll. On the 8th, the 9th, the 10th, and the 12th of April, the contest was carried on with more equality, but uniformly to the disadvantage of the late secretary of state. On the last of these days the number of persons who had polled amounted to about ten thousand, a greater number than had ever been known to have voted upon any former occasion; and the majority against him, in favour of sir Cecil Wray, who was second upon the poll, was three hundred and eighteen.

The election had now continued for nearly a fortnight, and it would have been judged by any persons, less sanguine than Mr. Fox and his friends, that their cause was become desperate. But they had examined the events of the election with care, and were satisfied that their prospect was not hopeless. The party of administration had acted under the apprehension that the election would not probably be drawn into any extraordinary length, and had in a manner exhausted their efforts early in the poll. But the opposite party were aware of the practicability of drawing out the contest for several weeks longer, and were persuaded that a very great number of voters still remained. The nobility on this side possessed

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advantages in opulence and property, that might at least balance those of the ministerial faction. Their exertions had not been equally strenuous in the outset, and they had for that reason a greater body of resources still at their command. But they had one advantage, of which the opposite party were not aware, and which proved to them in the issue of more value than all the rest. This was in the beauty, the amiable qualities, the insinuating manners, and, above all, the intrepidity, the industry and exertion of the duchess of Devonshire. Animated by personal friendship, urged forward by every consideration that embraced the glory and the dignity of the house of Cavendish, and inspired with an inextinguishable zeal for what she conceived to be a great public benefit, this exalted woman entered upon a personal canvas in favour of the losing candidate, and was not to be deterred by any inconveniences of the pursuit, by any of those reflexions and calumnies which might naturally be expected from an exasperated party, from carrying to its proper termination the business upon which she had entered. The termination was worthy of the dignity and merit of the actor. Mr. Fox gained upon his opponent in the poll of every day, and finally closed the contest on the 17th of May, with a majority of 235.

It is not to be supposed that an election, made by so numerous a body, and carried on for so long a time, should be unaccompanied with many extraordinary circumstances. In a struggle so desperate and determined, both parties brought the loudest accusations of fraud and unfairness against their opponents. The progress of the election indeed had been such in several respects as

to give no unplaussible handle to charges of this kind. In the earlier stages of the poll, 1800 persons were sometimes said to have voted in six hours, a circumstance which may naturally be conceived to preclude an accurate examination of their respective qualifications; and at the close of it, it was found that 3000 persons had given their voices more than upon any former occasion. A number of soldiers, and other retainers of the court, who had given to sir Cecil Wray his first majority, furnished a topic for the declamations of the partisans of Mr. Fox: and the inexhaustible fund of voters, that the latter party seemed to possess toward the close of the election, though at that time the poll was conducted with extreme strictness, was calculated at least at the first blush to excite the suspicions even of impartial observers. Influenced by these considerations, each side had in its turn declared its determination for the demand of a scrutiny after the poll should be concluded. This is a proceeding that has been found in the experiment seldom decisive, always expensive, and always vexatious to the victorious party. It was natural therefore, when the election had run out beyond the length that had at all been expected at its commencement, that that side which had the majority should be desirous to preclude this kind of attack. It was not till the 13th of May that Mr. Fox received any regular proposal for terminating the election. The return had been fixed, by the authority from which the mandate for the election issued, for the 18th instant. It had been the universal practice in the case of a general election to consider this term as irrevocable, and to close all proceedings in the court of the sheriff or inferior officer, whether

whether in the mode of scrutiny or poll, against that day. It had been rumoured however in the present instance, that this law of precedent was not intended to be adhered to. Mr. Fox therefore, in order to obtain a new colour of justice to his cause, exerted himself to keep open the poll as long as the returning officer should allow it to go on. On the 17th instant, it was closed by the authority of this officer, and on the same day, in consequence of the representations of sir Cecil Wray and his friends, a scrutiny was granted in favour of that gentleman. In consequence of this proceeding a return was made to the court of chancery, which might be styled historical, relating the events of the election, stating that a scrutiny was granted, and alleging the impossibility under these circumstances of making the usual return.

The meeting of parliament took place on the 18th instant; and it is from this term that we may date in some sense the commencement of the parliamentary existence of the new administration. The remainder of the last session may rather be said to have been spent in a contest respecting the great offices of government, than in the characteristic exertions of a regular administration. They had now completed their arrangements, they had obtained every advantage of situation, and they were at this moment to consider themselves, as entering upon their ministerial career; and upon those measures, which were to decide their character as able statesmen and judicious legislators. Mr. Pitt centered in his own person the two offices of first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; the secretaries of state for the home and foreign department were lord Sydney

and the marquis of Carmarthen; lord viscount Howe was first lord of the admiralty; lord Thurlow lord chancellor, and earl Gower lord president of the council. The privy-seal had been put in commission; the office of paymaster-general was held in common by Mr. William Grenville and lord Mulgrave; the treasurership of the navy had been bestowed upon Mr. Henry Dundas; sir George Yonge was secretary at war; Mr. Lloyd Kenyon had recently been created a baronet, and appointed master of the rolls; and the offices of attorney and solicitor general were bestowed upon Mr. Pepper Arden and Mr. Archibald Macdonald.

The former speaker being re-seated in the chair of the house of commons, on the 19th of May, the session was opened by a speech from the throne. Upon this occasion the king expressed the greatest satisfaction at meeting his parliament at this time, after having recurred in so important a moment to the sense of his people. He entertained a just and confident reliance, that that assembly was animated with the same sentiments of loyalty, and the same attachment to the constitution, which had been so fully manifested in every part of the kingdom. The objects peculiarly recommended to their attention, were the alarming progress of frauds in the revenue, the framing such commercial regulations as were immediately necessary, and the providing for the good government of our possessions in the East Indies. Upon this subject parliament would not lose sight of the effect, which the measures they adopted might have on our own constitution and our dearest interests at home. The king had no wish, but to consult the prosperity of his people, by a constant attention to every object of

national concern, by an uniform adherence to the true principles of our free constitution, and by supporting and maintaining in their just balance the rights and privileges of every branch of the legislature.

Mr. Fox had early protested in the warmest manner to the returning officer of the city of Westminster, against the requisition that was made of a scrutiny on the part of Sir Cecil Wray. Though precluded by the return that had been made from sitting for Westminster, he had however taken his seat for a Scottish borough, into which he had been introduced by the interest of sir Thomas Dundas. On the first day of the session, when the question before the house was the choice of a speaker, he took occasion to express his sentiments of the unprecedented measure, that had been adopted against him. It was indeed generally admitted, that the question respecting the nature of the return that was made, ought to precede all other business in the house of commons. Accordingly on the 24th of May it was moved by Mr. Lee, the late attorney general, "That the high bailiff of the city of Westminster, having proceeded to take, and having finally closed the poll for that city, previously to the day on which the writ of election expired, ought to have returned two citizens to serve in parliament for that city." This motion brought on a debate, in which it was particularly contended by the master of the rolls, the attorney general, lord Mahon, and Mr. Pitt, that the measure now suggested was improper, and that the high bailiff ought by every rule of equity and justice to be heard before he was condemned. It was replied to this argument by lord North, that the motion of

Mr. Lee tended merely to ascertain and establish a point of law, to which in his opinion they were at this time perfectly competent. The high bailiff had made no return on the day specified in the writ, and had assigned his reasons for not having obeyed the king's command and the laws of the land. The resolution was no resolution of censure or punishment, and therefore in the present stage of the business the house had nothing to do with putting the high bailiff upon his defence, but simply to decide upon the reasons on their table. The previous question having been moved by sir Lloyd Kenyon, it was at length put and the house divided, ayes 283, noes 136, majority 147. It was then ordered, That the high bailiff and his deputy should attend the house on the day following.

On that day a petition was presented by Mr. Fox, complaining of an undue return on the part of the high bailiff. Mr. Fox at the same time declaring that it was his intention to move, that the petition should be referred to a committee under Mr. Grenville's bill, it was moved by lord Mulgrave, and seconded by sir Lloyd Kenyon, "That the petition did not come within the regulations of that bill." It was then ordered that the petition be heard at the bar of the house on the 28th instant, and the attendance of the high bailiff was put off for that day. Mr. Fox was permitted to be heard by counsel, and upon a petition from the high bailiff, presented by lord Mahon, the same favour was extended to that officer. On the 31st, a petition was brought up from the electors of Westminster in the interest of Mr. Fox, and they also were heard by counsel at the bar of the house. Another petition was presented

sent on the 2d of June on the part of the electors in the interest of Sir Cecil Wray, praying that the high bailiff might be permitted to proceed on the scrutiny.

The pleadings and evidence on the part of Mr. Fox commenced on the 28th day of May, and were resumed on the 2d of June. The points the witnesses were called to establish were, that many votes had been suspended till their legality had been enquired into, that persons had been sent to the dwellings of suspected voters to ascertain the identity of their persons, and that every precaution had been employed that no spurious votes should pass in favour of Mr. Fox. The evidence on the part of the high bailiff was intended to prove, that he had information that the names of upwards of four hundred persons appeared upon the poll-books as having voted for Mr. Fox out of two parishes, not one of which could be found or was believed to be in existence. An affidavit was produced, sworn before a master in chancery, by three persons alleging, that money had been offered them to take upon them the character of Westminster electors and poll for Mr. Fox. Other evidence of the same sort being adduced, it was warmly taken up by the opposition, as going to prejudice the whole election, and being extremely improper in that stage of the business. The house was divided no less than three times upon different questions moved on this point, each of which was rejected by a majority of considerably more than two to one.

The pleadings and evidence of either party being concluded, it was moved by Mr. Welbore Ellis, and seconded by Mr. Anstruther, "That the high bailiff be directed forthwith to make a return of the

writ and of the members chosen in pursuance of it." This motion was opposed by nearly the same speakers as had already taken a part in the business in opposition to Mr. Fox. Various instances were produced of writs, respecting which, when the person to whom they were issued represented his inability for the having executed them in the time originally specified, the court from which they had proceeded extended the term of their return. A statute, which had been enacted in William the Third, was observed upon as making particularly in favour of the conduct of the high bailiff, since, though decisive respecting the return of a writ issued to a sheriff, it was entirely silent upon the case of a precept originating with a sheriff, and addressed to a mayor or bailiff. It was added, that the oath of the high bailiff obliged him to "return such person or persons as should to the best of his judgment appear to have a majority of legal votes." To oblige him therefore to make a specific return before he had been able to satisfy his conscience, was to impose upon him the necessity of involving himself in the guilt of perjury. In pursuance of these reasonings it was said by Mr. Pitt, that, though it were unquestionably his interest, and though he felt it to be his sincere wish, to abstain from every thing that had even the appearance of persecution, yet when great constitutional questions were involved, he was then ready to forego every other consideration, and so far to gratify his adversary, as to furnish him with the pretence of being the object of ministerial pursuit, rather than, for the sake of personal convenience or inglorious safety, to depart from the true principles of the government of Britain.

The arguments on the other side were summed up with remarkable ability and animation by Mr. Fox. There were two points of view in which the question might be considered; the first, whether the evidence before the high-bailiff were sufficient to warrant his granting a scrutiny, supposing him to have legal powers for that purpose, the second, whether any returning officer could by law grant a scrutiny upon the completest evidence of its necessity, which could not commence till after the day on which the writ was returnable. The great defence of the high bailiff was built upon the circumstance of sir Cecil Wray and his agents having furnished him with a regular list of bad votes on the part of Mr. Fox. He ought to have rejected this kind of evidence as partial and incompetent; but instead of this he acted in concert with the adversaries of Mr. Fox, secretly, collusively, and without once giving to him or his friends the slightest idea of such an intercourse, between the judge of the court, and one of the parties litigating that upon which he was to exercise his judicial function. Mr. Fox contrasted the defence of the high bailiff before the house of commons with his language at the moment he granted the scrutiny. He then disclaimed the informations delivered to him by sir Cecil Wray and his agents, declared that he had never read them, or never with any attention, and that they did not in the very slightest degree influence his determination on the demand that had been made.

The question of law might be considered as it respected the statute law, the common law or the law of precedent, legal analogies, and the policy and expediency of the case. With respect to the act

of king William it was ridiculous to argue, that it bound the sheriff, but not at all the mayor or bailiff. True, the latter was not mentioned, and therefore it was possible an action might not lie against the high bailiff upon this statute in the courts below: not that he had not openly transgressed the spirit of the law, but because the penal part of every statute was to be construed according to the strict letter of the act. But was there a dirtier, a viler, or more despicable quibble, than to represent the legislature of this country as guarding against the partialities and corruption of a sheriff, who had generally a greater stake in the country, and was therefore less exposed to temptations of the meanest kind, and not against a mayor or bailiff, who was usually of a lower rank and was more open to the means of corruption? The arguments respecting the oath of the bailiff were to the last degree nugatory, since the very same oath was imposed upon sheriffs. They were nugatory, because it was absurd to suppose that a returning officer should be allowed years to satisfy his conscience, and that a jury, who were to deliberate on the life of a fellow-creature, were to be shut up in a room without victuals or fire till they agreed in their verdict. An act however of king Henry the Sixth was literally and unquestionably in his favour, and afforded Mr. Fox a legal remedy, of which he should most certainly avail himself. The question of precedent was entirely on his side, and the returning officer had been so sensible of this, that from his own authority he had closed the poll, the day prior to that which was fixed for the return of the writ. But if the poll were limited by this circumstance, a scrutiny, which was

no other than an extension of the poll, was equally superseded. Indeed no one precedent had been attempted to be produced in justification of the high bailiff. For the legal analogies that had been stated, they evidently failed in this material circumstance, that the extension of their term derived from the same authority from which the writ itself had originally issued. The ground of expediency was not less decisive in his favour than the other arguments to which Mr. Fox had recurred. By sanctifying the conduct of the high bailiff of Westminster, the whole constitutional authority of the nation was thrown upon the mercy of returning officers. No man could say why 20, why 10, nay, why 200 members of parliament might not by the caprice, the folly or the treachery of a returning officer, remain unreturned. It was putting an engine into the hands of ministers, which might be employed to the most oppressive and despotic purposes.

Mr. Fox expressed extreme apprehensions of the partiality of the house, from which, he said, he had no reason to expect indulgence; nor did he know that he should meet with bare justice. He complained with vehemence of the oppressive and persecuting spirit of the proceedings that had been held against him. In all the records of parliament, in all the annals of election, and in the history of this country, a single precedent could not be found to justify this extraordinary return. The main and evident drift of it was to deprive him of the benefit of Mr. Grenville's bill; and to accomplish this end, he called upon the house to observe, how many obvious modes of return the high bailiff had avoided.

Had he done his duty, and returned lord Hood and Mr. Fox, sir Cecil Wray would not have been injured, for he would instantly have petitioned, and the merits of the election been tried by a committee upon their oaths. Had the bailiff, doubting, as he pretended, the legality of Mr. Fox's majority, returned, as he undoubtedly might have done, the two other candidates, he would have petitioned, and one of Mr. Grenville's committees would have redressed him. Had lord Hood been returned alone, still it was cognizable by Mr. Grenville's bill; or, if he had returned the three candidates, the double return would have intitled it to a priority of hearing, and a committee would instantly have tried its merits, and rescued the case from the prejudices and party influence of the house of commons. Mr. Fox professed the sincerest veneration for Mr. Grenville's bill. The most infallible of all tests, the test of repeated practice, asserted its virtues; and his attachment to it was not a little increased by the resemblance it bore to that inestimable right, the trial by jury. Oh! that it were possible to mould that house into the character and size of a jury! Of twelve men acting indeed upon conscience, and sworn upon oath to give a true verdict according to evidence! How easy would Mr. Fox have felt respecting the issue of the discussion.

Some of the ministerial party had observed that the house had only to chuse between issuing a new writ and ordering the scrutiny to go on; that the former was perhaps the most regular proceeding, but that the latter was a measure of lenity to Mr. Fox. He deprecated such oppressive, such cruel lenity. If that were the only al-

ternative, he begged that the issuing a new writ might be the measure adopted by the house. In the event of a new election, he anticipated triumphs, more brilliant, more splendid, if possible, than those he had lately the honour of enjoying. Little apprehension did he feel of his success with the electors of Westminster, who, in a season of frenzy and general delusion, when artifice, fallacy and imposture prevailed but too successfully in other parts of the country, had discovered a sagacity, a firmness and steadiness superior to the effects of vulgar and silly clamour; and who, upon the very spot, the very scene of action, manifested that they understood and despised the hypocrisy, the fraud and the falsehood, which had gulled and duped so great a proportion of their fellow subjects.

Mr. Fox had had a variety of calculations made upon the subject of the scrutiny, and the enormity of the expence was a serious and an alarming consideration. He knew it might be said, and perhaps with a pitiful triumph might be said, that he should bear but a small part of the burden. But this was to him the bitterest of all reflections. Affluence was on many accounts an enviable condition; but if ever his mind languished for it, it was upon this occasion; it was when he found, that the misfortune of his being obnoxious to bad men in high authority, would extend beyond himself, that those friends, whom he respected for their generosity and valued for their virtues were to be forced into a wicked waste of fruitless expence only, because they were too kind and too partial to him. This was their crime, and for their adherence to their political principles and

their personal predilections they were to be punished. Mr. Fox acquitted the chancellor of the exchequer of being the author of the business. Not to him did he impute it, but to the cause of all our disgraces and all our miseries, to those secret advisers who hated with rancour, and revenged with cruelty; to those malignant men whose character it was to harass the object of their enmity with a relentless and insatiable spirit of revenge. The question was then put on Mr. Ellis's motion, and the house divided, ayes 117, noes 195, majority 78. It was then moved by lord Mulgrave, "That the high bailiff do proceed in the scrutiny with all practicable dispatch," and the question was carried on a division.

On the 19th of May. the address to the sovereign on the speech from the throne, was moved in the house of lords by the earl of Macclesfield, and seconded by lord viscount Falmouth. It was animadverted upon by earl Fitzwilliam on account of the approbation it conveyed of the dissolution of the late parliament, though, he added, that he should not on this particular ground oppose the address. The subject was brought forward in the house of commons, on the 24th of May, by Mr. James Hamilton, and seconded by sir William Molesworth, member for Cornwall. It was moved by lord Surrey, as an amendment upon the address, that, that part of it which related to the late dissolution should be omitted. This was particularly recommended on the ground of unanimity; and it was objected to administration by Mr. Adam and Mr. Fox, that by the measure in question they had broken the royal word, as well as the pledges they had made to the house. The amendment was re-

jected by Mr. Pitt, since, much as he was convinced of the importance of unanimity, he was not for purchasing an hollow unanimity, by passing over a great constitutional measure, which the circumstances of the times had made necessary and wise, and which had given the most entire satisfaction to every part of the kingdom. Several other speakers followed Mr. Pitt, and lord Delaval in particular reminded the house of the pledge he had made to administration in the last parliament, that if Mr. Pitt would trace back the indirect path by which he got into power, and enter the door of that house as the minister of the people and their representatives, he would receive him with open arms. This pledge he held himself bound to redeem, and was therefore determined to vote with Mr. Pitt against the amendment, and on every occasion to afford him his cordial support. The amendment was rejected by a majority of 76, and the address carried.

On the 14th of June, a representation to the king on the speech from the throne was moved in the house of commons by Mr. Burke, and seconded by Mr. William Windham. The object of this representation was to vindicate the propriety and rectitude of the late India bill, and to censure, and state the alarming consequences, that might be expected to result from the dissolution of parliament. The impropriety was noticed of rendering the votes of the members of the house of commons, and the bills which should receive their assent, the objects of animadversion and punishment from the throne. The greatest dangers were stated to result from the attempt to form a prerogative party in the nation, to

be resorted to in derogation of the authority of the house of commons, and from the setting up the representative and constituent bodies, as separate and distinct powers formed to counterpoise each other, leaving the preference in the hands of the secret advisers of the crown. It was asserted that the deference shown to the opinion of that house when they dissented from the ministers of the sovereign, was that alone which could give authority to its proceedings when it concurred with their measures: in a word, that the respect of the nation with foreign powers, and its internal dignity and freedom, consisted in the deference paid by administration to the commons of the realm, and that both would be lost the moment the latter sunk into a mere appendage to the ministers of the crown. The expression of "the balance which was to be held between the rights and privileges of every part of the legislature," which has been introduced into the speech, was censured, as tending to stir improper discussions, and leading to mischievous innovations in the constitution. The representation was negatived without a division.

On the 31st of May, the house being in a committee of supply, a resolution was moved for 26,000 seamen. Admiral sir Thomas Frankland embraced this opportunity to make a strong representation of the extreme want of subordination and discipline in the sea service. Captain sir John Jervis complained with equal warmth of the state of the cutters and other ships employed against smugglers. The business itself however was treated as ruinous by lord Mulgrave, who trusted that the means now in contemplation to check smuggling would

would prove to be extremely different, and like all Mr. Pitt's measures, manly, vigorous and effective. The ordinary of the navy was voted on the 18th of June, and upon this occasion commodore Bowyer rose to refute what he conceived to be the misrepresentations of sir Thomas Frankland respecting the discipline of the navy, contrasting the language of that officer with the conduct of the last war.

On the 10th instant the committee of supply was moved by captain James Luttrell from the office of ordnance for 181,141l. 6s. 4d. for the unprovided services of 1783, and 429,000l. 2s. 7d. for the service of the ensuing year. At this time the fortifications planned by the duke of Richmond, the estimate of which was stated at 50,000l. for one year, were made a subject of animadversion, and particularly censured by captain Macbride and Mr. William Hussey. The ordinary of the army was voted on the 14th of June, without any debate. The army extraordinaries were brought forward on the 25th instant, and the case of the officers of four regiments lately reduced, but who, misled by the greater number of regiments maintained in the last peace establishment, had made exchanges and purchases in the those regiments as if they were not to be disbanded at all, was recommended to administration by lord viscount Beauchamp.

On the 7th of August it was moved by the secretary at war, as some indemnification to these gentlemen, that the regiments to which they belonged should be continued on the establishment till Christmas next. This proposal was by no means satisfactory to the friends of the officers, but was accepted as

affording at least a present compensation for the hardships to which they would otherwise be exposed.

On the 16th of June, a motion was made by Mr. alderman Sawbridge, and seconded by Mr. alderman Newnham, "That a committee to be appointed to enquire into the present state of the representation of the commons of Great Britain in parliament." Mr. Sawbridge had been desirous of resigning this business to the chancellor of the exchequer, who had upon former occasions brought forward questions upon the same subject, and in whose hands he should have conceived it attended with a greater prospect of success. Mr. Pitt however declined the proposal. He said that the pressure of public business did not leave his mind at liberty to enter on the disquisition and arrangement of a subject so peculiarly complicated and extensive. He added that he was perfectly persuaded that this was not the proper time for bringing forward the question, and that it might be urged with a greater probability of success on some future occasion. He declared his resolution to offer somewhat upon the subject early in the next session, but observed, that though the precipitate discussion of the subject had not his approbation, the business itself should have every support he was able to afford it.

Mr. Fox said that he could conceive of no reason for the delay of the business, and it was astonishing that not one of the gentlemen who had recommended the postponement, had attempted to justify it by any kind of argument. For himself he was satisfied that no time in the world was so fit as the present. The parliament was a new one, and by no means hackneyed

in the habit of treating constitutional questions with levity or neglect. Their professions in the prospect of securing their seats were too recent to be forgotten. They would naturally be proud to shew the people of England how much they had their wishes at heart, with what promptitude they were ready to act in their service, and how well they were qualified to manage their concerns. But though improper now, the motion would be perfectly in season the next session. How did this appear? Would the minister be able to command a greater majority than at present? Would his friends be more numerous, or more implicit? He did not pretend to doubt Mr. Pitt's sincerity in the cause, but he did suspect that he had reasons for the present shyness which, however nameless, had their force. Mr. Fox trusted that now was the time to realize an idea the

people of England had so long cherished, and to which they directed their attention and expectations.

The question being at length regularly before the house, it was supported by sir Richard Hill, sir Edward Ashley, Mr. Martin, Mr. Beaufoy, the earl of Surrey and Mr. Sheridan. It was opposed by Mr. Grosvenor, lord North, sir Francis Basset, Mr. William Grenville and Mr. Dundas. The objection of this latter gentleman who had supported Mr. Pitt's propositions in the preceding year, rested upon the circumstance of the motion being directed to the appointment of a select committee, and not referring the business to a committee of the whole house. Towards the close of the debate, lord Mulgrave moved the previous question, which was at length carried, ayes 199, noes 125, majority 74.

C H A P. VII.

India Affairs. Bill for the Relief of the Company. Bill for regulating their Affairs.

THE affair of the Westminster scrutiny was an unfortunate opening for the new administration. Unhackneyed in the routine of office, which often blunts the acuteest sensibilities, and buoyed up by popular favour, it were to have been wished for them, that they should be able to commence their career with some measure, stamped with the generosity of patriotism, and calculated to remunerate the partiality they had received at the hands of the public. In this business Mr. Pitt appears to have run counter

to the sense of every cool and impartial inhabitant of Britain. But it must be remembered, that a minister is almost never in all respects a free and independent man, unshackled in his projects, and capable of originating all his measures in the decision of his judgment. And this is the case, not merely because, by the very denomination he bears, he is an inferior, and depends in some measure for his existence upon the prince on the throne, but because he has popular prejudices and aristocratical enmities, which he is almost,

almost necessitated to consult. He can neither confer a benefit upon the people against their consent, nor can he safely act in neglect of the mass of connexion, property and rank, without which no administration can be permanent. Mr. Pitt, in the example we are illustrating, was either prompted by deference to the prejudices of others, or was under the influence of those party views and misapprehensions, from which the purest integrity is not always exempt.

But in the transactions we are now to relate, the subject of which was the territories of the British empire in the East, the ground he had to tread was as favourable and happy, as in the former case it had been inauspicious. Sublime and comprehensive in its march, it was a subject for the noblest energies of the human mind. The happiness, that might be conferred on thirty millions of men, and the wealth and prosperity, that might be procured to this country, seemed to present the wreath of fame as within the reach of the minister, and the genius of immortality as stretching out her hand to receive him. The abuses that had prevailed in the administration of the East were great, notorious and incorrigible under the government that then subsisted. It was therefore almost impossible that any change of system should not effect some melioration. And beside the inherent merits of the subject, Mr. Pitt had this farther advantage. The people of England would contrast the plan he should present, with that by which it had been preceded, a plan in Mr. Pitt's apprehension oppressive, unwise and impolitic in the extreme. Even if the system that had been rejected by the house of lords, had effected the two pur-

poses of happiness and wealth we have stated, which Mr. Pitt never admitted, he would at least have nothing to do, in order to his rising to the pinnacle of honour, than to show how the same ends might be answered by a remedy mild, gentle and emollient in its operation, and that did not, as was imputed to the defeated measure, break down all the barriers of liberty, and tear away all the holdings of the constitution.

The sudden dissolution of the preceding parliament had left something imperfect and unfinished in the prosecution of this grand business. On the 23d of January, previously to the rejection of Mr. Pitt's first India bill which took place on the same evening, Mr. Eden moved, "That the directors lay before the house of commons their opinions, together with the accounts and estimates on which such opinions shall be grounded, as to the mode and extent of parliamentary interference, which, according to their information and belief, would prove an effectual relief to the company." The motion was grounded in this circumstance. Mr. Pitt's bill was said to be brought forward with the consent of that company. The resolutions, into which they had entered upon the subject, expressed a presumption on their part that effectual relief would be extended to them in the sequel by the legislature. This was regarded by Mr. Eden as a species of mutual bargain and compact. He was therefore desirous to ascertain what were the amount and extent of that, for which parliament might be considered as pledging themselves by accepting and adding their sanction to Mr. Pitt's bill. A report from the directors, in compliance with

with this requisition, was laid on the table of the house of commons on the 16th of February. On the 11th of March it was moved, "That the report be referred to the consideration of a select committee." The committee consisted of Mr. Eden, Mr. Dempster, Mr. Hufley, Mr. Strachey, lord Beauchamp, sir Grey Cooper, sir Gilbert Elliot, sir George Shuckburgh, sir Adam Ferguson, Mr. Robert Smith, Mr. Brook Watson, Mr. Henry Thornton, Mr. Philip Yorke, Mr. Beaufoy and Mr. Bankes. The appointment of the committee took place on the 15th of March, and it was understood that they had a report nearly ready to lay upon the table of the house of commons, when their proceedings were interrupted by the dissolution.

The affairs of the East India company were opened in the new parliament by a petition from them, presented on the 26th of May, praying the house of commons to grant them such relief, as the situation of their affairs might appear to demand. Upon this occasion it was moved by Mr. Pitt, "That the directors lay before the house the information they might have received since their having made up their report of the 16th of February." In obedience to this order a second report was presented by them on the first of June, and together with the preceding one, immediately referred to the consideration of a select committee. This committee was constituted in the same manner with that of the last parliament, with no other variation than such as had been made necessary by the general election. For the names of sir Grey Cooper, sir Gilbert Elliot, sir Adam Ferguson and Mr. Smith, who were not in the present house of commons, were substituted those of

Mr. Dundas, Mr. Charles Brett, Mr. Call, and Mr. Anstruther. The report of the committee was completed and presented to parliament on the 22d instant, and taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house, on the 2d of July.

In the mean time, on the 24th of June, a bill was introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer, to allow the company to divide four per cent for the half year concluding with Midsummer 1784. This measure was protested against by Mr. Eden, Mr. Anstruther, and Mr. Fox. A charge of inconsistency was brought against the latter, in whose administration a bill of a similar nature had passed in the close of the session of the year 1783. Mr. Fox however distinguished the circumstances of the case. He stated, that he had objected to lord John Cavendish the seeming impropriety of the measure, but had been induced to comply by this argument. "You intend to enquire into, and change the system of the company's government. The present session is elapsed and the business must be postponed. It would therefore be unfair and unwise to prejudge a business which is so speedily to be investigated." The bill was read a first and a second time on the day of its introduction, and some alterations in its structure having been suggested by Mr. Eden, the next day it went through its remaining forms in the house of commons.

On the same day it was carried up to the lords, and passed that house on the 28th. At the third reading, it was attended with some debate, which was principally conducted by lord Loughborough and lord Thurlow. The house at length divided, contents 28, not contents

tents 9, majority 19, and the bill immediately received the royal assent by commission.

On the 2d of July, the day appointed for taking into consideration the report of the select committee, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of the East India company. This bill had for its objects the respite of duties, the payment of bills, and the ascertainment of dividend. The duties were to be paid by instalments, at Midsummer and Christmas 1785. Provision was made for the bills already accepted or announced. The design of the bill, as it related to the dividend, was to enable the company to act on a certain basis, without applying from time to time for authority to do it in a capricious way. In recommendation of the measure Mr. Pitt observed, that from the late enquiries which he had made into the state of the company's finance, and from the very ample and satisfactory accounts he had obtained, he had no room to admit the remotest idea that they would not, at the period he had mentioned, be able to fulfil every engagement. There might be circumstances in the progress of their affairs, that might disappoint their best founded expectations, and render their systems of payment abortive. But he believed, that India would now enjoy that peace, and that parliament would enforce that active œconomy, which the present state of affairs so strongly recommended. He felt much pleasure in being able to assure this country, that the aspect of things in that quarter was by no means unpleasant or gloomy, and that, without giving any high colouring to what now existed in the East, a few years tranquility and a system

of exertion and frugality would render our Indian possessions affluent and prosperous.

More than one question of considerable importance was involved in the debates that took place in the progress of this bill. It was examined how far the honour of parliament was pledged by the measure before them, what was the true state of the finances of the company, and what the merit of the principle upon which the measure under discussion proceeded. The first of these questions was started by Mr. Philip Francis who, together with major John Scott, had been first chosen into the present parliament, and who by their intimate concern in the transactions of Mr. Hastings, the latter as his immediate agent, the former as having been his vigorous opponent during his residence in India, promised to add something to the light and information the house had received on this momentous business. The chancellor of the exchequer in reply to Mr. Francis declared, that he had been perfectly astonished, when on former occasions he had heard it seriously contended, that, when parliament empowered the company to accept bills, it pledged the public faith for their payment, and was bound to provide for their discharge in case of the failure of the party immediately concerned. This language was so palpably fallacious, that he imagined those who held it most loudly had not believed what they said. He was followed on the same side by Mr. Dundas who, in order to illustrate the subject, reminded the house of the circumstances, in which the restriction of the acceptance of bills by the East India company had originated. By the regulating bill of 1773, the public were to come in for their share

share in the profits of the company. In order therefore to prevent the appropriation of any part of their profits to the payment of bills, that might be fraudulently sent over from India, it had been thought necessary to restrain the amount of those bills. Of consequence, when he gave his consent to the acceptance of bills to a greater amount, he did this, and no more; he gave up in behalf of the public so much of their claim, to the dividend that was secured to them by the bill of 1773. To these arguments it was added by Mr. Jenkinson, that the same responsibility might with equal propriety be charged upon parliament, respecting all the corporations and trading companies, in the affairs of which they had at any time found it necessary to interfere. But the absurdity of the argument, when thus pushed into all its consequences, was sufficient to destroy its credit with every thinking man.

In reply to these reasonings it was observed by Mr. Francis, that he had never imagined that parliament would in any case be legally bound to the discharge of the bills, as an endorser would be, or that the creditors would have an action against government. But he had apprehended that by the act proposed the public honour would in some sort be engaged to those, who, confiding in the wisdom and justice of parliament, would not conceive it possible, that the legislature would take off an existing restraint, and substitute an express permission, without the most satisfactory reasons for their conduct. The sense of the legislature to that effect would be declared by the permission, which the creditors would conclude was founded on strict inquiry and indisputable knowledge, and which therefore they would

receive, and be intitled to consider as a parliamentary security. The distinction between a legal and an honourable obligation was perfectly intelligible. A clause might indeed be inserted in the bill, declaring that they did not vouch for the security which they permitted to be given. But even then they would not have discharged every point of their duty. They were to take care not to suffer parliament to be in any shape partakers in an error, or accomplices in a deception. Mr. Fox declared his perfect conviction of the truth of Mr. Francis's doctrine.

With respect to the finances of the company, there was an obvious discordancy between the flattering prophecies of Mr. Pitt and the report of the select committee of the house of commons. This was animadverted upon by Mr. Eden, who had been originally the chairman of the committee, and confessedly took a principal part in forming the report. He knew that Mr. Pitt was a bold statesman, and he was willing to pay due homage to an intrepidity well suited to the difficulties of the times; but he could not reconcile with his singular wisdom and foresight the risque of an opinion, the fallaciousness of which a few months might demonstrate. The chancellor of the exchequer had said, that, if the relief demanded by the directors should be granted, they would be able, for the future, to be regular in their receipts and payments. Surely the difference between the state of the company, as described in their first report, in which their system in these respects was detailed, and the amount of the various articles which had since come to light, would shew too much cause to suspect the solidity of such an opinion. The
sums

sums dependent on those articles, had hitherto been undisputed, and he believed them to be indisputable. The whole amounted to about eight millions sterling. From this deduction was excluded all remark on the supposed revenues and expenses of the different territories and settlements, on the directors' plan of commercial resources, which the committee had shown to be incompatible, and on the delusive dream of retrenchments that would probably never be adopted by the servants abroad. The fact was, that the directors' report presented merely a picture drawn from the painter's imagination, in a moment of sanguine expectation and wild enthusiasm, amidst increasing distresses and difficulties. Mr. Eden waged no war with the directors. The whole tenour of the report would prove this, for it gave fifty flat contradictions to the directors' accounts, without a single expression that tended either to criminate or censure. He waged no war with Mr. Hastings, nor did he feel the smallest enmity to that gentleman. Lastly, he waged no war with the proprietors; on the contrary, every step he had taken in the business would in due time be acknowledged by the honest proprietors to be most friendly to their permanent interests. He had been actuated through the whole by a fair solicitude to obtain information, that might prevent a bankruptcy, involving the most alarming consequences. In this solicitude there was no idea of despondency. He did not mean to intimate, that the company's affairs were irretrievable; but he would venture to assert, and would rest his character upon the assertion, that, if mere palliatives were tried, and if parliament declined the task of examining the disorder to the bottom, the

consequences would be most calamitous to the company and the public. In the committee he had the advantage of three or four particular friends, men of known talents and integrity; but the majority were utterly unconnected with him in the line of public life. And yet he could venture to say, that there never was an instance in which any committee had acted with so complete a cordiality and unanimity. He could not stoop to the task of defending the report of such a committee. Let it be judged by the house and the public, and let it stand the test of such events as it might be construed to predict. Mr. Dempster confirmed what Mr. Eden had said, and declared, that a report, framed with more accuracy, or drawn in a greater style of candour, had never been laid upon the table of that house. Mr. Dundas, to whom, upon the revival of the committee in the present parliament, Mr. Eden had resigned the chair, gave his applause to the report. He said that he had little share indeed in the drawing up of that paper, since considerable progress had been made in digesting the facts previously to his becoming a member of the committee. In this situation he had felt the best way of discharging his duty, to be by comparing the materials selected for the report with the information and evidence upon which they were founded, and he had been satisfied that the one fully bore out the other. The committee had been unanimous in confining themselves to facts, since upon the same facts there might be different opinions. Thus circumstanced, he held himself as free as any member of that house, to reason upon the facts stated in the report, and to draw his own inferences.

Mr. Francis went at great length into

into the question before the house, and professedly grounded his reasonings upon the assertions of the select committee. He took up in particular that part of the subject which had been passed over by Mr. Eden, and stated the error of the directors' account in their estimate of the revenues in India, and of the charges to be defrayed out of them, as amounting upon their six years estimate, to 9,747,480*l*; from which it resulted, that instead of having an annual surplus in India of 1,091,546*l*. as the directors had stated, the annual balance against their Indian revenue would be 1,624,580*l*. The error in the account of goods now remaining, or to be imported into England, and of the funds out of which they were to be provided, was at least 3,000,000*l*. The directors in their estimate stated 5,655,668*l*. as the probable amount of the bills that might be drawn. Of this amount the bills already drawn or expected went to 4,819,236*l*. The sum, therefore, of 836,432*l*. was left to answer all the bills that might be drawn in the four last years of the estimated period. The last head in the report of the directors, that fell under Mr. Francis's animadversion, was the debt in India. This by the last advices amounted to 6,192,207*l*. and was to be liquidated partly by the appropriation of certain credits upon the princes and zemidars of India, to the amount of 2,470,394*l*. of which the directors themselves supposed a considerable part to be bad at the moment that they took credit for the whole of it, and which, in the opinion of Mr. Francis, was not worth a shilling; and partly from the supposed annual surplus of the revenue, which turned out to be

in truth an annual deficiency of 1,624,580*l*.

Mr. Francis went on to examine certain papers, which had been moved for by major Scott a few days before, as going to the direct overthrow of the calculations contained in the report of the select committee, and particularly two letters from Mr. Hastings of the 16th of December, 1783, and the 7th of February, 1784. The former of these exhibited a very brilliant and favourable picture of the finances of the province of Bengal. In all this Mr. Francis gave the governor general credit for a rapid invention and a poetical imagination, but considered the paper in every other view as destitute of the smallest authority. In this letter Mr. Hastings observed to his constituents, "That he had supported their other presidencies, not by scanty and ineffectual supplies, but by an anxious anticipation of all their wants, and by a most prompt and liberal relief of them." If this description were correct, Bombay and Fort St. George must have been nurtured in the lap of luxury. It was impossible that in that very period they should have incurred a debt of two or three millions, and drawn upon the directors for a million more. Mr. Hastings proceeded, "In the performance of these services we have sought for little pecuniary assistance from home. Unwilling to add to the domestic embarrassments of our honourable employers, we have avoided drawing on you for supplies upon many occasions that would have justified us in seeking such assistance." Could it be believed that, exclusive of bills paid by the company since the commencement of the war, those now received or advised from Ben-

gal alone, amounted to 3,416,285l. Such was the proof of Mr. Hastings's unwillingness to add to the domestic embarrassments of his honourable employers. To this it was necessary to add but one observation. The calculations of the letter of the 16th of December were professedly founded upon the certainty of a general peace. In the letter of the 7th of February, which accompanied it on the table of that house, Mr. Hastings observed, "The negociation for peace no longer promises success, the steps taken by Tippoo leave little or no prospect of his acquiescence in the treaty, and the government of Madras are endeavouring to get their army into the field as fast as possible."

But neither the reasonings of Mr. Francis, nor the character and declarations of the gentlemen who composed the committee, were sufficient to deter such as had espoused the cause of the company from animadverting with much freedom upon the late report. Mr. Smith, the chairman of the company, endeavoured to point out various mistakes. Mr. Richard Atkinson, who had lately been chosen into the direction, and who was supposed to be in habits of particular intimacy with the chancellor of the exchequer, undertook to refute every article of the report of the committee, in which it differed from the report of the directors. Candour however obliges us to acknowledge, that the sums to which he excepted appear to have amounted to little more than four millions, while the deficiencies pointed out by Mr. Eden exceeded the sum of eight millions.

Mr. Atkinson declared, that he was far from acknowledging any obligation to the gentle manner in

which Mr. Eden claimed the credit of having stated his contradictions to the directors' report. The observations of the directors were confined by the order of the house to the degree of relief, by the postponement of duties and the acceptance of bills, which in their opinion would be sufficient for their affairs. Accordingly they had stated an estimate of their receipts and payments in England with as much accuracy as the nature of the case admitted; but they had never pretended to the same exactness in the account of their receipts and payments abroad, which was plainly impossible. All they had intended under this last head was to lay a foundation for this general inference, that no farther bills would be necessary to be drawn, and that it was credible that the revenues, which before the war had produced a very large surplus, would still produce some surplus. But this distinction was wholly confounded in the report of the committee, who had in a desultory way thrown out a large mass of animadversions tending to grounds of general distrust; and had so obscured a plain subject, by confounding Indian receipts and payments with those of England, that none but those who were tolerably masters of the subject could understand them.

Major Scott entered at large into the defence of Mr. Hastings. He said that in the year 1770, and in a season of profound peace, bills had been drawn upon the company from Bengal to the amount of 1,100,000l. In April, 1772, Mr. Hastings, by the appointment of the company, became governor of Bengal. At that period the bond debt was one million, and this was soon after unavoidably increased to 1,200,000l. But what was the al-

teration

teration produced in four years? Not only was the bond debt completely discharged, not only was an ample sum appropriated for the purchase of an investment, but there was an actual balance in the company's treasury at Bengal of 1,800,000*l*. Down to the year 1780, not a single bill was drawn from that presidency, except such as was expressly authorised by the court of directors. The bills drawn in 1781 and the following years were for the express purpose of furnishing an investment for the company. Their amount was wholly to be ascribed to the war, in the originating of which Mr. Hastings had no concern. In the last five years no less a sum than 7,290,000*l*. was sent from Bengal to Madras and Bombay, for the support of the war. The question therefore was simply this, was it better to take up money in Bengal for bills upon England, and to apply that money wholly and exclusively to the purchase of an investment, or that the investment should have been discontinued during that term? Major Scott expatiated on the advantageous situation in which the last peace of Paris had found the East India company. The company had conquered all the possessions of the French and the Dutch, and by those conquests had prevented farther sacrifices where they would have been more felt by the public. He declared his belief that at the moment in which he was speaking, the peace with Tippoo was concluded. Finally, he stated a balance of the receipts and disbursements of the presidency of Bengal, upon the supposition of a peace establishment, the surplus of which amounted to 1,700,000*l*.

The first and second readings of

the bill passed without any animadversion. In the committee an amendment was moved by Mr. Dampier, to oblige the company to pay an interest of five per cent. upon the money which they were indebted to the public. The motion being negatived in this stage of the business, it was again brought forward upon the report. It was supported by Mr. Hussey, lord North, Mr. Fox, Mr. Courtenay, Mr. Sheridan, and sir James Erskine. The division in the committee had been, ayes 3, noes 81, majority 78; and upon the report was, ayes 27, noes 83, majority 56.

Upon the third reading, which took place on the 4th of August, the principle of the bill was debated with considerable warmth and some asperity. Mr. Eden endeavoured to expose it, by contrasting the two distinct propositions of which it was constituted: the one for respiting the duties and remitting the interest, the other for allowing the company to divide eight per cent. The only possible way of justifying them, was to argue them separately; and to contend, in support of the first, that the company was so extremely poor as to need every possible assistance; and, in support of the other, that their affairs were in so flourishing and prosperous a condition, that they could well afford to make an enormous dividend. It was observed by Mr. Fox, that it was only of late years that they had divided more than six per cent.; and that at no time had they divided eight per cent. from their commercial profits. Let the house recollect that to meet the necessity of affairs, they had recently imposed taxes on our manufactures and taxes on the necessaries of life.

The sum which was given to the company by the remission of interest, would have relieved the poor from the most unequal and oppressive tax upon candles. In fine, considering the tenour of the present bill, and the conduct of administration during the whole session, it was palpable to remark, that they were wholly under the direction of the East India company, and that the company were making rapid strides, after having despoiled and enslaved many millions of men in a distant quarter of the globe, to reduce the inhabitants of this island under their despotic sway. In pursuance of these reasonings the amendment of Mr. Dempster was once more brought forward by Mr. Fox, and it was moved by sir James Erskine that the dividend should be put at six instead of eight per cent. Both the amendments were negatived.

The charges of Mr. Fox were warmly retorted by Mr. Pitt upon the late India bill. He said it was extremely easy to separate the two heads of the present bill, and to put them in opposition to each other. Such a mode of arguing might be ingenious, but was not solid. From the reports of the directors, from the very fair and candid report of the select committee, and from all the circumstances of their affairs, he was satisfied, that, though not in present affluence, the company was in that condition which came within the fair meaning of the word solvent. Upon this idea, and persuaded that their situation admitted of effectual relief, he proposed, not as a claim of right, but as a favour done them by the public, a handsome and liberal act of bounty and benevolence. The dividend of eight per cent. had been admitted by him for this single reason, because it appeared that the credit of

the company materially depended upon that circumstance. Motives of policy and expedience had dictated the measure, and he doubted not that the public would receive a most ample remuneration for their present indulgence. He had the pleasure to assure the house that government had just received intelligence of the peace being concluded with Tippoo; and this, together with the plans now under the consideration of parliament, promised every thing auspicious and every thing favourable.

On the 12th of August, in the committee upon the bill of relief in the house of lords, it was moved by the duke of Portland, that six, instead of eight per cent. should be inserted in the bill, as the sum that the company was allowed to divide. The amendment was supported by lord Loughborough and lord viscount Stormont, the latter of whom had voted for the bill, to allow the company to make an half-year's dividend of four per cent. The principal argument against the amendment, and the argument that had prevailed with the minister, it was said, was, that the credit of the company depended upon their dividend. But it was not the declarations of parliament, it was not the parchment in the hand of the chancellor that would establish the credit of the East India company. Whenever the credit of a company, or of individuals engaged in mercantile concerns, was impeached, or suspected to be tottering, the plain and ordinary mode of proceeding was to shew the real state of their affairs, and to prove from facts that they were in a prosperous situation. To illustrate this, lord Stormont recurred to the pecuniary regulations of the bill of 1773. At that time, by artifice and manœuvre the company's

pany's stock was raised to 270l. and the dividend to twelve and a half per cent. It had been thought advisable by that administration, by way of supporting the credit of the company, and to prevent a South-sea bubble, to lower their dividend to six per cent. and this was done with apparent advantage to the company. The amendment was rejected without a division.

But all these measures were preparatory and subordinate to the bill of regulation, that was moved for by the chancellor of the exchequer on the 6th of July, and, from the importance of its object, that well deserved the whole attention of the public. Never we believe was a measure, more extensive in its range, and more various in its provisions, submitted to the attention of a legislative assembly. The objects, which, in the plan of the late secretary of state, were to be distributed into three different bills, were by Mr. Pitt submitted at once to the unbroken attention of parliament. The idea was professedly adopted by him, in order that the connexion between the different parts of his system might be fully seen, and that their bearings and relative operation might contribute to decide upon them in the estimation of the public. The bill therefore of the 6th of July was at once to institute a new system of government at home, and to regulate the different presidencies abroad. It was to provide for the happiness of the natives, and put an end to all their misunderstandings and controversies. And lastly, which was by no means its least object, it was by a stricter mode of legislation to exclude delinquency, and it was to institute a new judiciary for the trial of offences committed in India.

But, though the measure were

thus extensive in its range, and durable in its consequences, it was however unable to keep alive the attention, and employ the disquisitions of the public in general. Two causes may be assigned for this. The nation had but just seen the close of one session of parliament before the commencement of another. The circumstance was singular and uncommon, and this was one reason, for which their minds, already fatigued with attention to public affairs, refused to renew that attention, and follow a train of business, so complicated and various, as that which was now depending. The season, in which, for time immemorial, the opulent had deserted the metropolis, and resorted to the beauties of nature, was completely arrived. To the consideration of the extraordinary and unwelcome season of the year, we may add the notorious state of the public mind. Mr. Pitt had now attained the utmost height of popularity, and the nation was disposed to place in him the most entire and unbounded confidence. They had perhaps carried their apprehensions and presages of the late administration to a degree of violence, and, by a feature inseparable from human nature, in their revulsion from one object, they threw themselves headlong into the arms of the other. Mr. Fox's bill had included every thing that was profligate, and every thing that was monstrous, and of course Mr. Pitt's bill must be a model of perfection. The young chancellor of the exchequer had nothing to do but assiduously to avoid the errors of his predecessors, and he could not fail of producing all, that was suited to the circumstances of the case, and conducive to the welfare of Britain.

Under the first head of the bill

now introduced into parliament, its provisions were nearly coincident with those of the bill originated by Mr. Pitt in the last session of the preceding parliament; and we must refer to what we said upon that occasion for the various arguments by which the minister endeavoured, at that time unsuccessfully, to recommend the project he had formed. The few alterations that were made uniformly tended to enlarge the powers of the proposed board of control. It was permitted them, in urgent cases, and such as seemed to require celerity, to originate measures, as well as to revise, correct and alter those of the directors. In matters relative to peace and war, where secrecy was a principal object, they were also allowed to send their orders straight to India, without communication with the court of directors; and to the commanders in chief, without the knowledge of the respective presidencies. It then proceeded, as had been done by the former bill, to regulate the number of persons constituting the different councils of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay.

With respect to the government abroad, in the first place, it gave an absolute power to the governor general and council of Bengal to originate orders to the inferior presidencies, in cases that did not interfere with the directions already received from Britain; and added a power of suspension in case of disobedience. The supreme council were forbidden, unless any of the princes of India should have first commenced or contemplated hostilities against our settlements, to enter upon war, or to form an offensive treaty, without orders from home. The inferior councils were prohibited in all common

cases to form alliances, and in cases of urgency, they were commanded to insert a provisional clause, rendering the permanency of the alliance dependent upon the confirmation of the governor general. Intelligence was in all cases commanded to be sent home immediately of every important transaction, and every servant of the company, in any of its settlements, was required to transmit accounts of every considerable transaction to the council of Bengal.

Various regulations were added respecting the debts of the nabob of Arcot and the raja of Tanjour to private individuals and to the company. Enquiry was ordered to be made by the different presidencies, into the expulsions that might have been made of any of the hereditary farmers, and the oppressive rents and contributions that might have been extorted from them; and measures were directed to be taken for their relief and future tranquility. A similar examination was required to be made in order to retrenchment, into the different establishments of our settlements in India, a report of which was to be annually laid before parliament. The company were prohibited from sending out a greater number of cadets or writers, than should be absolutely necessary, and it was ordered that the age of such as were sent out should not be less than fifteen, nor more than twenty-two years. Promotions were commanded to be made in the order of seniority, unless in extraordinary cases, for which the presidencies should make themselves specifically responsible.

Crimes, committed by English subjects in any part of India, were made amenable to every British court of justice, in the same man-

ner as if they had been committed in our immediate dominions. Presents, except such as were merely ceremonial, were forbidden to be received, unless by a counsellor at law, a physician, a surgeon, or a chaplain, under the penalty of confiscation of the present, and an additional fine in the discretion of the court. Disobedience of orders, unless absolutely necessary, and pecuniary transactions, contrary to the interests of the company, were declared to be high crimes and misdemeanours. The company were forbidden, to interfere in favour of any person legally condemned of the above crimes, or to employ him in their service for ever. The governors of the different presidencies were permitted to imprison any person suspected of illicit correspondence, and were ordered to send them to England with all convenient speed, if their health would permit.

Every person serving, or who should hereafter serve in India, and returning to England, was required to give in an estimate upon oath to the court of exchequer of his property, within two months after his arrival, one copy of which was to be kept in the court of exchequer, and the other at the East India house. The board of control, the court of directors, or any three of the proprietors, whose stock should amount together to 1000*l.* were allowed to move the court of exchequer to examine the validity of the account. The court of exchequer was required, in case the accusation appeared to them to be well founded, to examine the accused upon oath, and to imprison him, till he should have answered their interrogatories in a satisfactory manner. The whole property of every person, who should neglect to

give in such an account within the time limited, or who should have been guilty of a misrepresentation in that account to the amount of 2000*l.* sterling, was ordered to be confiscated, ten per cent. for the benefit of the informer or accuser, and the remainder to be equally divided between the public and the company. Every person, having been once employed in India, and having afterwards resided in Europe for the space of five years, unless for the restoration of his health, was declared to be incapable to be sent out again to that country.

The attorney general, or the court of directors, was authorised to file an information in the court of King's bench against any person for crimes committed in India. That court was empowered immediately to imprison or admit to bail the person accused. It was then ordered, that, within thirty days, a certain number of peers should be chosen by the house of lords, and of members of the house of commons by that house, to constitute a judicature for the trial of the accusation. The court was finally to consist of three judges appointed by the crown, four peers, and six members of the house of commons; and the accused had a right to a peremptory challenge. The court was authorised to judge without appeal, and to declare the party convicted incapable of serving the East India company. The punishments they were to award were fine and imprisonment, and, in order to the proportioning the fine to the property of the convict, the court of exchequer might, at the requisition of the attorney general, or the company, examine him upon oath upon that subject. If he refused to answer their inter-

rogatories, his property was directed to be confiscated, for the benefit of the king, and the court of exchequer was farther empowered to imprison him during pleasure. Records in the court of directors, and such other written testimony as should be approved by the court, were ordered to be considered as evidence upon which they were authorized to form their sentence.

With respect to the last head of this bill, Mr. Pitt owned that he had an extreme partiality to the present system of distributive justice in this country, and that he could not bring himself for a moment to think of departing from it, without the utmost reluctance. There was danger in the example of any deviation from the established forms of trial. It was perhaps the first, the dearest and most essential consideration in the mind of every Englishman, that he held his property and person in perfect security, from the wise, moderate and liberal spirit of our laws. No man however could deny, that at present we had it not in our power to do justice to the delinquents of India. Either a new process must be instituted, or offences, equally shocking to humanity, and contrary to every principle of religion and justice, must continue to lord it unchecked, uncontrolled, and unexiled. The necessity of the case outweighed the risque of the innovation. And it must be considered, that every man who went to India in future, would, in so doing, know the predicament in which he placed himself, and, in agreeing to give up some of the most essential privileges of his country, would do no more than a very numerous and honourable body of men, the military, did daily, without the small-

est impeachment of their characters, or the purity of the motives that impelled their conduct.

The bill was permitted, by a kind of compromise on the part of the minority, to be read a first and a second time, and referred to a committee, without opposition. The house being moved on the 16th of July, that the speaker leave the chair for that purpose, the debate was opened by Mr. Francis, who, though he reasoned at large upon the clauses of the bill, yet, feeling himself inimical to it in all its parts and principles, thought that the proper stage in which to state his objections. He observed, that duty might survive hope, and that he greatly feared both the house and he were taking unnecessary pains, and endeavouring to make a law of regulation, when it was too late, and the object to be regulated was irrecoverably lost. The bill before them went upon two principles, the abuse of power abroad, and the want of power at home; to remedy which, it proposed to increase the power abroad, and to reduce the power at home. On the principle of almost every clause of the bill, and indeed by the confession of all parties, the directors were too weak to enforce obedience to their own orders. To remedy this weakness, a clashing power was created, nominal on the part of the directors, real on the part of administration. This he reprobated as extremely injudicious and unwise, declaring that mere forms were of no use, and that they ought not to subsist when a constitution was essentially altered. He animadverted upon the power given to the new commissioners to send orders to the commanders in chief in India, not only without the knowledge of the directors, but even

even without communication with the civil government there. He conceived that this must be a mistake in the structure of the clause, as he could not suppose it possible that it should be intended, at once to set aside the directors at home, and the government abroad, and to throw the whole power into the hands of the military commander. He approved of the clause, by which schemes of conquest and extension of territory were condemned; but remarked that it was essentially defective, as alluding to facts and offences which were not stated, and to criminals, whom, so far from punishing, it did not venture to describe. Reward and punishment were the right and left hand of government. One example was worth an hundred laws. And it was in vain to expect that reformation could spring from the empty threats of a legislature that contented itself with piling statute upon statute and regulation upon regulation.

The enquiry that was directed into the debts of the native princes would, he believed, be found an useless labour. Accounts might be adjusted and balances struck, but he had no conception how the debts were to be paid out of an exhausted revenue and a ruined country. He objected to the tribunal of the supreme council, to which the enquiry was referred, particularly as it related to the indeterminate claims of the nabob of Arcot and the raja of Tanjour, they being notoriously partial to the one and hostile to the other. The same objection applied to the regulation respecting the dispossessed zemidars. The claims of the parties were to be referred to the respective presidencies, that is, if injustice had been done, the persons who had

done it were to repair it at their discretion. With respect to the rents and tributes of these landholders, the design of placing them upon an unalterable footing was excellent and glorious. The means taken to accomplish it were the very worst that could be thought of. After twenty years collection of the revenues, the question was still to be referred to future investigation. Good God! were these inquisitions into the property of our Indian subjects, were these scrutinies into the value of their estates, never to have an end! Were the natives of India never to have a quietus under an English government! Respecting all these subjects, the materials in the hands of the East India company were abundantly sufficient. Every abuse had originated with the government abroad, and the less of the business was referred to them the better. The only danger was, that, take what period or average we would, the amount of revenue, considering the daily and rapid decline of the country, would prove too much.

Mr. Francis begged leave to consider the clauses together, by which no person beyond a certain age was to be sent to India as a writer, and by which no person, having returned from India, and residing at home a certain time, unless for the recovery of his health, was capable of any appointment in that country. With respect to the latter of these, he observed, that the executive power of the company, if they were equal to any of their duties, might safely be trusted with such details. And taking the two clauses together, the result seemed to be, that no man, who should have acquired knowledge or experience in England, should be permitted to go to India;

and

and that no man, who should have made these acquisitions in India, should be allowed to return, unless his faculties had been sufficiently impaired by his infirmities, to qualify him for resuming the duties of his station. The favourite idea seemed to be, that youth and inexperience should govern Bengal. An old maxim of policy had attached experience to years, and wisdom to experience. If there existed a brilliant exception to this maxim, he wished it to be left where it stood, and not that the exception should be converted into a rule. On the subject of presents he was perhaps singular in his opinion. He was for an unlimited prohibition to men in high stations, but in the ordinary transaction of business, he was inclined to think they were useful, without giving ground to any just apprehensions. The government of India, through all its gradations, as it was now constituted, was a government of favour, and not of justice. Nothing would be done for the natives, if they did not gratify the persons who forwarded their affairs. In the mean time the exception in favour of presents of ceremony was founded on ideas which he knew to be fallacious, and was calculated to render useless and ineffective the prohibition itself. For the purpose of receiving presents of ceremony all occasions would be found sufficiently solemn. He censured, in terms of warmth and asperity, the power of imprisonment that was given to the respective presidencies, and he condemned the institution of the new court of judicature as unnecessary, arbitrary, and dangerous.

Mr. Fox confessed, that when the chancellor of the exchequer had stated the outlines of his bill,

he had flattered himself that two of the three leading heads of which it was comprised, those relating to the internal regulations that were to be made in the territories of the East, and the new judicature to be appointed for India, would be in their leading ideas conformable to his opinion. He had not therefore intended to enter into the discussion of the bill, till it had gone into the committee, and for that reason had forbore to say any thing upon the second reading; but now that the bill was printed, he felt himself under the necessity of objecting to the speaker's leaving the chair, as he disapproved of it in all its parts and in its fundamental principles. It had lately become the practice to confound the principles with the objects of a bill. It was said, what, would you refuse to go into a committee on a bill which is to reform the abuses in India? Would you object to a law, which is to restore the zemidars to their possessions, and to punish delinquents? No man upon earth acknowledged with more readiness than he did, the necessity of the object of the present bill. No man would go greater lengths to accomplish it. But he could not accept the principles of the bill as the means. He trusted he should be able to show, that they were calculated, to increase the calamities of India, instead of reforming to perpetuate the abuses which existed in that country, and to put the conclusive seal to the miserable system to which it was devoted.

Mr. Fox recapitulated the objections he had urged, to the institution of the board of control, in the last parliament. It provided for a weak government at home by a division of the power. He ridiculed the absurdity of separating the government from the patron-

age. If there were a receipt, a nostrum, for making a weak government, it was by giving the power of contriving measures to one, and the nomination of the persons who are to execute them to another. Theories which did not connect men with measures, were not theories for this world. They were chimeras with which a recluse might divert his fancy, but they were not principles on which a statesman would found his system. But, say the ministers, the negative provides against the appointment of improper officers. The commissioners have a negative, therefore they have full power. Here then was the complete annihilation of the company and of the so much vaunted chartered rights. The bill, he said, was a scheme of dark and delusive art, and took away the claims of the company by slow and gradual sap. The first assumption made by the minister was the power of superintendence and control. And what was the meaning of this power? Did it mean such a superintendence and control as that house had over ministers? No: for that house had not the power of giving official instructions. It was to be an active control, it was to originate measures: and this was the next step. At last, to complete the invasion, orders might be secretly conveyed to India by the commissioners, at the very moment they were giving their open countenance to instructions to be sent from the directors of an opposite tendency. To suffer such a scheme of dark intrigue would be a farce, a child's play, and did not deserve the name of a government. To this progressive and underhand scheme Mr. Fox peremptorily objected. If it were right to vest the powers of the court of

directors in a board of privy counsellors, at any rate it should be done openly. A great nation ought never to descend to gradual and insidious encroachment. Let them do what they wished for explicitly, and show the company, that what they dared to do, they dared to justify.

He now came to speak of the influence, which had been made so much a topic of declamation and clamour. He did not scruple to say, that he had infinitely rather see the influence erected at home than abroad, because he was sure that at home it would be much less than abroad. Would any man assert that Mr. Hastings at home could have done the same things, that with his long arm he hath done in India? Could he have withstood the resolutions, which Mr. Dundas, so much to his honour, moved against him two years ago? Could he have accomplished the conversion of that gentleman after the declaration he had made, that "Mr. Hastings never went out of Bengal without carrying blood and devastation in his train; and never paid a visit to the borders, but for the imprisonment of a prince, or the extermination of a people." Mr. Fox objected to the second part of the bill, because the zemidars ought in his opinion, to be rated by a rule of past periods and not of future enquiry. For the tribunal that was to be instituted, he said, that when he brought in his bill, he had not been ready on this delicate subject. But thus far his opinion had been undoubted; however he might have meant to legalise certain kinds of evidence, never to touch with unhallowed hand, the trial by jury. The new tribunal was in truth a screen for delinquents, since no man was to be tried, but on the accusa-

accusation of the company or the attorney general. He had only to conciliate government, in order to his remaining in perfect security.

Mr. Dundas replied to Mr. Fox. He observed, that that gentleman seemed desirous to appeal to the public upon this occasion, and appeared to look for some kind of triumph, when he contrasted his bill with that of the chancellor of the exchequer. But small would be the praise, that an impartial and discerning public would bestow on such a comparison. The bill of Mr. Fox had gone far beyond the necessity in which it originated. His commissioners were to possess all power civil, military and commercial. Every appointment was to proceed from them. They were to be princes at home and sovereign umpires abroad: a revolution at which nothing but the aspiring ambition of that gentleman could have aimed. Mr. Pitt's bill, acknowledging the defects of the present government, was intended to lodge a principal share of the executive power where it ought of right to be vested. It showed every degree of tenderness to the privileges of the company, and would, he doubted not, produce that happy and desirable mixed government, which every friend to the immunities of a great commercial association, and every supporter of our free constitution would cheerfully welcome. Though it attributed new powers to the monarchical branch of our constitution, yet were they so circumscribed, that they could not, in the hands of the most abandoned prince, be converted into instruments of mischief and oppression. One office or two government was empowered to appoint: beyond that its prerogatives did not extend. All other rights and privileges were to

remain with those men who had long been allowed to have the justest claim to them. In a word, time and experience, the long attention that had been given to the subject, and the ineffectual experiments that had been made, conspired to enable the minister, to bring the plan now before the house as near to perfection, as human nature would permit. Mr. Dundas observed, that the disobedience of the company's servants had never been so instrumental in promoting the ruin of their affairs, as the want of permanency in the system of government adopted by the court of directors. He said, he had never voted for the recall of Mr. Hastings because he blamed his proceedings. He had once wished to see him in England, but his reason was, not that he thought he had acted wrong, but that he feared he would not be able to recover the confidence of the people of India. This had been the object of all the reasonings he had employed upon the subject.

Mr. Fox had said much upon the subject of influence. On this topic he wished to propose one plain question: Whether was it safer to the constitution of this country, that an overgrown power and patronage should exist at home or abroad? Merely to put the question superseded all reasoning on this subject. It had been said, that the government of India would be maintained more honourably and easily by having the seat and direction in London. But Mr. Dundas held a very opposite opinion. He was convinced, that it was consonant to the genius and passions of Indians, to submit more readily to a power that was placed among them. They were fond of pomp and parade, and would never be taught

taught submission by the mere sound of a distant authority. Under the last head of the bill, which respected the new court of judicature, many unreasonable and unjust suspicions had been hinted with regard to the propriety of resting the grievances of India with the attorney general, and many disadvantages had been connected with the mode the new bill proposed. A trial by jury had been recommended, somewhat like the juries which now sit in this country. He begged the house to recollect the inconveniences and impossibilities that would attend such a trial. Objects would not seldom come before them of great magnitude and moment, the evidence difficult to collect, and the controversy such as could not be decided in one meeting. Our constitution had wisely provided, that jurymen, during the continuance of their office should be entirely separated from the rest of the community; they were permitted neither intercourse nor refreshment. But a jury could not starve in the exercise of their office, and if they did not expose themselves to the hazard of that calamity, the business would often go unfinished. Beside, the subjects which they would have to determine would frequently be above the comprehension of ordinary jurymen. From all this it was evident, that no court, but that which the bill recommended, could be adequate to the grievances of India, or give us a rational prospect of peace, opulence and security in that country.

Upon the subject of the new court of judicature an eulogium was pronounced by Mr. Vanisittart and major Scott. They declared that that part of the bill had their complete and entire approbation, and

that in this they believed they spoke the sentiments of every gentleman who had served his country in India. Men, who laboured under imputations of peculation or misdemeanour, must, if they had any feeling, be impressed with the extremest alacrity at being to be tried by a jury selected from all the most respectable orders of men in the kingdom. Colonel Cathcart spoke at large upon the subject of our military establishments in India. He deplored the consequences of the jealousies and heart-burnings, that must always exist under the present forms, between the forces of the king and those of the company. He animadverted upon the interference of the civil administration in the nomination of officers to the native regiments and to the advanced posts. This struck at the root of discipline, by holding out encouragement to officers to seek for promotion by intrigue, and not by distinguishing themselves as soldiers in the field. The commander in chief in India, was the only military man, who by act of parliament enjoyed an unrestricted seat in council. The commanders at the different presidencies sat only upon military and political discussions. The presidency therefore had nothing to do, but to term any subject a matter of finance or commerce, in order to their exclusion. Colonel Cathcart imputed a great part of the enormities, that had been committed in India, to the sepoy militia, who were at present under the direction of the civil, and not of the military government. He concluded with remarking upon the seeming inconsistency of subjecting the commander in chief of all the forces, who might have formed, in conjunction with, or accepted a plan laid down by the government general,

general, to the control of any other presidency, within the precincts of which the plan was to be executed.

Doubts were started, by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, respecting that consent of the company which was said to have gone along with the bill before the house. The chancellor of the exchequer was called upon by the latter to declare, whether he had not even had the dissent of the company signified to him; and whether a meeting had not been postponed from the preceding day, to take into consideration the objections they had expressed to the present bill? Mr. alderman Newnham said, he had heard it mentioned at the court of directors, that the present bill was ten times worse than that of Mr. Fox; and this opinion had received a very general concurrence from the late general court. Mr. Richard Atkinson, the confidential friend of the minister, and who was considered as the agent of some of the gentlemen in India most deeply interested in the fate of the bill, represented these discontents as confined to a few individuals, and added, that the court of proprietors had expressly suspended their decision, till the blanks of the bill had been filled up in the committee. At length the house divided for the speaker's leaving the chair, ayes 276, noes 61, majority 215.

The committee upon the bill for regulating the affairs of India, unlike that stage of proceeding in most other cases, claims a very pointed and unremitted attention from the historian. This is partly to be ascribed to the infinite variety of subjects which the bill embraced. It was impossible for these to be regularly and clearly discussed in conjunction. Some persons approved

of the provisions for the suppression of future delinquency, who were not equally partial to the new board of control, or to the regulations that related to the native princes and zemidars. And on the contrary, many were desirous that an experiment should be made of the kind of control recommended by Mr. Pitt, who bestowed their severest reprobation upon the partial suspension that was introduced of the trial by jury. But another circumstance of still greater weight in the story of the progress of this celebrated bill, is the complete alteration and entire renovation, that it underwent in all its parts, while it lay before the committee.

The first amendment moved by Mr. Pitt, was intended to modify the clause that empowered the board of control to originate orders, by leaving out the words, conveying a power to do this at will, and inserting others, limiting the proceeding to the case of the court of directors neglecting to transmit dispatches to the board, after fourteen days notice, upon any subject the board might think it necessary to take up. For this amendment he received the public thanks of major Scott and Mr. Atkinson. To obviate the objections that had been made to the clause, empowering the board of control to send orders directly to India without communication with the court of directors, it was enacted that, that court appoint a committee of secrecy, not to exceed three persons, with whom the board of control might communicate these orders. The next object of the committee was to fill up the blank for the number of counsellors at the different presidencies. Major Scott argued against the number five from the fatal example of general

neral Claveling, colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, and recommended to the committee to adopt three for the number of counsellors exclusive of the president. This number was particularly objected to by Mr. Welbore Ellis and Mr. Francis, who observed that the idea of a casting voice, the favourite idea of major Scott, had originally been invented merely with a view to cases of peculiar necessity, in order that there might be a fictitious, where there could not be a real majority. Hitherto the casting voice had been considered as a necessary provision against a possible inconvenience. The present clause created the inconvenience, not for the purpose of correcting it, but to convey a power, which, if given at all, ought to be given by a direct course, and secured against accidents. As long as a council of four was full, the whole power would certainly vest in the president, provided he had skill enough to secure the implicit support of one of the other three. But supposing his complaisant friend should die or quit India, the object of the regulation would be defeated. A year and a half must at least elapse before a new colleague could come to his assistance. It would be the height of absurdity to take up this unnatural constitution for the principle and basis of a new government. The idea of major Scott was adopted by the chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Dundas next moved, that the civil chair, during the absence of the governor general, should not devolve upon the commander in chief, who was next in precedence, but to the third in seniority. In the distribution of rank to the commanders in the different councils, the commander in chief in India had originally been

forgotten by administration. It was now agreed, by a kind of compromise, that wherever he was present, the subordinate commander should have a seat in council, but no voice. The clause, vesting the nomination of the several commanders in chief at Bengal, Bombay and Madras, in the king, was expunged on the motion of Mr. Pitt, who declared his intention of leaving these appointments in the hands of the company. This measure received the panegyric of Mr. Dundas, who observed that it would operate to the destruction of jealousy, the completing of subordination, and the restoration of that discipline, which only could render our arms respectable in India. The clause reserving to the king a negative upon the appointments of the directors, was also withdrawn by the chancellor of the exchequer.

The clause, prohibiting the proprietors from rescinding the proceedings of the directors, when they had already been decided upon by the board of control, was read next, and was particularly objected to by Mr. Dempster. There are few characters among the British commons, more distinguished for dignity and independence of judgment, and integrity of conduct, than this gentleman. We are not able indeed accurately to state the principle of his conduct in the affairs of India, and will therefore simply enumerate the leading particulars. Mr. Dempster had usually gone with the Portland administration in support of their principal and characteristical measures. Upon the subject of their India bill, he held himself neutral, declaring that he would not vote against his conscience for the throne of Delhi. It was a favourite principle with him, that however we might talk
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of compassion and sympathy for the grievances of the natives of India, it was impossible, that in a business so remote and foreign we could really be impressed with these feelings. Upon this occasion he remarked, that in his opinion the court of proprietors had more than once essentially served this country, and he never would consent to the depriving a respectable body of men of their franchises, or to the resumption of a power that had never been abused. He begged leave to suggest to the house, what he had often thought the best thing that could be done with the territorial possessions. He knew this country would not listen to a proposition for restoring them to the natives; and probably they would not govern them better than we did. To abandon so large a body of our fellow-subjects, as were actually in India engaged in the pursuits of a laudable industry, he could never consent. He therefore wished, that the king could be requested to send over one of his sons, and make him sovereign of that country. We might then enter into a federal union, and enjoy all the benefits that could be derived from the East by the inhabitants of Europe, the benefits of commerce. The clause was defended by major Scott and Mr. Samuel Smith, who declared that it would not change the privileges of the court of proprietors from what they actually were: and at the same time added, that they would sooner submit to be deprived of a limb, than consent to strip the court of proprietors of any power of which they had not made a voluntary cession. When they came to the clauses that related to the native princes and the hereditary farmers, they were all withdrawn upon the

motion of Mr. Dundas. He observed, that every person, at all conversant with India, would confess, that for the legislature to lay down rules, which of course could not be departed from, upon these delicate and complicated subjects, would be indeed to embarrass and impede the projected melioration. The clauses he meant to substitute had been suggested to him by a person intimately acquainted with the affairs of India, and more perfectly master of the topic to which he had alluded, than perhaps any member of that house. The clauses declared, that it was expedient that some assistance should be given in the recovery of the sums of money claimed by British subjects upon the nabob of Arcot, and therefore enacted, that the court of directors should institute an enquiry into the origin and justice of the demands, and call in the assistance of the presidencies abroad for completing the investigation, and for establishing a fund for the discharge of those debts to which they should extend their sanction. The controversies of the nabob of Arcot and the raja of Tanjour, and the grievances of the zemidars were in like manner exclusively referred to the consideration of the court of directors. Under the head of presents the exception in favour of presents of ceremony was withdrawn.

The committee now proceeded to a part of the bill which was very warmly contested. It had originally been suggested by Mr. Eden, to divide it into two parts, and to suffer the business of the judicature to be made a subject of separate consideration. The idea being again urged by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Pitt expressed himself not indisposed to a compliance. He

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afterwards found however, that the step would be extremely unacceptable to many of his friends, and of consequence opposed the motion that was made for that purpose by Mr. Sheridan. One of the first clauses under this head of the bill was that, obliging all persons returning from India, to give in an account of their fortunes upon oath. The inquisitorial spirit of this provision was particularly censured by Mr. Dempster and Mr. Eden. To compel a person to swear to an inventory, in order to afford grounds of conviction and punishment against himself, was to break through a first principle of sacred and eternal justice. It would have the least effect where it was intended to operate. The very man, who could be guilty of peculation or extortion, was the man, who would least hesitate to make an oath, to justify himself, and secure the possession of his ill-gotten wealth. The clause was represented as implying suspicion, and it was therefore recommended by Mr. Eden and others, that some discrimination should be made, and not that all persons should be equally involved in this odious imputation. It was suggested by Mr. Samuel Smith, that merchants in particular should be exempted, and the idea was taken up by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt. But in compliance with the representations of lord North, who argued, that the whole object of the clause was a very severe hardship, and that to point it at a few individuals, or a particular description of men, would be to make it intolerable, the amendment was given up by administration. For the same reason the idea of making the person take the oath, only when required by the board of control, or the court of directors, was also withdrawn.

1784.

It was then moved by Mr. Pitt, that persons who had passed five years in India, and accumulated no more than 5000*l.* or double that sum for the next five years, should be exempted from all prosecution on the score of their fortunes. It was next suggested by Mr. Atkinson, that in case of sickness, it might not be practicable for a person arriving from India, to give in an account upon oath in the space of two months. A power was accordingly conferred on the court of exchequer, for extending the term from time to time as they should see fit. It had been the original idea of the chancellor of the exchequer, that this jurisdiction should take place in twelve months; and it had been objected, that by that means persons would be deprived of the trial by jury, without time being granted them, to choose whether they would submit to the condition. Mr. Pitt now moved, that no account upon oath should be required of any person, who should arrive from India before the first of January 1787. This amendment was equally exposed to the censure of opposition, as holding out an indemnity to peculators, and a warning for them to return within the assigned period. Mr. Sheridan remarked that by the bill before the house, a person taking the oath would be liable all the days of his life to a prosecution for perjury. He could therefore make no settlement of his fortune. He could not sell or mortgage his estate, as no one would have any thing to do with a property, which was still liable to contest and forfeiture. In consequence of this representation an amendment was moved, limiting the commencement of a prosecution to the period of three years. The clause, prohibiting the return of any

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person to India under certain conditions, was mitigated by two amendments from the chancellor of the exchequer, one of them exempting the officers of the king from its operation, and the other permitting the restoration of any person, with the consent of the directors, and three fourths of the court of proprietors.

The committee having now come to that part of the bill which describes the constitution of the new tribunal, Mr. Pitt stated the amendments he had to offer in one view. As the clauses stood at present, the bringing of the accusation, which on a former day had excited a good deal of remark and discussion, lay solely with the attorney general or the company. In the room of this it was designed to authorise any other person or persons to move the court of King's Bench for an information. It was also intended to give that court power, to issue commissions to the courts in India, for the purpose of taking depositions; and these depositions, together with the records of the different presidencies, were the only species of written evidence to be allowed. Another material alteration regarded the formation of the tribunal. It was not to be chosen, till the whole evidence was collected, that was capable of being procured, or thought necessary to support the information. To bring it nearer to the nature of a special jury, it was intended to be appointed, partly by ballot, and partly by selection; and the prosecutor was to have a right to challenge, but not peremptorily. The right of nominating the judges was to be taken away from the crown, and each court was to be left to appoint one of its own bench. The last amendment went to the exclusion of va-

rious persons, such as the directors of the company, and persons returning from India, from the judicature that was to be erected.

On the 26th of July the amendments were reported, and on the 28th the bill passed the house of commons. Mr. Francis took a general view of the bill in its amended state, and, among other things, remarked, with respect to the new judicature, that he perceived, that, in the apprehension of Mr. Jolliffe, Mr. Martin, and other gentlemen, this part of the bill had been considerably improved by the amendments in the committee, and that persons who had originally objected to it were now satisfied. He was sorry for it; because he wished that the principle of every measure, which he deemed dangerous to the constitution, might appear at once to the public view, undisguised, in its real shape, and in the colours that belonged to it. They deceived themselves grossly, who imagined that what was essentially wrong, could ever be formally right. Mr. Sheridan treated the alterations that the bill had undergone with a high degree of ridicule. He remarked that twenty-one new clauses were added, which were distinguished by the letters of the alphabet; and he requested some gentleman to suggest three more, in order to complete the horn-book of the present ministry. The old clauses were now degraded, and were placed in black letter at the bottom of the page, mourning for the folly of their parents, and the slovenly manner in which the bill was drawn. He said that the whole bill was a contention of two parties, the crown and the company, to overreach each other. The company remonstrated against the first bill, because

because orders were to be transmitted to India without their consent. To please them, the chancellor of the exchequer had suffered them to have a secret committee of three directors. But the company were not a whit nearer, for the committee were sworn to secrecy. They might be present at a court of directors, and see and hear measures carrying on, and regulations proposed, diametrically opposite to what they knew had been adopted by the board of control, without being able to apply any other remedy than a nod, or a wink, or a shake of the head, to intimate that they knew something that they dared not divulge. Mr. Fox was particularly pointed in his invective, and affirmed, that, when he combined this measure with the bill of relief, when he considered the wanton prodigality of the latter, and that the former had been so totally altered as to have lost sight of the principle upon which it had been introduced, he could not but be of opinion, that, instead of establishing a good and salutary English government of India, the tendency of the present measures was to sacrifice every thing to the East India company, to barter all that was dear to us for the corrupt influence and under-hand support of the present administration, and to establish an Indian government of the island of Great Britain.

The bill finally passed the house of commons on the 28th of July, and was carried up to the lords, and read a first time on the day following. In this house it was exposed to a very vigorous opposition, though lord Loughborough, the principal leader in the minority, and to whom the investigation of that part of the bill that related to the judicature naturally fell, was necessarily absent

upon the duties of his station. The principal speakers against the measure were the earl of Carlisle and lord viscount Stormont. The latter took occasion to animadvert upon the principle of seniority established in the bill before the house. This rule was particularly ill suited to the critical posture of affairs, and the circumstances characterising our situation in India. It would damp the ardour of emulation, check the rising spirit of the youth now in Asia, and sink aspiring genius and active ability to the level of dulness and incapacity, at a moment when the most extraordinary talents were necessary, to raise us from our inauspicious and ruined condition. The command of the black troops, differing widely as they did from Europeans in language, in manners, and in religion, was a situation, which nothing but wisdom and experience could fit an officer to hold with honour to himself, and advantage to his principals. Hitherto young men, anxious to acquire rank in the service, and eager in the pursuit of an honest ambition, made it a custom to mix with the sepoys, to familiarize themselves to their prejudices, to study their partialities, and learn how they might best be induced to feel a common interest with their European commander. Had such a clause, as that upon which he animadverted, been in effect in India, when lord Clive first entered into the company's service, it would not at this day have been a subject for parliamentary discussion, how the government of India could most beneficially be regulated; for every inch of our territorial acquisitions would long since have been lost to this country. Lord Stormont animadverted upon the power of recal in the board of control, as by no means a sufficient check on

the company's servants in India. A power of recall, when it was to operate on ambassadors at the Hague, at Paris, or Madrid, might be efficacious, because the operation would be short, and the effect immediate. But when the distance of time and place was so great as from hence to India, it would be to the last degree fruitless and impotent.

He contrasted the institution of the new tribunal with the high commission court, and the court of star chamber, tribunals originally introduced for plausible purposes, but which from the various powers and prerogatives they engrossed, had become at last so universally odious for tyranny, oppression, injustice and despotism, that with common consent they were decried and abolished. The case of military and naval men, which had been alluded to, was not in point. They esteemed it an advantage to be tried by men of honour in their own profession. They dreaded the unsympathetic prejudices of a common jury, and they considered martial law as one of their most glorious and invaluable distinctions.

Lord Thurlow defended the measure with great politeness and candour. To the objection of lord Stormont, that the bill was inadequate to its object, he was ready to accede, and to acknowledge that he was of the same opinion. He owned he had wished the measure to have gone much farther, and to have been fraught with more energy. But the anxious desire to accommodate to public prejudice, had induced others to differ from him, and to wish to mollify, and, in his opinion, weaken the regulations, rather than give them a harsh and severe aspect. He admitted the principle upon which lord Stormont had reasoned, that the only way to ob-

tain what was wanted in India, was to make a strong government there, amenable to a still stronger government at home. He acknowledged that the principle of seniority might damp the ardour of youth, but affirmed, that the benefits that would result from it outweighed its disadvantages. He bestowed great applause upon the new court of judicature. He admitted, that, had the appointment of the court laid with the crown, he should have been full as well pleased, since it was there that the constitution clearly meant every part of the executive power to rest, and since he was decidedly of opinion, that every man, conscious of meaning to do what was right, ought to despise the suspicion of sinister motives. He concluded with asking, if lord Stormont thought the present clauses too severe, what idea he must have entertained of his poor project upon the subject, had it stood upon paper instead of the present bill?

But the minority, though vigorous in spirit and ability, were extremely feeble in their numbers; and the debate, in the remaining stages of the bill, was principally taken up with the exceptions that were expressed by the friends of administration against the provisions of the bill. The duke of Richmond was still of opinion, as he had ever been, that the court of directors was the power best calculated to govern India. They were more accustomed to the disquisition of Asiatic questions, than the ministers of the sovereign, and they had no other object to divert their attention. On the other hand, he thought that the appointment of the commanders in chief ought to remain with the crown, so long as it was found necessary to employ any part of the national forces in the peninsula of India.

India. Lord Hawke was displeased with the differences between the nabob of Arcot and the raja of Tanjour being referred to the court of directors, who were parties in the case, and moved an amendment, referring the enquiry to the board of control. Lord Camelford disapproved of the clauses prohibiting the acceptance of presents, forbidding the return to India of those who had once served the company, and obliging persons to give in an inventory of their property upon oath. He said the public at large were very unjust in their censure of those who returned from India. He knew many persons, who returned with large fortunes, and at the same time with characters that slander could not traduce. He instanced in the founder of his family, who had never had his superior in justice and integrity, and of whose name and reputation he was as proud, as of the patrimony he inherited from his patriotic industry and public exertions. The bill passed the house of lords on the 9th day of August, and was followed by a protest, from the dukes of Portland and Devonshire, together with the earls of Cholmondeley, Northington and Carlisle. They objected to it, as ineffectual in its provisions, unjust in its inquisitorial spirit, and unconstitutional, as abolishing, in certain instances, the trial by jury.

We are now brought in the course of our narrative to a scene more extraordinary, and perhaps more worthy of the disquisition of the philosopher, than any of those transactions of a more extensive nature that we have hitherto treated. We have several times had occasion to speak of the capriciousness of popularity, and to show how little truth there is in that maxim, which asserts, that the people are always in

the right. We have seen men, of the greatest abilities, and of whose virtues many have felt the most undoubted persuasion, exposed to the utmost disapprobation and odium. In the instance we have now to relate, this circumstance is to be illustrated in a single individual, by no means inferior to any of those to whom we have alluded. It cannot be denied, that in all these instances there has been some impolicy, and something of what we have heard denominated want of judgment, on the part of the sufferer. With an eloquence, with which all that remains of antiquity must lose in the competition, Mr. Burke, it seems, combined a little too much of frequency, and a little too much of prolixity. With much sensibility and humanity of disposition, he was known frequently to err from want of temper, and he was led, in a few instances, into a line of conduct that must at least be styled unfortunate. These circumstances, in some measure, but not completely, account for the degree in which he was now overborne and decried. Something must be imputed to that species of foresight and policy, which seizes the tide of human opinion in its crisis, and dextrously renders it subservient to its designs. There is somewhat so unflinching and undesirable, in the opposition of a man, of the first rank of abilities, and who is by no means remarkable for moderation and reserve in his attacks, that it must perhaps be confessed, however disparaging it be to our common nature, that it is scarcely in humanity to refuse the means, whatever they are, that are in a manner thrust upon a minister, of disarming the lion of his fangs.

Early in July, the chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the house

of commons with the arrival of sir Elijah Impey, chief judge of the supreme court of judicature at Bengal, who had been recalled by the sovereign in pursuance to an address of that house. Upon this occasion Mr. Burke remarked, that the resolutions upon this subject had been originally moved by sir Adam Ferguson and general Richard Smith, neither of whom were in the present parliament. The business therefore might be considered as devolving upon him, as properly as upon any other member of the house. He must however decline it as impracticable. Perhaps impeachment before the house of lords was the proper way of proceeding upon the charge which had already received the sanction of the commons. If so, what hope of success could he, an individual, venture to entertain, when the nobleman, who would be the president of the court, had expressly declared, with respect to the reports in which the proceeding originated, that he regarded them no more than the history of Robinson Crusoe? He begged therefore to refer the business to the chancellor of the exchequer, whose duty it was, as the minister and the representative of the rest of the king's servants, to enforce the resolutions of the house respecting sir Elijah Impey, rather than that of any private and individual member of parliament. Mr. Pitt however totally and unequivocally declined any concern in the affair.

But there was nothing that sat more uneasily upon Mr. Burke, than the general discredit into which the reports of the committees for enquiring into the affairs of India had fallen. It could not be doubted, but that much that was irregular, and much that was dis-

graceful to the British name, had been transacted in that country. Mr. Burke was clearly of opinion, that more of these oppressions and barbarities were to be traced to Mr. Hastings in particular than to any other individual in India. But all hope of bringing this man to judgment, and all hope, as Mr. Burke believed, of guarding against similar enormities in future, vanished along with the authenticity and credit of these vouchers. To arrest, if possible, the current of popular opinion, which threatened finally to sweep them away, Mr. Burke moved, on Wednesday the 28th of July, previously to the third reading of the bill for regulating the affairs of India, "That the house would, on Monday next, resolve itself into a committee to inquire into the facts contained in the reports relative to the misgovernments of India." He said that he was not surprised that reports of the last parliament should be disregarded by the present; but he was truly astonished, that the result of enquiries undertaken at the express desire of the king in his speech from the throne two years ago, should be treated with so much disrespect, by men who entertained the highest veneration for every thing, that at all related to majesty. For himself, he felt that there was no middle way in the business, and that his character was at stake. If, as had been suggested, the reports were mere fables, they were indeed calumnies of the most bold and unprincipled nature, and he himself was an infamous calumniator. This was an age remarkable for its good humour, its complaisance, and its accommodating temper. Perhaps these amiable and engaging qualities never shone with more distinguished

guished lustre than in the present treasurer of the navy. Mr. Dundas was a parent as well as himself, with regard to the two sets of reports, though his were of more ignoble origin. The mother of humbler birth had borne the more numerous offspring, while his honourable coadjutor, like the lioness, who, being the royal beast, bore but one whelp at a time, had produced a lesser brood, but of a bolder stamp, and of somewhat a more vigorous constitution. This gentleman had proved himself able to defeat the wisdom of Solomon, even in the extraordinary trial scene, which that wise ruler had caused to be acted before him. He had seen his child held up, and the drawn scymitar lifted to divide it, without moving a muscle, or discovering the smallest emotion. Not so with him. The spectacle was too much for his feelings. He could not bear the horrid sight. But when the executioner had held his infant in the air, and was preparing to divide the body, from the nape of the neck to the end of the chine, he had intercepted his arm, and cried, "Stop your flagitious hand! Fell tyrant, stay! I am his parent! The child is mine, and innocent!"

"Adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum!"

Mr. Dundas moved the order of the day.

Defeated in this measure, on the 30th instant Mr. Burke brought forward a string of motions, intended as a foundation for an enquiry into the conduct of Mr. Hastings. The first of these related to the instructions to Mr. Bristow respecting Almas Ali Khan. This, and that which immediately followed it, were seconded by ma-

jor Scott. When Mr. Burke rose to make his third motion, he was interrupted by the chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Pitt asked, How did that house, as a house of parliament, know as a fact the transactions upon which Mr. Burke grounded his motions? If the motions passed, from what office were the papers expected to proceed? To relieve the house from the difficulties into which this proceeding would inevitably throw it, he said, he would move the order of the day.

This interruption called forth all the energy and enthusiasm of Mr. Burke. The insensibility of government to the foul enormities, lately perpetrated, and still perpetrating, by our countrymen in the East was truly shocking. He deprecated the day that the knowledge of them had come to his mind. The miserable objects it exhibited, countries extirpated, provinces depopulated, cities and nations overwhelmed in one mass of destruction, constantly dwelt on his imagination. The cries of the native Indians were never out of his ears. The facts of which, under the direction of parliament, he was obliged to inform himself, had left on his mind an impression of horror, which frequently deprived him of sleep, and night and day preyed upon his peace. The reality of the reports had been impeached indeed, but in a way which evidently showed the impeachment was only made to serve a purpose, but never meant to provoke a trial. Why would not the men who had contradicted them come forward and support their allegations? He would meet them with alacrity on the spot, and in the moment was prepared to put the truth of every statement in seventeen volumes of

reports to the test. Oh! he exclaimed, what would he not risque to find all the scenes of horror, to which no description was equal, nothing but a fiction! It would be to him a discovery more precious and grateful than the discovery of a new world. He wished it for the honour of humanity, from sympathy to millions of hopeless individuals, and from an anxiety which he had long felt to retrieve this house, this country, this generation, and even this company, from infamy and execration. Why did not they who possessed the secret, in compassion to mankind reveal it? He pathetically pressed the subject upon the chancellor of the exchequer. He said, that Mr. Pitt sat upon the bench, and that God, whose works were defaced, man, who had been reduced to beggary, and Britain, whose honour had received an indelible stain, called on him for justice. How was he to account for the insensibility of the

minister, at a time of life when compassion was in its prime! He had not surely, like major Scott, undertaken an agency which it would be dishonour in any degree to relinquish. Mr. Burke, persisting in pressing the subject upon the house, was called down by Mr. William Grenville, and at length, in spite of his pertinacity, was overpowered by the loud and continual clamour that was made in opposition to him.

On the 10th of August, it was moved by general Burgoyne, "That all papers relative to the imprisonment of sir John Burgoyne, lately commanding on the coast of Coromandel, be laid before the house." The general, however, was informed by Mr. Dundas and the secretary at war, that the business was taken up very seriously by government, to whom it properly belonged, and in consequence of these assurances, he was induced to withdraw his motion.

C H A P. VIII.

Bill for the Prevention of Smuggling. Commutation Act. Loan, Unfunded Debt. Taxes. Civil List. Fisheries of Scotland. Restoration of the forfeited Estates. Speech from the Throne.

Nothing attracted so general an attention during the session of which we are treating, as the regulations that were adopted upon the subject of smuggling, and particularly the act of parliament, commonly called the commutation act. We have already noticed the appointment, early in the last session of the preceding parliament, of a committee to enquire into the illicit practices used in defrauding the revenue. This committee de-

livered in, in the course of the session, as the result of their inquiries three reports, in which the subject was entered into at great detail, and which were regarded as exhibiting very important matter for the melioration of the revenue. On the 11th of February, a resolution had been moved by Mr. Eden, chairman of the committee, and seconded by Mr. Beaufoy, declaring "that the illicit practice had greatly increased, that the pub-

lic revenue was defrauded to the extent of not less than two millions per annum, and that these enormities and national losses merited the early and serious attention of parliament."

Soon after the meeting of the new parliament, the subject of these reports, and of the laws in being for the prevention of smuggling, was referred to a committee of the whole house. On the 2d of June, this committee was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer for leave to bring in a bill for the more effectual prevention of smuggling. The objects of this bill were, to extend the distance from shore at which seizures should be lawful, to prohibit the building vessels of a certain dimension and the arming them beyond a certain extent, and to introduce other regulations tending to the same general object. In the committee upon this bill, which sat on the 12th of July, a great number of amendments were introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer; some of the most important of which had been suggested by Mr. Eden. A considerable debate took place on the regulations, rendering the owners of ships amenable for the misconduct of the mariners, which had been originally introduced by the bills of 1779, and 178 , and which were preserved by the present measure. The injustice of this provision was urged by Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Beaufoy, who remarked, that its tendency, by making the fault of the servants to redound upon the master, was to annex impunity to guilt, and punishment to innocence; and that the hardship fell entirely upon the fair trader, to the exclusion of such as were concerned in articles of illicit commerce. Mr. Baring and Mr. Rich-

ard Atkinson, two gentlemen extensively concerned in commerce, declared, that such was the iniquity of these laws, that they were determined as soon as possible to cease to have any concern in the article of shipping, and that the general resolution of the merchants of London was similar to their own. The spirit of the provisions was defended by Mr. Arden and Mr. Macdonald. In consequence however of the representations that were made Mr. Pitt brought up a clause, the object of which was to have it declared by a jury previously to trial, whether the circumstances attendant on the seizure of a vessel, should be persisted in and prosecuted to forfeiture in the court of exchequer. Mr. Pitt had stated the distance from shore at which a seizure should be considered as legal at four leagues. Upon this an amendment was moved by captain Macbride, extending it to six leagues. At the same time a clause was brought up by Mr. Eden, in concert with the chancellor of the exchequer, providing for the indemnity of such offences as should have been committed previously to the bill's having passed into a law.

On the 21st of June, the committee for taking into consideration the reports was moved by Mr. Pitt, to come to a number of resolutions, previously to the introduction of a bill for repealing the duties on tea, and granting to the crown other duties upon that article, together with several additional duties on windows. On the 8th of July, the committee was farther moved by Mr. Rose, secretary to the treasury, to come to several resolutions respecting the importation of coconuts and coffee, and for repealing the inland duties of excise on those articles. These resolutions were made

made the subject of an instruction to the gentlemen appointed to prepare the bill we have mentioned, in order to their provisions being included in that measure. The proposition was in a good degree founded on the ideas suggested in the reports of the select committee, who had pointed it out as an eligible measure to reduce the duties on tea, and to substitute in lieu of them an imposition on windows. They had even entered into a calculation respecting the proportions that ought to be preserved under each of these heads, though their calculations were by no means implicitly adopted by the chancellor of the exchequer. Since however, in consequence of the labours of these gentlemen, the merits of the subject were considerably understood, Mr. Pitt did not enter into a laboured elucidation of them. The amount of the present revenue upon tea, he stated at between 700,000 l. and 800,000 l. It was his intention not to raise upon that article in future more than 169,000 l. so that the reduction to be provided for by the new substitute, was at least equivalent to 600,000 l. The benefits he professed to have in view were principally, the check, or rather the absolute destruction of the smuggling trade; the advantage in the first place, of the East India company, who, in consequence of this measure, would find a vent for 13,000,000 pounds of tea, instead of 5,500,000, and, in the second to the nation in general, since beside the immediate interest we had in their prosperity, the company would be enabled to take up twenty more large ships, and find employment for 2000 additional seamen.

The measure was received in its first introduction, with a consider-

able degree of favour and applause by all sides of the house. The chancellor of the exchequer in particular received the compliments of Mr. alderman Newnham and Mr. Dempster; the latter of whom however remarked, that only one circumstance could have made him approve of the plan that had just been opened more highly than he did; and that was, first to have seen a petition on the table from the East-India company, praying that the plan might be adopted. Had that been the case the company would gladly have contracted with the public to supply them at the prices stated in the calculation of the chancellor of the exchequer. He also expressed himself desirous that the tax might be optional, as taxes of a similar nature were in Holland. This idea was condemned by Mr. Jenkinson. Mr. Eden was particularly displeased with the minister for having asserted in his speech, that the plan before the house was in a great degree new; and Mr. Sheridan remarked, that this was so far from being true, that, if Mr. Pitt had asked for them, he would have given him two bills, drawn upon the subject during the existence of the late administration.

The bill was not introduced to the house, till the 30th of July, and it underwent some alteration in its principle, in consequence of amendments offered to the house by the chancellor of the exchequer. In the debate that took place on its report from the committee on the 10th of August, it by no means experienced the same indulgence that had been extended to it at its first introduction. It was supported by alderman Newnham, alderman Watson, and Mr. Hamet. It encountered the disapprobation

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of Mr. Milnes, sir Edward Astley, and sir Charles Bampffield, who however entertained too much confidence in the minister to be willing to give a serious interruption to his measures. The opposition of Mr. Jolliffe was more decided. Mr. Eden declared, that, now that he saw the plan in detail, his expectations of its practicability and productiveness were much narrowed in comparison of his idea of the feasibility of the measure, which had been recommended in the report of the select committee. Mr. Fox ridiculed the attempt of the minister to have the measure considered in the light of a commutation. It was unjust and oppressive, to take off a tax upon a luxury, and to substitute in its stead a tax upon what was indispensably necessary. He asked what connexion there was between an impost upon tea and an impost upon windows. The consumption of spirituous liquors was an article of smuggling, which equally demanded the attention of parliament with the consumption of tea. But no man could look at the idea of carrying the principle of the bill to this extent, without feeling a horror at its absurdity. Spirits were a luxury still more than tea, and to tax all descriptions of men as the present bill did, because they might drink spirits in their houses if they chose it, was something too flagrant to be thought on for a moment. If the principle of this bill were to be admitted, we had not been so much obliged to the East India company as had been pretended, since, without having recourse to their instrumentality, we might at all times have obtained the same revenue upon our houses and our windows. It was added, that the India trade, instead of being ad-

vantageous to the British navy, was, through the operation of climate, considered by the best judges as inimical to it. Mr. Courtenay drew a comparison between the bill now before the house and the gabelle or salt tax in France. There an impost was laid upon that article, and every man was obliged to take and pay for a certain quantity, whether he wanted it or not. As the present administration had attempted to elevate the commons of England to the same rank, and invest them with the same franchises as the parliaments of France, it was perfectly consistent in them to introduce a similar principle of taxation. The tendernefs and benignity of the chancellor of the exchequer was evident. Such a happy precedent would have the best effect and prevent all murmuring and discontent. For, why should Englishmen complain, when they were considered as entitled to the same treatment with the most polite and distinguished nation in the world? Mr. Fox however would not admit that the cases of the commutation and the gabelle were at all parallel. The former clearly related to a luxury, which was no way conducive to health. Salt on the contrary was a necessary, and therefore it was far less oppressive to oblige all the subjects of France to purchase a given quantity of that commodity than to compel all persons, whether they drank tea or not, to pay a tax for it.

Mr. Pitt replied. He observed, in answer to a recommendation of Mr. Fox for deferring the subject to another session, that it did not admit of delay. To defer it was to give notice to the smuggler when the battle was to begin. It was to say to him, " You see we deal like men of honour ; we give you

you six months to complete your traffic. Redouble your diligence, work double tides, for after six months you can smuggle no more." Not more than one half of the commodity consumed paid any duty at all, that half would soon be reduced to a third, and the third to a fourth. He called upon Mr. Eden as chairman of the select committee, to declare whether, from what he knew of the subject, he dared count upon tea as a permanent object of revenue. It was easy to argue in favour of making the new tax optional. But the present state of the revenue and public credit did not permit him to barter a certainty for an uncertainty. He was obliged to select an object upon which he could build the most entire and confident expectation; and with the invaluable benefits that would result from this measure to the public, he was ready to risque any unpopularity it might occasion, notwithstanding the industry with which popular odium was excited against it. The opposition divided the house upon the question for recommitting the bill, ayes 40, noes 148, majority 103.

On the 16th of August, the bill was carried up to the house of lords. It was opposed by lord Loughborough and lord Stormont. The former of these noblemen entered minutely into the subject, and represented the sacrifice of a most eligible object of taxation, and an object that produced to the revenue near a million sterling, as a measure of the most ruinous tendency. He observed that once given up, it could never be recovered, and that five times the quantity of tea sold yearly that had formerly been sold, would not produce an equal revenue at the new duty. The whole consumption of Europe, by the

best accounts, did not amount to an average of more than 10,000,000 pounds. He stated it as a most palpable error, to suppose that the present measure would effect the annihilation of smuggling. Including the $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. new duty, the five per cent. mercantile profit allowed to the East India company, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. difference upon the expence of the navigation of our rivals in this commerce, the profit that still remained to induce the smuggler to continue his trade was 25 per cent.

The bill received the royal assent at the close of the session. At the same time, beside the two we have mentioned, a third bill passed into a law, for the regulation of the duties upon British spirits, and to discontinue, for a limited time, certain imposts upon rum and spirits imported from the West Indies. These three bills comprehended the whole plan of the chancellor of the exchequer upon the subject of smuggling, so far as it was now submitted to parliament.

On the 30th of June, Mr. Pitt opened to the house of commons the business of the loan. The sum that had been found necessary to be borrowed, was 100,000l. For the purpose of borrowing this sum, the chancellor of the exchequer distributed the money-lenders into two classes. The terms finally agreed upon were 100l. at three per cent. 50l. at four per cent., five shillings and six pence of a long annuity, and three fifths of a lottery ticket, for every hundred pounds advanced. The difference between the two sets of bidders was a difference of six pence upon the subject of the long annuity, and the party finally rejected included in its numbers Mr. Richard At-

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kinson. Mr. Pitt apologised at considerable length for the unpopular service in which he was engaged of negotiating a loan, and introducing new taxes to pay the interest of that loan in a year of peace. He had however one consolation in these circumstances, that he found the undesirable necessity created to his hands and was not the author of it. It was not permitted him to decline from motives of personal security the irksome business of winding up the accounts of the war, and endeavouring to re-instate the prosperity of the finances of Britain. He said, he had acted through the whole affair upon the principles he had always professed, and he assured the house that not one shilling of the loan was reserved by him. The independent and impartial conduct of Mr. Pitt in this instance was thought entitled to considerable commendation.

But this was not the only operation of finance, which pressed upon the chancellor of the exchequer for the present year. His attention was next claimed by the unfunded debt, the amount of which in navy bills was 13,000,000*l.* and in ordnance debentures 1,000,000*l.* more. Mr. Pitt observed that he had been desirous of funding the whole of this sum immediately, but that he had found that such a proceeding would have materially affected the price of stock and enhanced the terms of the loan. He had therefore been obliged to compound the business, and to content himself to fund no more for the present than 6,600,000*l.* He had always been of opinion that a four per cent. stock was better for the country than a three per cent, and a five per cent. better than a four per cent. The ground of

his opinion was, that in all our operations of finance we ought to have in view a plan of redemption. Gradually to redeem and extinguish our debt, would ever be the pursuit of a wise and well regulated government; and the public ought upon no account to be taught to look upon this as a chimerical idea. A high rate of interest however was a thing little relished, and he had been informed by the money lenders, that it would be impracticable to negotiate the loan and settle the existing debt upon these terms. Reduced to an election in the business, he had preferred an interest of five per cent for the new fund rather than for the loan. The former was undoubtedly a matter of experiment; the holders of the bills were already committed with the public, and a failure in this instance would be less material than in the subscription for the loan. The objection of the stock holders to the idea of redemption he proposed to obviate by making the fund irredeemable for thirty years, or till 25,000,000*l.* of the existing funds should be extinguished. A five per cent. fund, estimating it at the present rate of the several stocks, ought to be taken at ninety-five. He however conceived that we might permit it to be taken at two per cent. lower, and still make an advantageous bargain for the public; and this was the price at which he proposed to estimate it.

The chancellor of the exchequer next proceeded to the subject of the taxes. The annuity on the loan would be 315,000*l.* the interest of the new fund would be something more than this. He proposed to provide for the interest at four per cent. of the remainder of the outstanding debt; so that in a future session,

session, when a fund was to be provided for this sum, nothing farther would be wanted than the difference between four per cent. and the terms which it might be judged necessary to give to the subscribers. He had therefore to provide an annual produce of about 910,000*l*. The first tax he suggested for this purpose, was a tax of six pence and two shillings upon hats. This Mr. Pitt took at 150,000*l*. His next object of taxation was ribbons and gauzes; ribbons from one penny for every twelve yards to one penny per yard. The estimate of this tax amounted to 120,000*l*. The third article mentioned by the chancellor of the exchequer was coals. The last duty imposed upon all coals imported into the port of London, was a duty of three shillings per chaldron. This had originally been imposed to raise a fund for the building of churches in the city. Mr. Pitt proposed to make it universal. At the same time he intended to provide an exemption in favour of certain manufacturers, and he calculated the tax at 150,000*l*. The next subject of his proposed taxes, was such horses as were not employed in agriculture or other labour. The tax was to be ten shillings per head, and the amount was taken at 100,000*l*. Printed linens and calicoes were proposed to be subjected to an additional duty of about ten per cent; and the amount of this tax would be 120,000*l*. Candles, an article which had not been touched since the reign of queen Anne, were to pay an additional duty of one half-penny per pound, and this would produce 100,000*l*. Another object of taxation brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer, was licences to persons dealing in

exciseable commodities, from one pound to fifty pounds. The produce of this tax would be 80,000*l*. Bricks and tiles, the former at two shillings and six pence per thousand, were suggested by Mr. Pitt, as the source of a new duty, which he estimated at 50,000*l*. A farther object of taxation was that of qualifications for shooting, and deputations from lords of manors, at one guinea each. The sum produced would be 30,000*l*. An additional tax upon paper was taken at 18,000*l*. And the catalogue was concluded with a tax upon hackney coaches of five shillings per week, which would produce the sum of 12,000*l*. to the public.

Mr. Fox treated the subject of finance, which had just been opened by the chancellor of the exchequer, with great liberality and candour. He commended the terms upon which Mr. Pitt had made the loan, because he had got the money for the public upon the best terms he could obtain, without indulging in the consideration, whether this or that particular fund were most capable of redemption. This was the principle that had been adopted by the preceding administration. He gave him great praise and ascribed to him infinite merit for having brought forward so much of the unfunded debt. He said, he might probably discuss the taxes more minutely in some future stage of the business, but he felt himself much restrained upon that subject from the ideas he entertained of the situation and exigencies of the country. He observed, that most of them were upon the immediate necessities of life, and added, that he hoped this would convince gentlemen, that the posture of affairs was such, as required bold and effectual measures

to retrieve it, and induce them to unite in supporting the minister in carrying into effect the burthens it might be necessary to impose.

The project of Mr. Pitt upon the subject of the navy bills did not perfectly meet the concurrence of the holders of those bills. They were dissatisfied with the price at which the stock was taken, which according to them, ought to have been ninety-one and not ninety-three. Mr. Pitt had at the same time distributed the bill holders into classes, in order that those persons who had advanced their money earliest might be first considered in payment. The bills to be discharged had been issued from June 1781, to June 1782. They were distributed into classes of three months each. The first class Mr. Pitt proposed to discharge at par, and the other classes subject to a discount adequate to that to which they would be liable in the markets. This principle of discount formed a second head in the complaints of the bill holders.

To meet in some measure the ideas of the public creditors, the chancellor of the exchequer new modelled the resolutions, in the committee of ways and means of the 30th of July, so as considerably to reduce the amount of the discount. The bill holders were not yet satisfied. A petition was presented from them by Mr. Henry Thornton, on the 3d of August, praying for farther relief. The subject of the petition was taken up in the committee on the 6th instant. Upon this occasion it was asserted by Mr. Fox, that the scheme of the chancellor of the exchequer aimed a blow at the public faith of the country. It had uniformly been the practice in preceding instances for those persons, who refused the

offers made them by government, to be paid off at par in the subsequent year. But in the present case the offers were not inducements but compulsions, and no option was admitted. He remarked in particular, that to pay off those first, who having only a posterior title to payment, might be induced to close with the terms, was to impeach the faith of parliament, and essentially to injure the national credit. Mr. Hamet, who had been particularly active in the business, though, as he assured the house, from motives perfectly disinterested, earnestly pressed the minister to concede the business; since the part he was taking, however well designed, was evidently injuring and undermining that popularity, by which he was so eminently distinguished, and which was so essential to the national welfare. Mr. Hussey joined in the same recommendation, remarking, that upon his calculation the difference would not amount to more than 500l. per annum, which certainly ought not to be a sufficient inducement with the minister for which to risk the national credit. Mr. Pitt at length declared himself ready to concede the point of the discount. Considering the extreme delicacy of the subject, considering the transcendent importance of public credit, he should think it wise to sacrifice to men's prejudices and caprices however ill-founded. He was himself as much satisfied as ever, that the measure he had proposed, was dictated by propriety and justice, and was that species of conduct, equally partaking of vigour and œconomy, which the situation of the country demanded. The money about to be given away by abandoning the discounts, would be near 100,000l. If the house thought it
right

right to resign this sum, he would not oppose them. But he hoped it was to be understood, that the rest of his plan was to remain untouched. It was observed by Mr. Hussey, that, while the minister was thus penurious in a business that directly struck at public credit, he had been equally prodigal in allowing an interest of four per cent. upon the debentures of the ordnance, which, in no former instance, had borne any interest at all. Mr. Rose defended the measure, on the foot of the considerable time, that had elapsed since the commencement of many of the debentures. He was answered by Mr. Courtenay, who observed, that the persons contracting with the board of ordnance, had always demanded an additional price for their commodities, in lieu of the interest allowed upon navy bills.

That article in the minister's list of taxes, which experienced the most vigorous opposition, was the duty upon coals. It was expressly excepted to by sir John Wrottesley member for Staffordshire, Mr. Stanley for Lancashire, sir William Moleworth for Cornwall, sir William Cunningham for Linlithgowshire, sir Matthew White Ridley for Newcastle, Mr. Walter Stanhope for Hull, and the earl of Surrey for Carlisle. It was also understood to have been regarded in a very offensive light by the earl of Londale. The objection, upon which the principal stress seems to have been laid, was the impracticability of providing such exemptions in favour of manufactures, as should prevent many of them from being ruined. The tax was at length on the 7th of July withdrawn by the chancellor of the exchequer. His opinion respecting

it remained unaltered; but from the information he had been able to collect, the minds of men were so adverse to the measure, and it would be necessary to guard it with such an infinite variety of exceptions and regulations, that he thought it more expedient to abandon the tax, than vainly to expect amidst the multitude of important subjects that called for his attention, to be able to prepare a bill properly modified in the course of the present session.

On the 23d of July, the house being in a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer stated the new taxes, which he would be obliged to substitute in the room of those that were discharged. The amount of the coal-tax had been taken at 150,000l; the licences for hop-planting, which were also given up, would create a deficiency of 5000l; and there would be a defalcation in the produce of several other taxes, in consequence of the modification they had undergone. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed to bring forward new duties to the amount of 200,000l. The first object selected for this purpose was the post-office. An addition was made to the postage of letters, and certain regulations were introduced upon the subject of franking, the whole of which was estimated at 120,000l. The next substitute was a variation in the article of qualifications and deputations, which was taken at 10,000l. The tax upon gold and silver plate, of which an experiment had been made in two former instances, and which had been abandoned, Mr. Pitt proposed to revive. It had formerly been collected, either by the individual's entering his plate in the office of excise, or upon the stock in trade

of the goldsmith. It was now proposed to be collected in the assay, at which time it was to receive a particular stamp. The tax was to be six pence per ounce upon silver plate, and eight shillings per ounce upon gold plate, and the whole was computed at 25,000*l*. Ten shillings and six pence additional duty was to be imposed upon ale licences, and twenty shillings per hundred weight upon the export of lead. These would produce, the first 30,000*l*, and the second 15,000*l*. Upon the question of qualifications, a conversation took place upon the subject of the game laws, which Mr. Pitt and Mr. Sheridan agreed to condemn. Mr. Sheridan gave notice, that as soon as the business of the day was concluded, he would move for leave to bring in a bill for their repeal, but was persuaded to relinquish his intention, on account of the advanced state of the session.

On the 28th of July, the resolution for imposing certain duties on ribbons and gauzes was also discharged, and Mr. Pitt substituted in their room a duty of three shillings per pound upon the import of raw silk, and two shillings per pound upon the import of thrown silk.

Some inconsiderable alterations were made in the other taxes which had been proposed for the present year. The duty on candles was particularly animadverted on; and it was remarked, that while such taxes as affected considerable bodies of men, or great landed proprietors, were withdrawn, that, which fell exclusively upon the poor, who had no advocate, was continued without melioration, and admitted of no redress. The tax upon bricks was particularly ob-

jected to by lord Mahon and sir Richard Hill, the latter of whom qualified his opposition with the most extraordinary compliments to the chancellor of the exchequer. The tax upon linens and calicoes were strongly excepted to by Mr. Dempster, Mr. Ilay Campbel lord advocate of Scotland, sir William Cunningham, Mr. Stanley and others, on the part of the manufacturers. Upon this question the house divided, ayes 66, noes 14; Majority 52.

Mr. Pitt having given notice upon the day on which he opened the budget, that there was an arrear upon the civil list, which would in the course of the session be submitted to the consideration of parliament, Mr. Fox expressed himself a little surprised at the intelligence, as he had understood from the board of treasury, with which he might be supposed to have had the greatest connexion, that the civil list had been kept within bounds during the late administration. To refute this assertion, the chancellor of the exchequer took occasion, on the 21st of July, when the royal message to both houses was referred to the committee of supply, to lay upon the table an account of the charge for the year which was just expired, distinguishing the expence in each quarter, together with the difference between the estimated annual charge of the civil list, and the expence of the above period. He observed, that from this paper it would appear, that the principal part of the arrear incurred, belonged to that very board of treasury which Mr. Fox had risen to defend. He concluded with moving, "That a sum, not exceeding 60,000*l*. be granted to his majesty,

to enable him to discharge the debt contracted on the civil list, and to defray its farther expences."

The assertions of Mr. Pitt, and the accuracy of the account he had presented, were controverted by Mr. Sheridan. In order the more explicitly to elucidate the subject, the house was moved, on the 10th of August, by this latter gentleman, for several papers, from which he conceived he should be able to refute the statements of the chancellor of the exchequer. When the papers were upon the table, Mr. Sheridan, in pursuit of his former argument, pointed out an omission of no less than eighty places, the salaries of which amounted to 11,000*l.* in the estimated charge. Exclusive of this glaring error, the paper itself was extremely delusive, since it only compared the actual charges against the four quarters of receipt, without taking into consideration the suppressed places, the impress of the exchequer, and the savings in the several offices. From a statement of these articles, together with the error of 11,000*l.* Mr. Sheridan adduced, that there had been no arrear upon the two first quarters, and that upon the last quarter of the late, together with the first quarter of the present administration, the arrear had amounted to no more than 16,000*l.* He observed, that this debt accrued from a circumstance against which it was impossible to provide, since many of the demands came in after the quarters' accounts were respectively made up, from abroad, and some of them from so distant a quarter as the East Indies. Mr. Sheridan concluded with moving two resolutions, one for a more accurate estimate of the expenditure, the other, to enforce the provision

of Mr. Burke's bill, by which a complete and accurate account of the entire receipt and expenditure of the civil list for the past year, was ordered to be annually laid before that house. Mr. Fox seconded the motions. He acknowledged that there was probably no imputation ascribable to any person, and declared that he still thought, as he had done the last year, that the revenue of the civil list ought to be augmented. He added, that the present administration would, in his opinion, have done better, in bringing a bill to explain and amend Mr. Burke's bill, with a view to the proposing a permanent augmentation. The author of the bill expressed himself considerably displeased, and observed it as a feature in the present administration, that they superseded an express act of parliament, and came down to the house for money to pay the civil list, in defiance of legal authority, and the constitution of Britain.

Mr. Rose moved the question of adjournment upon Mr. Sheridan's resolutions. The tenour of the first of them would be obeyed as a thing of course, without the formality of a resolution upon the subject; and as to the latter, a compliance was actually impossible, for want of administration's being able to come at a knowledge of the fees. Mr. Steele, secretary to the treasury together with Mr. Rose, seconded the motion, and endeavoured to invalidate a part of Mr. Sheridan's arguments, and to prove that only 14,000*l.* were to be deducted from the exceeding of 44,000*l.* in order to give the actual arrear. The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that, had Mr. Fox had the good-

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ness to acknowledge on a former day, that he did not think there was any imputation due to the present ministry, the trouble which had been given to the house would have been totally unnecessary. With respect to the manner in which he had brought forward the business, he declared it was for the candour of that house and the public to decide, whether he had acted wisely, in asking for a sufficient sum to enable the civil list to go on till the end of two years, from the commencement of the debt already incurred, that in the mean time an experiment might be made, if, by wise regulation and strict economy, the expenditure could not be reduced within such bounds, as to render any augmentation unnecessary.

On the 18th of June, Mr. alderman Newnham renewed his motion of the last session for the repeal of the receipt tax. Many gentlemen, and among others Mr. Macnamara and sir Matthew White Ridley, supported the motion upon the ground of their being instructed for that purpose by their constituents. Sir Matthew added, that he felt a personal aversion to the tax, on account of the fate it had drawn on the nobleman who had suggested it to the house. The public too, though innocent, was treated as an accessory, and involved in the punishment, since they had thus been deprived of the service of as able and as upright a member of parliament, as had ever sat within those walls. Mr. Pitt pleaded the cause of the tax, which now produced more than 100,000*l.* per annum, and respecting which he had no doubt but it would increase, and become a still greater object than it was already. Mr. Hussey was still

more sanguine in his expectations. The motion was rejected by a majority of 89.

On the 23d of June, Mr. Dempster drew the attention of the house of commons to the general state of our finances. He observed upon the enormous amount of the national debt. He contrasted the revenues and disbursements of government, and inferred from the whole, that the sinking fund was already virtually absorbed, and that 80,000*l.* would remain to be provided annually. From these observations he proceeded to discuss the calculations of Dr. Price, baron Maseres and Mr. Sinclair, respecting the extinction of the national debt. He said that commissioners ought to be speedily appointed to enquire into, and lay the foundation of a plan for this purpose; and added, that, if no minister in the course of the next session would undertake the business, insignificant as he was, he would move for such a committee. In our present situation there was no source of wealth, no subject of national melioration and improvement that ought to be neglected. In his opinion the advantages of Scotland, for the creation of the most extensive and important fisheries, were such as deserved every kind of co-operation and favour. In connexion with this subject, he adverted upon the complicated and absurd nature of the custom house regulations. He concluded with moving, "That a committee be appointed to enquire into the state of the British fisheries, navigation, and commerce, and the most effectual means for their extension and improvement."

The chancellor of the exchequer followed Mr. Dempster. He gave

his most hearty assent to the disinterested motives claimed by that gentleman, and thanked him for the manner in which he had brought the subject under public discussion. He objected to his representation of the state of the sinking fund, and thought it necessary to observe, that that branch of the revenue had been uninterruptedly improving and increasing, lest an idea should go abroad that our situation was worse than it really was. He added, that the burthens upon commerce from custom-house regulations, had been long under consideration, and the enquiries respecting them nearly completed; and for these and other reasons, recommended the selection of the fisheries as the immediate subject of the present enquiry. Mr. Dempster adopted the amendment of Mr. Pitt. With the same view that he had made the preceding motion, this venerable character proceeded, on the 3d of August, to move for leave to bring in a bill, to allow tenants and subtenants, employed in the fisheries of Great Britain, to commute for money the personal services which they were bound to perform to their landlords. The design of the motion was merely to bring the subject under the consideration of the public; and, in case it met with the concurrence of the parties concerned, to resume and carry it into execution in the ensuing session.

The last measure of considerable consequence that occupied the attention of the present session, was a measure of comprehensive policy and general justice, the restoration of the estates confiscated to the crown in the kingdom of Scotland, upon the termination of the rebellion of 1745. The business was moved,

on the same day with the bill of Mr. Dempster, by Mr. Henry Dundas, and seconded by the chancellor of the exchequer. The measure indeed had been long in contemplation. It had been countenanced by lord North, when at the head of administration, though from some untoward circumstances it had not been submitted to parliament during that term; and the ministry of the duke of Portland had actually intended to bring forward a similar proposition. Mr. Dundas observed, that the principle of the intended bill was so just, so liberal, and so worthy of the generosity of parliament, that he could conceive of no other objection that could possibly be made, but that of the very advanced period of the session. The principle however was so simple and uncomplicated, that, in his opinion, it demanded no discussion, and needed only to be mentioned in order to its being approved. Its justice seemed to have been first recognised by the late earl of Chatham. That illustrious statesman, above the level of illiberal and injudicious prejudices, had drawn forth the highlanders of Scotland from the proscription, in which it had been thought necessary to involve them at the close of the rebellion. "I cared not," said that nobleman, defending the measure he had adopted, "whether a man had been rocked in a cradle on this or on the other side the Tweed. I sought only for merit, and I found it in the mountains of the North. I there found a hardy race of men able to do their country service, but labouring under a proscription. I called them forth to our aid, and sent them to fight our battles. They did not disappoint my expectations. Their fidelity can only be equalled by their valour, and both have united

united to signalize their own and their country's renown all over the world." Mr. Dundas drew an auspicious omen from reflecting that the first blow had been given to the proscription by the earl of Chatham. He trusted that the remains of a system, which, whether dictated at first by narrow views or by sound policy, ought certainly to be temporary, would be completely annihilated under the administration of his son.

He made the panegyric of those persons of this description who had distinguished themselves in the last war. He said there was not one of all those families, in which some person had not atoned for the crimes of his ancestors, and spilt his blood in his country's cause. And he would be bold to assert, that the spirit, which had rendered the inhabitants of the highlands disaffected to the present government, had long since disappeared; and that the king had not at this moment a set of more loyal subjects in his dominions. He stated to the house the value of the forfeited estates. At the expiration of certain leases the rent roll would exceed 9000*l*, but they at present produced no more than 6700*l*, and, deducting the expence of management and repairs, the sum accruing to the public did not exceed 4000*l*. per annum. It would be generous in parliament to restore this sum to its original proprietors. It would be magnanimity to treat them like true and faithful subjects, and cancel for ever the offences of their ancestors. Nor would the liberality of the proceeding be greater than its policy. The spirit of emigration in the highlands was such, that nothing could extinguish it but the return of their long lost patrons, and the affection and reverence,

which the inhabitants of this part of the island felt for their natural lords. It was obvious, that a property, held by others for the benefit of the public, was never so well managed, as that which was under the government of its actual proprietors. The confiscated estates might be distinguished from their neighbouring confines by the almost total neglect of their cultivation and the general decrease of their produce; on the contrary, the persons now to be restored would undoubtedly render the soil as productive and profitable as possible; thousands of additional highlanders would be employed upon it; the regiments about to be disbanded, would find employment in their native country; and the nation would be rendered prosperous and happy. Mr. Dundas however did not mean that the estates should be freed from the claims existing against them when they fell into the hands of government. He would not give a premium for rebellion; and he proposed that these sums should be assessed to the public. The objects pointed out for their application by the bill, were the reward of the subordinate officers concerned in the management of the estates; the completion of the repository for the records of Scotland, to which 15,000*l*. were to be appropriated; and the carrying on of the canal from sea to sea, from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde, which was the destination of 50,000*l*.

The measure was supported by the lord advocate, lord Frederic Campbell, sir William Cunningham and Mr. Dempster. Mr. Fox remarked, that he saw no reason for the exclusion of the descendants of the English rebels from the benefits of the present bill. He particularly recom-

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mended to parliament the case of his relation, the earl of Newburgh. He was aware, that there was some difficulty in the case, as the estate had been appropriated to the support of Greenwich hospital. He did not expect that any thing would be done for lord Newburgh this session, but he hoped the chancellor of the exchequer would turn it in his mind, so as to be able to propose something upon the subject next year.

In the house of lords the bill encountered the opposition of lord Thurlow. His principal objection was the lateness of the session, and he observed that he had not heard of the bill till it had been read a first time in the house of commons. He was displeased with the form of its introduction. Measures of remission and lenity ought to originate with the sovereign, and from him to be communicated to the lords, previously to their being brought into the house of commons. He would then have had a chance to have heard of the bill before it was proposed in parliament. It consisted, lord Thurlow said, of two propositions, the one a repeal, the other an appropriation of money. The services of the persons in question, ought to be proved otherwise to the house than by general assertions. He would not upon the present occasion give ear to rumour, but was it certain that all of them had resided in this country and waited the opportunity of service? Had none of them followed the fortunes of their pretended prince, and fled with him whose cause they had affected to serve? He remarked, that a person forfeited in 1690, was included in the provisions of the bill, and asked why those of 1715 were passed over in silence? He said, that it had been the settled

maxim of the British constitution, that treason was a crime of so deep a dye, that nothing was adequate to its punishment, but the total eradication of the person, the name and the family, out of the society which he had attempted to hurt. This was the wisdom of former times. But if a more enlightened age chose to relax from the established severity, he thought it ought to be done with gravity and deliberation. He objected to the provision for the Scottish canal. Give him but a public use, and he cared not in what part of the island it was situated between Caithness and Cornwall; but he considered this clause as a distribution of private accommodation for the benefit of individuals. He paid some compliments to Mr. Dundas, but wished upon the whole that the bill should be deferred for the present session.

Lord Sydney answered lord Thurlow. The earls of Balcarras and Dunmore defended and applauded the proprietors of the forfeited estates, and recommended with energy and warmth the Scottish canal to the patronage of the public. Lord Thurlow, not contented with opposing the bill upon its second reading, divided the house upon the last day of the session; contents 7. not contents 4. This is, we believe, the only instance out of several, in which this nobleman, since his last appointment to the office of chancellor, attempted without success to throw out a bill that had already passed the house of commons.

On the 20th of August the king put an end to the session by a speech from the throne. He returned parliament his warmest thanks for their zealous and diligent attention to the public service. He predicted the happiest effects from the bill for the

the better government of India. He applauded the laws they had made for the preservation and improvement of the revenue. He thanked the commons for their provision for the arrear of the civil list. He deplored the unavoidable burthens of the people. He noticed the definitive treaty with Holland, and the peace concluded in India, and

trusted that the present tranquility would be lasting. He adverted to the important objects with respect to trade and commerce yet to be provided for, and he trusted that such regulations would be framed upon a full investigation, as might be calculated to promote the wealth and prosperity of every part of the empire.

E R R A T A.

The paragraph beginning page 14, column 1, line 7, is inserted by mistake in that place, and ought to appear, page 17, column 1, line 27.

PUBLIC PAPERS, page 203, at the bottom, *dele* "Ribbons from one penny for every twelve yards, to one penny per yard, and gauzes from two pence to four pence per yard, 120,000l."

Page 204, line 8, *for* 10,000l. *read* 40,000l.

———— line 18, insert 120,000l.

———— line 19, *for* 3, *read* 8.

P R I N C I P A L
O C C U R R E N C E S

In the Year 1784.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1784.

JANUARY.

BEING New Year's-day, the archbishops and bishops had the honour, according to annual custom, of addressing the king at his levee on that occasion, when his majesty was pleased to make them the following gracious answer:

“ My Lords,

“ I return you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal address, and you may always depend upon my warmest zeal for, and constant protection of the Church.

“ I also return you my thanks for your congratulations on the commencement of the new year: the commencement of this year may probably be the most critical and important of any yet in the annals of this country. It has, from my accession to the throne of these realms, been my constant study equally to preserve the rights, liberties, and happiness of my people, with the prerogatives and rights which the constitution hath intrusted to me; it is my determined resolution to persevere in this conduct, in which I trust I may have the protection of the Almighty, and the support of every honest man in my dominions”.

— John Smith, a capital convict in Newgate, for robbing Isaac Heaton, esq. on the highway, near Edgware of a gold watch and eight guineas, hath received his majesty's free pardon.

11. Lieut. Kempthorne, of his majesty's ship the *Amphion*, arrived at the Admiralty, with dispatches from rear-admiral Digby, giving an account of his having brought to in Portland Road, on his way to Spithead, having quitted the American command. The troops which lately occupied New-York, in consequence of the orders of Sir Guy Carleton, evacuated that garrison on the 26th and 27th of November last, at which time Gen. Washington, at the head of a detachment of the American army, took possession of the works. Capt. Bazely came home commander of the *Amphion*, the ship in which admiral Digby took his passage. The admiral arrived in town the same day.

13. The lord mayor held a ward-mote for the election of an alderman for Queenhithe ward, in the room of the late alderman Bull. The candidates were G. Macaulay, esq. of Chatham-place, and Mr. Bates, master of the Queen's arms tavern, St. Paul's Church-yard, on behalf of both whom a poll was demanded.

14. Gen. sir Guy Carleton, late commander in chief at New-York, arrived in town on Wednesday. He came home in the *Ceres* sloop of war, of 16 guns, arrived at Plymouth. When he sailed, all the British and Hessian troops, with the loyalists, had left New-York, and the Americans, with Gen. Washington at their head, were in peaceable possession of that city.

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— Came on at the East-India-house, Leadenhall-street, the ballot for three directors of the said company's affairs, in the room of Sir William James, bart. deceased; Sir Henry Fletcher, bart. and Jacob Wilkinson, esq. resigned: upon the casting the ballot, the numbers were,

For John Woodhouse, esq.	457
George Johnstone, esq.	391
Richard Atkinson, esq.	372
Thomas Pattle, jun. esq.	262
John Grant, esq.	254
George M. Macaulay, esq.	161

15. At the close of the poll for alderman of Queenhithe ward, in the room of Frederick Bull, esq. deceased, the numbers were,

For John Bates, esq.	87
Geo. M. Macaulay, esq.	49

Majority for Mr. Bates, 38

16. The right honourable the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and common council of the city of London, waited upon his majesty (being introduced by the earl of Salisbury, lord chamberlain of his majesty's household) with the following address, which was read by James Adair, esq. the recorder.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, in common council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, consider it incumbent on us, at the present alarming moment, to approach the throne with renewed assurances of our most faithful and constant attachment to your majesty's person and government.

Your faithful citizens lately beheld, with infinite concern, the progress of a measure, which equally tended to encroach on the rights of your majesty's crown, to annihilate the chartered rights of the East India company, and to raise a new power, unknown to this free government, and highly inimical to its safety.

As this dangerous measure was warmly supported by your majesty's late ministers, we heartily rejoice in their dismissal, and humbly thank your majesty for exerting your prerogative in a manner so salutary and constitutional.

It is impossible for us to consider that event without fresh admiration of the constitution handed down by our ancestors; and we trust, that in the well-compounded legislation of this kingdom, there will ever be found some branch ready to defend the rights and liberties of the people, and to preserve inviolate the faith and honour of parliamentary engagements.

Sire! the prerogatives of your majesty's high office were annexed thereto for the good of the people; and we beg your majesty will believe our earnest assurances that the citizens of London will always support the constitutional exercise of them to the utmost of their power.

Highly sensible of your majesty's paternal care and affection for your people, we pray the Almighty that you may long reign in peace over a free, an happy, and united nation.

Signed, by order of court,

WILLIAM RIX.

To which address his majesty was pleased to return the following answer:

“ I thank you for this dutiful and affectionate address, and for the expressions of your attachment to my person, and your zeal for the excel-

excellent constitution of this country.

“ My faithful citizens of London may always depend upon my warmest attention to the welfare of all my subjects ; and may assure themselves, that, in the exercise of the power with which I am invested by the constitution, I shall uniformly endeavour to promote the happiness and prosperity of my people.”

They were all received very graciously, and had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand.

Extract of a letter from a passenger on board the Vansittart East Indiaman, dated at Sea, August 22, 1783.

Yesterday, about half past eleven, A. M. we were alarmed with the cry of fire ; when running upon deck, we perceived a great smoke issuing from the Duke of Kingston East Indiaman, Capt. Nutt ; soon after which she burst out in flames from head to stern. We were then about half a mile ahead of her, and the Pigot and Earl of Oxford Indiamen about four miles ahead of us. The weather being calm, our captain immediately ordered out the engine and all the boats, at the same time firing two guns as a signal to the ships ahead. It is impossible to conceive a more dreadful spectacle than at this moment presented itself ; numbers of the poor wretches throwing themselves over-board, with oars, spars, &c. to keep them from sinking ; others crowding on the bowsprit, where they hung in clusters till received into the boats. Our jolly-boat got out first, and returned in a short time with five men ; the long-boat, yawl, and cutter, were hoisted out with equal dispatch, and used every effort to save as many of the crew as they could, the fire having by this time increased to such a degree, that it was im-

possible to attempt saving the ship. The boats from the other two ships were now got out ; soon after which our yawl returned full of people, among whom were the first mate and a midshipman, whom they had picked up drowned ; we used every effort to recover them, but in vain. At three P. M. our long-boat returned with 150 people ; the boats belonging to the other Indiamen were also filled ; and having saved every person they could find, they left the ship, which at five in the afternoon blew up with a terrible explosion. On the whole 79 souls perished by this melancholy accident, among whom were several women and children, some soldiers, and a few passengers.

Captain Nutt, with two military officers, had paid us a visit in the morning, and was on board the Pigot at the time the fire broke out, which was occasioned by a sailor's drawing some spirits out of a cask in the spirit room, which catching fire, communicated to the other casks, and burnt with such fury, that it was impossible to save a single article.

— The recorder made his report to his majesty of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate : Robert Dewar, John Roberts alias York, Benjamin Roberts, Henry Horne, Alexander Kennedy, Joseph Hall, John Codd, John Jones, Patrick Bowman, Robert Cross, Rebecca Bidwell, William Maynard, William Richardson, Mary Humphreys, George West, William Crouch, William Haynes, John Harvey alias Seagrave, Mary Moody, Margaret Moreing, Eleanor Meale, Anne Sherlock, and John Rich ; when his majesty was pleased to order the following for execution on Wednesday next, on the scaffold before Newgate, viz. Robert

bert Dewar, Mary Moody, Patrick Bowman, and John Rich.

17. John Lee was indicted for forging an order for payment of money, which order ran in the following words :

Nov. 24, 1783.

Pay to Mr. John Lee, or order, upon demand, the sum of fifteen pounds sterling, which place to his account of office.

Pay-Office,	<i>Townshend,</i>
Ordnance-Office,	<i>M. G.</i>
Whitehall.	

There were eight counts in the above indictment ; one with forging it, to defraud lord Townshend, the master-general of the ordnance ; the second, uttering it, knowing it to be forged, &c. and varying it as it passed different hands.

Mr. James Cusden, who keeps the Rose Coffee-house, in Bridges-street, Covent-garden, deposed, that in December last, the prisoner came to his house, and drank two bottles of wine ; that soon after a third gentleman came in, and they had a third bottle, when the prisoner sent for Mr. Cusden, who came up stairs, and the prisoner produced the above bill, wishing to get five guineas upon it ; but Mr. Cusden only advanced him one guinea and a half. When he presented the note to Messrs. Cox, &c. agents at Charing-cross, the forgery was discovered, and the prisoner apprehended.

Mr. Cox proved it was not lord Townshend's writing, and Mr. Pinder produced the bill.

The evidence for the prosecution rested here. On the cross examination, it was urged by Mr. Silvester, counsel for the prisoner, that the indictment did not correspond with the bill, for it stated M. G. to be Master General, which the prosecution had no right so to construct ;

that there was no such office at Whitehall as the Pay-Office ; that it could not be to defraud lord Townshend, as lord Townshend was not then in office, and consequently not master-general of the ordnance. These and several other legal objections were stated by the counsel, but over-ruled, as judge Heath was of opinion, that they were not averments, but stated in the indictment to be purports. The evidence being summed up, the jury found the prisoner guilty of uttering the bill, knowing it to be forged. The case, however, is referred to the twelve judges, on a number of exceptions stated in the indictment.

— The case of capt. M'Kenzie was argued, and the Solicitor-general appeared to shew cause why he should then be tried, which Mr. Silvester, the captain's counsel, opposed, on the ground of the impossibility of the captain's making his defence, till the proper witnesses could be brought from the coast of Africa, without whom his client could not safely proceed to trial. The judges acquiesced in this, and the trial was again put off ; and the Solicitor-general undertook that a ship should be dispatched to Cape Coast, in Africa, to bring them over ; meanwhile the trial was adjourned over to the next February sessions.

— The election came on at Guildhall for a member of this city, in the room of the late Mr. alderman Bull ; the candidates were Brook Watson, esq. and Mr. alderman Crosby. The show of hands being in favour of the former, a poll was demanded by the latter.

20. A bill to dissolve the marriage of Walter Nisbett, esq. with Anne Blomberg, his now wife, and to enable him to marry again, and for

for other purposes therein mentioned, was presented yesterday to the house of Peers, read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Tuesday the 4th day of February next.

— At the close of the poll for a representative, in the room of the late Mr. alderman Bull, the numbers stood as follow :

	17.	19.	20.
B. Watson, esq.	330	1098	1898
Mr. ald. Crosby	223	654	979

21. Brafs Crosby, esq. declined going on with the poll; but the sheriffs are obliged to keep the books open during the remainder of the week, according to act of parliament. The poll-books were kept open till three o'clock, and on casting up the numbers, there were for Brook Watson, esq. 2092; and for alderman Crosby, 1042. Mr. Watson then returned the livery his sincere thanks for their very honourable support during his election; and added, that the books are to be kept open one hour every day till Saturday next.

— The following malefactors were executed before Newgate; Robert Dewar, for forging a will and testament, purporting to be that of Shawe Farquharson, late of his majesty's ship the Roebuck; Patrick Bowman, for assaulting and robbing John Spicer, on the highway; John Rich, for a burglary in the house of Mr. Probert, in Broadcourt, Turnmill-street; and Mary Moody, for privately stealing linen, &c. in the house of lord Teynham, where she was a servant.

24. This night's gazette contains the addresses of the mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and commonalty of the city of Norwich; of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgeses of the borough of Leicester; and of the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, and inhabitants

of the borough of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk; to his majesty, expressing their firm attachment to his majesty's person and family, and offering their sincere thanks on his majesty's dismissal of the late ministry.

26. At half past twelve o'clock, the sheriffs met at Guildhall, on the hustings, in order to declare the numbers for a representative of this city, in the room of Frederick Bull, esq. when there appeared for Brook Watson, esq. 2097; and for alderman Crosby, 1043; upon which Brook Watson, esq. was declared duly elected.

27. This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the freeholders of the county of Middlesex; from the mayor, aldermen, &c. of the city of Canterbury; from the merchants, traders, &c. of the borough of Southwark; from the inhabitants of the town of Leicester; and from the bailiffs, burgeses, and commonalty of the town of Ipswich; on the critical situation of public affairs, humbly imploring his majesty to appoint such an administration as may possess the confidence of parliament, and restore the true interests and happiness of the public at large.

31. This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the merchants and traders of London; from the lord provost, magistrates, and council of Edinburgh; from the aldermen, burgeses, &c. of Southampton; from the manufacturers, traders, &c. of Taunton; and from the mayor and inhabitants of Plymouth, upon the removal of the late ministry, &c.

F E B R U A R Y.

3. A petition from Joseph Christie, captain in his majesty's 88th regiment
(A 4)

ment of foot, was presented to the house of Peers, praying leave to bring in a bill to dissolve his marriage with Elizabeth Leslie Christie, his now wife (late Elizabeth Leslie Baird), and to enable him to marry again, and for other purposes therein mentioned. Leave was given, as prayed.

— This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the dean, steward, burgeses, &c. of Westminster; from the freemen and citizens of York; from the mayor, clergy, &c. of Exeter; from the mayor, bailiffs, &c. of Lancaster; from the inhabitants of Reading; from the inhabitants of Colchester; and from the mayor and aldermen of Evesham, in Worcestershire, on the removal of the late ministry, &c.

Extract of a letter from Paris, Feb. 6.

By letters from Rochelle we find, that on the 17th of January, at about six o'clock in the evening, a violent storm happened there, accompanied with an earthquake, thunder, lightning, and hail; it lasted till nine, and blew down many of the largest trees in the neighbourhood of that city: two chimnies were thrown down in Rochelle, together with several houses, and some churches, and among the rest, the cathedral was much damaged: at Nantes and Rochefort much damage was done. On the coast 27 ships were lost, 80 dead bodies were washed on shore at Rochelle, and many more on the isle of Rhé.

7. They write from Metz the following extraordinary adventure: a young girl in love with a soldier of the garrison, knowing him indisposed, and obliged to be on duty at midnight, during the late inclemency of the weather, went to see him, and finding her poor sweet-

heart quite benumbed with cold, pressed him to go and warm himself in her room, which was not very far, while she would remain in his place. The soldier refused for some time, but at last yielded to the tender solicitations of his Dulcinea. The moment he was gone, she wrapt herself in his great coat, and began to walk *à la militaire* with the firelock on her shoulder. Unfortunately the round going by, the corporal asked her the order, which not being able to answer, she was detected and taken to the guard-house, where she related her story. Her lover was immediately fetched, and being found almost dead, though before a good fire, he was revived by means of some cordial, and put in prison the next morning. He is now going to be tried, and there is no doubt but he will be cast, pursuant to the strictness of military laws. It is, however, supposed that he will easily obtain his pardon. The ladies are greatly in his interest, and some of them have already subscribed for the paraphernalia of his mistress if he chooses to marry her.

— This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the merchants and principal inhabitants of the city of Exeter; from the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the borough of Plymouth; from the freeholders and inhabitants of the borough of Launceston; from the mayor, aldermen, capital burgeses, and principal inhabitants of the borough of Sudbury, in the county of Suffolk; from the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, manufacturers, and other inhabitants of the town of Wolverhampton, in the county of Stafford; from the magistrates and town council of the burgh of Dysart; and from the justices of the peace, commissioners of supply, and heritors of the county

of Perth; humbly thanking his majesty for the dismission of his late ministers.

10. At a court of common council, before the right honourable the lord-mayor, the aldermen Alfop, Crosby, Townsend, Esdaile, Wilkes, Lewes, Plomer, Newnham, Clark, Wright, Hart, Sainsbury, Kitchen, Burnell, Sanderson, Gill, Hopkins, Bates, the two sheriffs, and a very respectable number of commoners:

The thanks of the court were voted to the right honourable William Pitt, for his able, upright, and disinterested conduct, as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, on the present alarming and critical juncture of affairs.

The court also unanimously voted the freedom of the city to be presented to Mr. Pitt, in a gold box of the value of one hundred guineas, as a mark of gratitude for and approbation of his zeal and assiduity in supporting the legal prerogatives of the crown and the constitutional rights of the people; and appointed a committee to wait on him therewith.

A motion was then made, to acknowledge, with the deepest gratitude, the late timely interference of the house of lords for the preservation of our excellent constitution, and the security of the rights of every branch of the legislature; which, after some debate, was carried by a great majority.

— This night's gazette contains an address to his majesty from the citizens and principal inhabitants of Exeter, expressive of their attachment to his majesty's person and government, and declaring that it is not their intention to engage in any measure that may tend to embarrass his majesty's government, to foment the alarming divisions that

at present prevail, and impede the progress of those conciliatory measures by which alone the public peace can be restored, they therefore hope his majesty will be graciously pleased to call to his councils men whose abilities and integrity may recommend them to his royal favour, and whose measures may entitle them to the full confidence and support of his majesty's faithful subjects. Likewise addresses from the inhabitants of New Sarum; from the mayor, aldermen, &c. of Chipping Wycombe; from the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgeses of Preston, in Lancashire; from the mayor, bailiffs, and burgeses of Berwick upon Tweed; and from the bailiff, burgeses, and inhabitants of Chippenham; on the removal of the late ministry.

11. Mention has been made of the melancholy fate of the Athol Indiaman; and from the accounts it was concluded that all on board was involved in the same fate: some, however, were preserved almost miraculously, among whom was the surgeon, from whose letter the following particulars are extracted:

The second morning after our arrival, about seven o'clock we were alarmed with the cry of fire in the lazaretto, where the spirits are kept; the flames were already violent, and spreading rapidly: immediately under the lazaretto is the powder magazine; you can better conceive than I describe our deplorable situation: sixty of our seamen impressed, and only the officers, with a very few who remained, to suppress a dreadful fire. We exerted ourselves to the utmost, hoisted a signal, and fired guns of distress, which soon brought great numbers to our assistance. Their efforts seemed at last to be blessed with success; the flames became moderate, and we began

began to think ourselves secure ; fatal security to many ! for in about fifteen minutes from eight o'clock the ship blew up.

I was stunned and thrown down with the explosion, and before I could recover from the shock, a yard fell across me, attended with much excruciating torture ; my sight failed me ; but just as I was sinking, I recovered so far as to cling to the spar, which was above me, and which luckily floated me to the surface. Vast numbers were killed on the quarter-deck, owing to all the spars which are placed along the middle of the ship, being thrown upon it. I was carried on board the Juno frigate, where I was treated with the greatest kindness and humanity, and am now thoroughly recovered.

The cause of this dreadful affair was the villainy and carelessness of our cooper and steward, who were employed in stealing liquors ; they had stuck a candle against a beam, which dropping into the bucket full of spirits, immediately set it on fire, as also the puncheon ; they attempted to smother it by putting in the bung, but it instantly burst the cask, and threw the burning spirits all over the lazaretto, which was full of spirits, oil, pitch, and cordage, being only separated by the deck from the magazine, which was directly under it.

There were killed by this melancholy accident, 7 lieutenants, and 97 petty officers and seamen belonging to the men of war ; two officers and 25 seamen belonging to the Indiamen, all our officers, with about 15 petty officers and seamen, and four passengers. Mr. Ross, midshipman, being on the poop, escaped unhurt. Many more were saved, but some with fractured limbs, and otherwise much hurt.

— The Hinchinbrook Indiaman is wrecked in Bengal river. The crew and the cargo are supposed to be saved.

13. A duel was fought, in a field near Little Chelsea, between capt. Charles Mostyn of the navy, and capt. Clarke of the African corps, which terminated in the death of the former, who was shot through the heart. The quarrel originated in the defence of a Jew, who goes about diverting company by taking off Mr. Fox. Words arose : capt. Mostyn grew violent, and capt. Clarke was reduced to the necessity of insisting on an apology, or calling capt. Mostyn to an account. Mr. Mostyn was a gallant officer, aged 25, who for his intrepid behaviour was made post in the Solitaire, a French ship of the line, taken by the Ruby. Capt. Clarke stands high in the corps to which he belongs.

16. This evening the jury sat at the Albemarle Arms, in Albemarle-street, on the body of capt. Mostyn, of the navy, who was killed in a duel on Friday last, at three o'clock in the afternoon, in a field near Lochée's Academy, Little Chelsea, by captain Clarke, of the army ; which lasted from six in the evening till four in the morning, when they brought in their verdict manslaughter, against John Montague Clarke, esq.

17. This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Bath ; from the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Worcester ; from the bailiffs, magistrates, sheriff, &c. of the city and close of the cathedral church of Litchfield ; from the gentlemen, merchants, manufacturers, and traders of Birmingham ; from the portreeve, bailiff, &c. of Honiton ; from the merchants, traders, &c. of Dartmouth, in Devon ;
from

from the mayor, bailiffs, and burgeses of Clifton Dartmouth Harbours, in Devon; and from the gentlemen, clothiers, &c. of Trowbridge, on the removal of the late ministry, &c.

20. The cause between Mr. Macklin and Mr. Colman was determined in the court of King's-bench, after having been outstanding nearly eleven years. The ground of the suit was this: Mr. Macklin, in September, 1773, entered upon an engagement as an actor of the Covent-garden company, for three years, at a salary of 400*l.* per season, with a benefit. On the 18th of November, in consequence of a quarrel that had arisen between him and some of the play-house frequenters of that day, a riot took place in the theatre, and he was driven from the stage, the managers not daring to let him appear again. The latter considered this as an incapacitation of Macklin to perform his part of the engagement, and supposed the contract necessarily dissolved. Macklin, on the contrary, having sent regularly to demand his salary, and offered to play any character the manager should appoint, commenced a suit in chancery for the recovery of his salary, and an averaged amount of profits for his benefits. After filing bills and cross bills, and various expensive and tedious proceedings in equity, he was advised to try for a remedy at common law, and accordingly brought an action on the case in the court of King's-bench, which came on for hearing last Friday. Sir Thomas Davenport, as counsel for Mr. Macklin, opened his case to the court, and called evidence to prove the substantial facts. Mr. Bearcroft then, as counsel for Mr. Colman, opened the defence, and, if he could have substantiated it, a

very strong one it was: before, however, any witnesses were called in its support, lord Mansfield recommended a compromise. Mr. Macklin rose, and informed the court he had offered long since to leave it to the arbitration of any one merchant, or any one lawyer in the kingdom, and that he was then ready to abide by the decision of any one of the jury. Lord Mansfield complimented Mr. Macklin on his candour and fairness; and it rested with Mr. Colman how the matter was to terminate. Mr. Colman declared, that he had never before heard of the plaintiff's being ready to submit the case to the arbitration of an individual, or he would have closed with him on the proposition; and that he would do so then, provided the matter could be so adjusted that he could be secure that no more than his proportion of the sum awarded to Mr. Macklin should fall upon him. Mr. Colman explained what he meant, by stating, that the engagement was for three years, in only the first of which he had an interest in Covent-garden theatre, though the action was brought against him nominally for the whole sum claimed, as the acting manager at the time Mr. Macklin was engaged for the three years. Lord Mansfield told Mr. Colman, that being the defendant, he must pay the whole sum, be the award what it might; but that his partners were bound to pay their proportions to him, and it could not be supposed that they would hesitate to discharge, what the law would oblige them to pay, if they did make any hesitation upon the subject. His lordship then said, he would settle the matter if the parties approved. This being assented to by Mr. Macklin and Mr. Colman, his lordship said, he considered

sidered a riot in a theatre, of the sort in question, as a common calamity, by which the manager and performer were equal sufferers, and therefore he should halve the matter, and as Mr. Macklin had brought his action for 1000*l.* award him 500*l.* and each party to pay their own costs. This was cheerfully acceded to by Mr. Macklin and Mr. Colman, and a rule drawn to enforce the decision, and tie up the plaintiff and defendant from commencing any future suit or suits upon the subject. Some civilities passed between lord Mansfield and Mr. Macklin, and the latter, before he went out of court, assured his lordship, that he had never known what justice or equity was before.

21. This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the county of Denbigh, the citizens of Bristol, the city of Wells, the town of Wolverhampton, the borough of New Windsor, the borough of Andover, the borough of Lynn Regis, the town of Lancaster, the borough of St. Alban's, the borough of Marlborough, and from the chamberlains and common council, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the borough of Alnwick, on the dismissal of the late ministry, and the present situation of affairs.

23. We are assured that the right honourable the earl of Stamford has most obligingly accepted of the office of president of the Humane Society; and that lord Willoughby de Broke, lord Beauchamp, sir Joseph Andrews, bart. the honourable Philip Bouverie, Mr. alderman Sawbridge, Dr. Lettsom, Edward Bridgen, esq. and James Horsfall, esq. have also accepted the offices of vice-presidents to this charity.

24. This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the county of Berks; from the county of Cornwall; from the city

of Aberdeen; from the county of Oxford, from the town of Shrewsbury; from the town of Kingston-upon-Hull; from the town and port of Folkestone; from the town and port of Dover; from the county of Wilts; from the county of York; and from the borough of Abingdon, on the dismissal of the late ministry, &c. &c.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 24. The duke of Rutland, who embarked at Holyhead last night, on board his majesty's yacht the Dorset, arrived safe in the harbour about one o'clock this afternoon. His grace was received at landing by the lord-mayor and sheriffs of the city of Dublin. The regiments of foot in garrison lined the streets through which his grace passed to the Castle, attended by a squadron of horse. His grace, on his arrival at the Castle, was introduced in form to the earl of Northington, who received him, sitting under the canopy of state, in the presence chamber. A council met at five o'clock, and a procession was made from the presence chamber to the council chamber, where his grace's commission was read, and the oaths administered to him, after which, his grace having received the sword from the earl of Northington, and being invested with the collar of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick, the great guns in his majesty's park the Phoenix, were fired, and answered by the regiments on duty. His grace then repaired to the presence chamber, where he received the compliments of the nobility and other persons of distinction, upon his grace's safe arrival to take upon him the government of this kingdom.

Dublin-Castle, Feb. 26. This day, about two o'clock, the earl of Northington, late lord lieutenant of this kingdom, left the castle, in order

order to embark on board his majesty's yacht the Dorset, on his return to England.

His grace the duke of Rutland, lord lieutenant, and the earl of Northington, went together from the castle in a coach drawn by six horses, and preceded by a leading coach and six, in which were the officers of state, to the South Wall. They were escorted by a squadron of horse, and attended by a great number of the nobility and persons of distinction, the lord-mayor, sheriffs, several of the aldermen and principal citizens in their carriages, followed by a concourse of people to the water side. The streets were lined by the regiments of infantry on Dublin duty; and the earl of Northington received every demonstration of respect as he passed through the streets from the people, who testified their regard by repeated wishes for his welfare and safe return to England.

27. Mr. Recorder made his report to his majesty of the following convicts under sentence of death in Newgate:

John Ash, Thomas Welch, John Lee, Daniel Hickman alias Hickings, Thomas Ledger, George Allen, Anne Moore, Sarah Partridge, George Milton, Thomas Jones, Joseph Dunnage, Joseph Clark, Joseph Harrison, William Bell, John Parker, Samuel Gafcoyne, and William Clarke; when his majesty was pleased to order George Allen, Thomas Ledger, Joseph Clarke, John Lee, John Ash, and Thomas Welch, for execution on Thursday next the 4th inst. in the Old-Bailey.

28. The committee appointed to present the freedom of the city to the right hon. William Pitt, went in procession, preceded by the city marshal, and accompanied by the sheriffs and town-clerk, to his house

in Berkeley-square, from whence that gentleman accompanied them to Grocers Hall, in the Poultry (of which company he had accepted the freedom), where an elegant entertainment was provided in honour of Mr. Pitt, it is said, at not less than 1000 guineas expence. When they reached Temple-Bar the colours of the city and of the grocers company were carried before the procession in their way to Grocers Hall. It was attended by a prodigious concourse of people. After Mr. Pitt had taken the oath, usually administered to freemen upon their admission, Mr. Wilkes addressed him as follows:

Sir,

I give you joy, and I congratulate the city of London on the important acquisition it has this day made. I reckon it, sir, among the most fortunate events of my life, that I have the honour of being directed by the unanimous resolution of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council, to enrol your name in the archives of this metropolis among those princes and heroes who have been the benefactors of our country, and the friends of mankind, with the glorious deliverer of this nation, with the hero of Culloden, with the illustrious statesman from whom you derive your descent. The city of London, sir, with pride and exultation, now behold revived in the son those solid virtues, shining talents, and powerful eloquence, which they long admired in the father, but above all that generous love of our country, and its divine constitution, superior to the groveling, sordid views of private self-interest, or personal ambition. You have, sir, thus early in your ministerial career, commanded the esteem and admiration of this city and nation, by a noble act of disinterestedness in favour

favour of the public, for which I believe you scarcely could find a precedent, nor I fear will you be imitated by any future minister.

We look up, sir, to that superior ability, and purity of public virtue, which distinguish you, for the reformation of many abuses, as well as the steady protection of our chartered rights, property, and freedom. The administration of your noble father gave us security at home, carried the glory of this nation to the utmost height abroad, and extended the bounds of the empire to countries, where the Roman eagle never flew. A late administration undertook an unjust and wicked war, which dismembered the empire by depriving us of our most valuable colonies, and has brought us almost to the brink of bankruptcy. To restore this kingdom to any degree of prosperity and greatness, demands the utmost exertions of virtue and ability, with every support both of the crown and people at large. I hope you will meet with both, and I know how high you stand in the confidence of the public. Much is to be done; but you have youth, capacity, and firmness. It is the characteristic of a true patriot never to despair, and we have a well-grounded hope of your making us again a great, powerful, happy, and united people, by a steady, uniform, wise, and disinterested conduct. Your noble father, sir, annihilated party, and I hope you will in the end bear down and conquer the hydra of faction, which now rears its hundred heads against you. I remember his saying, that for the good of the people he dared to look the proudest connections of this country in the face. I trust that the same spirit animates his son, and as he has the same support of the crown and the people,

I am firmly persuaded that the same success will follow.

Mr. PITT's Answer to Mr. Chamberlain WILKES.

SIR,

I beg to return you my best thanks for your very obliging expressions. Nothing can be more encouraging to me, in the discharge of my public duty, than the countenance of those, whom, from this day, I may have the honour of calling my fellow-citizens.

We are extremely sorry to learn that the mob on Saturday night broke many windows as they went along, and in St. James's street an affray happened between them and a parcel of chairmen at Brookes's, in which the latter proved triumphant, and Mr. Pitt was obliged to quit his carriage and retire to White's for protection. His coach was much injured, and the mob that dragged it went and broke Mr. Fox's windows in St. James's Place in revenge.

— This night's gazette contains addresses from Westminster, Durham, Worcester, Newcastle upon Tyne, Buckingham, Newark upon Trent, Maidstone, Aylesbury, Sandwich, Lanerk, Glasgow, and Dundee, humbly thanking his majesty for the recent change he has been pleased to make in his councils.

M A R C H.

1. The servants of the duke de Chartres arrived at the duke's house in Portland Place, and his grace is hourly expected from France.

2. This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the town of Falmouth; from the borough of Daventry, in Northamptonshire; from the town and county of Poole; from Warcham, in Dorsetshire; from Penryn, in Cornwall; from the city of Glasgow;

from Dumfries; from Dumfermline; from Innerkeithing; from Queenberry; and from Sterling: on the present situation of public affairs.

4. This morning were executed in the Old Bailey, opposite Newgate, pursuant to their sentence, the six following convicts, viz. John Lee, for forging a bill of exchange for 15l. on the office of ordnance; John Ash, for personating Mr. Thomas Eaton, proprietor of 750l. four per cent. consol. annuities, and transferring the same; Thomas Ledger, and George Allen, for breaking into the house of John Doudy, and stealing 20s. in halfpence; Thomas Welch, for breaking into the house of Thomas Dudworth, and stealing several things, and for privately stealing in the shop of Thomas Moore, two gold watches, and a metal watch; and Joseph Clark, for returning from transportation before the expiration of his sentence. They all behaved very penitent, and were turned off at eight o'clock.

Mr. Lee, one of the unhappy convicts, was born and educated a gentleman; he possessed a strong understanding and polished manners. When very young, he entered the army as an ensign, and by force of merit and address he obtained a company. His companions were of the first rank, which led him into expence, and obliged him to sell his commission. He then attached himself to Mr. J——, the actress, and went upon the stage, where, notwithstanding his accomplishments, he made but an indifferent figure. While they were, as a part of the Edinburgh company, playing at the theatre of Aberdeen, they were encouraged to open an academy for teaching the English language. Mrs. Lee was much patronized, and had the daughters of the principal gentry in the coun-

try at her house. Captain Lee was too fond of gambling, long to preserve his character in a place, where, though they are less rigid than other parts of Scotland, they yet pay attention to the morals of those who are invested with public duties; and on the death of Mrs. Lee, he was again suffered, without regret, to go abroad into the world. He renewed his acquaintance with the stage, and played at Portsmouth and other theatres. A few days previous to the commission of the crime for which he suffered, he arrived in London without a farthing, and being literally starving, and ashamed to beg, urged by the calls of nature, he went to the Rose tavern, in Bridges-street, where he had often spent large sums, and having dined, borrowed from the proprietor of the house a guinea and a half, giving him as security a paper purporting to be lord Townshend's draft on the ordnance office; the draft being offered for payment, was stopped, and Mr. Lee being soon after apprehended, was tried and convicted, &c. His friends did every thing that friendship could dictate to save his life, but in vain.

Mr. Lee requested that he might give the signal for the executioner to put a period to their existence, which being granted, after a few moments private ejaculations, he dropped his handkerchief, and the false bottom on which they stood in an instant fell in, and deprived them of all sense. Mr. Lee made some few momentary struggles.

— At a general court of the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, William Pitcairn, M. D. president of the College of Physicians, was unanimously elected treasurer of the said hospital in the room of John Darker, esq. deceased.

— A rustic monument has lately been

been erected to the memory of the unfortunate Chatterton, in a very romantic spot belonging to Philip Thicknesse, esq. about half a mile from Bath. It is a rude, but substantial Gothic arch, raised between two hills, over which is placed the profile, in relief, of the lamented youth, and underneath an inscription, purporting, that "though his days were short and miserable, yet his fame shall live for ever." In the back ground are a broken lyre and a young laurel nipped in the bud. This token of affection to Chatterton's memory has excited great curiosity, and Mr. Thicknesse's beautiful hermitage is constantly visited by all persons distinguished for their taste or sentiment.

6. This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the citizens of Bristol; from the borough of Truro; from the town of Chard; from the borough of Warwick; from the borough of Tamworth, in the counties of Warwick and Stafford; from the county of Devon; from the county of Bucks; from the borough of Bridport; from the county of Fife; from the borough of Kirkcaldy; from the shire of Linlithgow; and the ancient and loyal burgh of Ayr, on the present state of affairs, the dismissal of the late ministry, &c. &c.

9. The following is the substance of the letter from Scilly, which gives an account to the directors of the India company of the loss of the Nancy packet.

"A person, whose business is to attend at the Scilly Islands, on seeing some letters washed on shore, which, on opening, he found came from India, suspecting some vessel from that part of the world to be lost, offered a large reward for any person to go off; they accordingly discovered a wreck under water

with great difficulty, and got up a packet bag, which contained several letters.

"The following are a part of the passengers known to have been on board the Nancy at the time; Mr. Percy, surgeon to sir Edward Hughes; Mr. Ashburner, late of the council at Bombay; Mr. Bond; Mr. Page and son; Miss A. Thomson; capt. Haldane; his first and second mate; Mr. M'Kenzie; Mrs. Cargill, and an infant child of twenty months old. The bodies were mostly naked, and supposed to have been in bed at the time."

— Mr. Nesbit's divorce bill was read a third time in the house of commons, and passed.

— This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the county of Stafford, from the borough of Cricklade; from the borough of Penryn; from the county of Berwick; from the provost, magistrates, and town-council of the royal burrow of Culrofs, on the dismissal of the late ministers, &c.

10. The entertainment at Carleton House was one of the grandest spectacles that we have had in this country for years, and was becoming the prince of a free nation. The dinner was given to the whole of that most respectable body of gentlemen who have assembled at the St. Alban's Tavern, with the laudable view of reconciling the hostile parties by which the nation has been distracted, and bringing about an union capable of conducting the strong measures necessary in so critical a moment. The ball at night exhibited a scene of beauty and magnificence unparalleled. Lady Beauchamp's groupe, consisting of herself, her sisters, the Miss Ingrams, and the Miss Talbots, were said to be the most exquisitely beautiful of any in the room. They were all five in Spanish dresses, uniform, of white

crapè spangled with gold, and ornamented with precious stones. They had the finest effect in the dance.

11. At a meeting of the gentlemen interested in the island of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat, held at the London Tavern, Sir William Young, Bart. in the chair :

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting, impressed with the deepest sense of gratitude for the humanity, justice, and generosity, so exemplarily displayed by his excellency Monsieur le Marquis de Bouille, in his several conquests and chief command over the above islands, during the late war, beg leave to offer to his excellency this public testimony of their veneration and esteem.

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of Sir William Young, Bart. lieutenant general Robert Melville, William Woodley, esq. Richard Neave, esq. Walter Nisbet, esq. Robert Udney, esq. John Anthony Rucker, esq. do wait upon his excellency with a copy of these proceedings, and request, that he will honour this meeting with his company to dinner at this place, on such a day as may be most agreeable to him to appoint, with such of his friends and countrymen as he may please to introduce.

Resolved, That a piece of plate be presented to Monsieur Le Marquis de Bouille, in the name and on behalf of this meeting, as a small, but grateful tribute due to his magnanimity and justice, and that the above committee do cause the said piece of plate to be prepared, and to have subscribed thereon, the substance of the first resolution.

WILLIAM YOUNG, Chairman.

A copy of the above proceedings

1784.

being presented by the committee to Monsieur Le Marquis de Bouille, his excellency was pleased to make the following reply.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I return you my acknowledgments for the very great and distinguished honour you have done me, of which I entertain the warmest sense.

“ My conduct towards the West-India colonies, which fell by the fate of war, under the dominion of France, was such, as not only flowed from the examples of magnanimity and justice, given by my sovereign, but was the natural result of that high esteem and consideration, which I have always held for a nation, so respectable and renowned as that of Great-Britain.— I cannot, therefore, but wholly attribute the value you are pleased to set on my actions, to the generosity of your sentiments, of which I shall preserve a constant remembrance.”

12. A report was made to the house of commons from the committee to whom Sir Ashton Lever's petition had been referred; and the same being read, a motion was afterwards made

“ For leave to bring in a bill for enabling Sir Ashton Lever to dispose of his collection of specimens of natural history, exhibited in Leicester Fields, by way of chance, in such manner as may be most for his benefit.” Upon the question put, leave was given accordingly.

13. Between three and four o'clock Mr. Pitt went as privately as possible in a friend's carriage, attended only by one gentleman, to Goldsmith's Hall, Foster Lane, where a most elegant dinner was provided for him by the company. The other noblemen and gentlemen who were invited, among whom

(B)

were

were earl Temple, earl Chatham, lord Sydney, lord Camelford, lord Mahon, &c. also took the precaution of going as privately as possible, so that not any of them were discovered by the populace, till they were turning out of St. Paul's Church-yard into Cheapside; when Mr. Pitt's carriage being joined by one of the others, the mob discovered him, and made an effort to take out the horses, and drag him to the hall; but he prevailed on them to the contrary, as the distance he had to go was so short.

— This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty, from the county of Anglesey; from the town of Liverpool; from the town of Bedford; from the borough of Doncaster and town of Rotherham, in Yorkshire; from the grand jury of the county of Bucks; from the borough of Great Marlow; from the borough of Oakhampton; from the borough of Biddeford; from the borough of Stockbridge; from the borough of Saltash; and from the borough of Harwich, on the present situation of affairs.

16. At twelve o'clock last night the lord mayor received a letter from the right hon. W. Pitt, chancellor of the exchequer, relative to an execution for 180,000*l.* being levied on the hon. the East India company. Early this morning his lordship sent for the sword-bearer, and ordered summonses for a court of aldermen yesterday. His lordship, the sheriffs, and several aldermen had a conference for two hours on this extraordinary occasion, as the execution was said to be not strictly regular. The officer who levied, notwithstanding the largeness of the demand, executed the writ without the knowledge of his principals, and his fees amount to

1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, being 13,000*l.* The execution was for duties to government, and it is said to be withdrawn by consent of ministry.

The court of aldermen have suspended the secondary of the Compter for having on his own mere motion, and without previous authority from the sheriffs, levied the above execution.

The above circumstance is an additional proof of the bad consequences the practice of selling places in the city is liable to. The secondary is so far the deputy of the sheriffs for the time being, that every pecuniary risque, officially incurred by the imprudence or misconduct of the former, falls upon the latter; and yet the secondary's place being a purchase, the sheriffs have no immediate controul over him.

— This night's gazette contains addresses from the county of Essex, from the town of Sunderland, from the corporation of Penzance, from the borough of Tregony, from the borough of Ashburton, from the borough of Ludlow, from the town of Paisley, from the town of Kilmarnock, from the burgh of Kirkcudbright, and from the city of Aberdeen, humbly thanking his majesty for the appointment of his present ministers. Likewise a second address from the inhabitants of Tregony, expressive of their concern at the present distracted state of the British empire, and humbly imploring his majesty to call such men into his service as have the confidence of the representatives of the people.

17. The following affair was discovered in a court by the side of Fleet-Market. Some of the lodgers smelt something offensive up two pair of stairs, where a man and his family

family lodged, and calling to the children to open the door, they replied they could not: on which the people burst it open, when they found the poor woman dead upon the bed, and four children, two boys and two girls, naked, and almost starved to death, three of them so weak for want of food, that they could not stand. The eldest boy, who could just speak to be understood, said, that his mother died the 13th of February, and that their father left them soon after. The parish officers were sent for, who ordered them to be carried in chairs to the workhouse, and great care to be taken of them. The deceased was with difficulty, being in a state of putrefaction, put into a coffin, to be carried to the workhouse for interment.

19. The second reading of Mr. Christie's divorce bill was, upon motion yesterday in the house of peers, further adjourned to Tuesday the 30th instant.

20. This night's gazette contains an address from the presbyterian ministers of the general synod of Ulster, in Ireland, expressive of a steady attachment to his majesty's person and family, and of grateful acknowledgements for his majesty's royal munificence in augmenting the royal bounty towards them. An address from the gentlemen, clergy, freemen, and inhabitants of the city of Coventry, presented by the right hon. lord Sheffield, one of the representatives in parliament for the said city on the present alarming situation of affairs, the dismissal of the late ministry, and expressive of a firm reliance on his majesty's wisdom and paternal goodness in the employment of men whose abilities and unbiassed integrity may best promote the welfare and happiness

of the kingdom. An address from the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the city of Coventry, presented by Richard Hopkins, esq. with assurances of fidelity and attachment to his majesty's person and family, and congratulating the king on his appointment of the present ministry. An address from the mayor and citizens of Rochester; the inhabitants of the borough of Tewkesbury; the freeholders, justices, and heritors of the county of Edinburgh; thanking his majesty for the just exercise of his prerogative, &c. An address from the freeholders and inhabitants of Redruth, lamenting the present state of public affairs, occasioned by a want of a firm and united administration, and expressive of an earnest hope that his majesty will, in compliance with the wishes of the house of commons, call into his councils such men as have the confidence of parliament, &c. and an address from the lord provost, magistrates, and council of the city of Glasgow, thanking his majesty for his late endeavours to form an efficient, firm, extended, administration, the just exercise of his prerogative, &c.

— A silver ladle, elegantly engraved and gilt, given by the right hon. the earl of Orford, was run for in the park at Houghton, by greyhounds, the property of farmers, in that neighbourhood. No fewer than thirty-two dogs appeared on this occasion, which were divided into six box-hare courses, the winner of each again starting in two divisions, and the two best of these coursed a field-hare for the prize, which was won by a red and white dog of Mr. Davy's.

23. As two ladies and a gentleman were walking from Drury-lane theatre to their carriage, which

stood a few paces down Catherine-street, they were surrounded by a banditti of light-fingered wretches who struck the gentleman a violent blow on his breast, and then robbed him of his watch, money, and every thing about him; the ladies were roughly treated, but their long cloaks being wrapped round them, prevented their pockets from being picked.

— This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Carnarvon; from the justices of the peace of the county of Inverness; from the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, common-council, gentlemen, clergy, and inhabitants of the city of Chester; from the lords of manor, clergy, freeholders, merchants, traders, and inhabitants of the town and port of Bridlington; from the mayor, magistrates, bailiffs, and inhabitants of Guildford; and from the bailiff, aldermen, capital burghesses, free burghesses, &c. of New Radnor, in Radnorshire, on the dismissal of the late ministry, &c.

24. Early this morning some thieves broke into the back part of the house, inhabited by the lord chancellor, in Great Ormond street, having got over the wall, from the fields, into the garden, and from thence into the area, they forced two bars of the kitchen window, and entered the house. Having thus gained an entrance, they went up stairs, into a room adjoining the study, where they found the great seal of England; this they took from out the two bags, in which it is always kept, carrying away with them the plain seal only, or rather the two parts, which constitute the whole; they also took a sum of money, not very considerable, and

two silver hilted swords, having first drawn them, and leaving the scabbards behind. Not one of his lordship's servants heard them during their stay, and of course they got off with rather more ease than they got in. These midnight robbers, left behind them their implement of industry, a plain tool well tempered, and calculated as well for a weapon of defence (if opposed) as an instrument for forcing of locks.

His majesty went to the house of peers, and was pleased to prorogue the parliament with a most gracious speech from the throne.

25. The parliament was dissolved by royal proclamation.

27. This night's gazette contains addresses from Northumberland, Leicester, Warwick, Wenlock in Salop, Dorset, Wigtown, and two from Aberdeen, in favour of the present ministry, &c.

30. At the close of the poll for the borough of Hertford, the numbers were

For Mr. Calvert,	365
Baron Dimsdale,	292
Mr. Baker,	223

Whereupon the two former were declared duly elected.

— A meeting was holden at Guild-hall for nominating four persons to represent the city of London in parliament, when the shew of hands was declared to be in favour of sir Watkin Lewes, Mr. Newnham, Mr. Watson, and Mr. Pitt: but a poll was demanded by the friends of alderman Sawbridge, Mr. Atkinson, and Mr. Smith. Alderman Pickett, who had offered his services, declined giving any further trouble. Among other spirited resolutions agreed to in the common hall, by the almost unanimous voice of the liverymen ever assembled, the most material was a

test,

test, that they would to the utmost of their power inforce the instructions of their constituents legally convened in common hall for that purpose, or resign if such instructions should militate against their judgment.

31. Came on the election for the town of Kingston upon Hull, and at the close of the poll the following day at noon, the numbers were

For W. Wilberforce, esq. 807

Samuel Thornton, esq. 751

David Hartley, esq. 337

Upon which the two former were declared duly elected.

A P R I L.

1. This day being appointed by the high bailiff for the nomination of candidates, to represent the city of Westminster in parliament, an immense body of people assembled in Covent-Garden before ten o'clock. About noon lord Hood and sir Cecil Wray ascended the hustings, attended by a numerous train of friends; and soon after Mr. Fox, preceded by a band of music and several flags, arrived from St. James's-street.—The writ, with the act to prevent bribery and corruption being read, the several candidates, lord Hood, sir Cecil Wray, and Mr. Fox were about to be nominated as candidates, when the high bailiff, judging it impossible to collect the sense of the electors from the tumult which prevailed, was of opinion, that as a poll had been demanded by several of the electors, a shew of hands was not necessary on the occasion.

Mr. Baker came forward, and expressed his wish that the sense of the electors might be taken by the usual mode of a shew of hands, but the high bailiff persisting in his opinion, the point was given up.

Mr. Baker made a long speech in favour of Mr. Fox, and passed the highest eulogiums on his integrity and abilities, and recommended him in the warmest manner to the electors. He was answered by

Dr. Jebb, who addressed the people nearly in the following words:—

“ Before I shall enter upon the merits of the gentleman whom I shall recommend to your suffrages, I will speak upon a point which bears no reference to party, but which immediately and highly interests yourselves. Till the spirit of the people shall have restored the primitive constitution of parliament, it becomes you, when delegating a trust for so long a term as seven years, to use every precaution in your power that so important a trust shall not be abused. After the example of the city of London, I shall therefore propose the following declaration, which I conceive no candidate, that means well to the people, can object to.

“ I do declare upon my honour, that upon a fair signification of the wishes of my constituents, I will either act in conformity to their instructions, or embrace the first opportunity of vacating my seat.”

Dr. Jebb then proceeded to declare, that, in order to warn persons, who might hereafter obtain the affections of the people, against insulting their honest feelings, it became them to shew their abhorrence of the coalition, by a rejection of that candidate, who had failed the past expectations of the people of England, and had joined with a set of men, who had brought this country to the brink of destruction. He declared his high approbation of the parliamentary conduct of sir Cecil Wray, which had ever been honourable, uniform, and consistent;

attentive to his duties, the friend of parliamentary reform, and attached from principle to the cause of freedom; and he nominated him with full confidence that he would serve them with fidelity and zeal.

Mr. Fox advanced next, but the unceasing clamour and applause he received, prevented him from saying more than a few words, which could not be distinctly heard.

Lord Hood and Sir Cecil Wray then came forward. Lord Hood was heard for a few minutes; he declared he had no personal wish to gratify, in offering himself a candidate; his only ambition was to serve his country, and if the electors thought proper to honour him with their voluntary suffrages, he should consider it as one of the greatest honours of his life.

Sir Cecil Wray made several attempts to speak, but to no purpose; the tumult became immoderate whenever he appeared.

At Wood's hotel ensigns of the French and Spanish nations taken by admiral Hood during the late war were displayed, and a band of music, playing Britons strike home, was seated in the windows of the hotel.—A flag was displayed before the hustings, on which was written, Lord Hood, Sir Cecil Wray;—No Bribery;—No Receipt Tax; and under these words, the Ville de Paris was displayed.

On Mr Fox's flags were written Fox and the Constitution; No Tax on Maid Servants; and May Chelsea Hospital stand for ever!

The whole was one continued scene of riot and confusion, till about two o'clock. The poll then commenced, and continued till three, when Mr. Fox came forward and thanked the electors for their support, declaring that it should be

his constant study to merit their free suffrages.

— This night's gazette contains addresses from Yorkshire; from the high sheriff and grand jury of Surrey; from Devonshire; from Oxfordshire; from the high sheriff and grand jury of Devonshire; from Denbighshire; from the county of Air; from Scarborough; and from Henley upon Thames, in favour of the present ministry.

London, April 3, 1784.

At a very large and respectable meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex, held this day, by public advertisement, at the Mermaid at Hackney, for the nomination of candidates to represent the county in the ensuing parliament, the sheriffs opened the business, and declared, that if, on the shew of hands, any doubt should arise, they would grant them a division, and that the nominees or seconds should be the tellers on such division. John Wilkes, esq. George Byng, esq. and William Mainwaring, esq. were then nominated as candidates.

Before the shew of hands was taken, it was moved and seconded, that the following test should be signed by each candidate, viz.

"I do solemnly declare, that if I should be elected a member to serve in parliament for the county of Middlesex, I will faithfully and fully obey the instructions and directions of my constituents, whenever they shall be convened for that purpose. I also pledge myself to promote, as speedily as may be, a more fair and equal representation of the people, and the shortening of the duration of parliament." Which motion being put, was carried in the affirmative by a very large majority.

The test being then offered to the
three

three gentlemen, Mess. Wilkes and Mainwaring signed it, and Mr. Byng refused.

The candidates were then severally put up, and the sheriffs declared Mess. Wilkes and Mainwaring had a majority.

After the declaration was made by the sheriffs, the friends of Mr. Byng applied for a division; on which an altercation took place on the mode of such division, and some time after, the friends of Mr. Byng drew off to the lower part of the garden, when the sheriff and the friends of each candidate told them, amounting to 325 or 328. Messrs. Wilkes and Mainwaring, and their friends, were then applied to, to adopt the same method. Mr. Wilkes's friends came forward, and about thirty were told by the sheriffs; but the friends of Messrs. Wilkes and Mainwaring then refused to proceed any further in the business, saying, as the sheriffs had no doubt on the shew of hands, they would not agree to a division.

A motion was then made and seconded, that the thanks of the meeting be given to the sheriffs for their fair and impartial conduct:

which being put, was carried unanimously in the affirmative.

A motion was then made and seconded, that the proceedings of this day be signed by the sheriffs, and inserted in the public papers, which being put, was carried in the affirmative by a very considerable majority.

A motion was then made and seconded, that this meeting do now adjourn, which being put, was carried in the affirmative by a very considerable majority.

BARNARD TURNER,
THOMAS SKINNER,

— Came on the election for the city of Bristol, when the candidates were, Matthew Brickdale, George Daubeney, Henry Cruger, and Samuel Peach, esqrs.

5. The election ended for the city of Norwich, when the numbers were, for

Sir Harbord Harbord,	2305
Mr. Windham,	1297
Mr. Hobart,	1233

6. At three o'clock the poll for members to serve in parliament for the city of London finally closed. The numbers of each day's poll were as follow;

	Tu.	W.	Th.	F.	S.	M.	Tu.	Total.
Watson,	101	717	1148	1057	497	718	551	4789
Lewes,	90	637	1078	1008	488	724	537	4554
Newnham,	100	635	1066	1010	482	684	494	4471
Sawbridge,	73	435	673	573	292	420	357	3823
Atkinson,	57	362	583	614	293	471	424	3816
Smith,	20	257						287
Pitt,	52							56

— The poll for the city of York finally closed, when the numbers stood as follow:

For lord Galway,	1086
R. S. Milnes, esq.	1019
Lord J. Cavendish,	911
Sir William Milner,	802
Mr. Foljambe and Mr. Weddel	

have declined the poll for Yorkshire.

— On the close of the poll for Cambridge, the numbers were, for

Mr. Pitt,	334
Lord Euston,	288
Mr. Townshend,	267
Mr. Mansfield,	181

(B 4)

7. Mr.

7. Mr. Recorder made his report to his majesty of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate: William Martin alias Thomas Banks, Daniel Clarke, John Davison, Alexander Cullum, William Hubbard, Richard M'Donagh, Charles Manning, Daniel Gunter, John Smith, James Burn, William Proffer, John Jacob, Samuel Selshire, and William Smith alias Burnham; when William Proffer, Richard M'Donagh, William Martin alias Thomas Banks, and William Smith alias Burnham, were ordered for execution on Wednesday next, the 14th instant, at the new place of execution before Newgate.

Extract of a letter from Bath, Apr. 7.

Our election is this minute over, when the numbers appeared thus:

Hon. J. J. Pratt,	27
Abel Moysey, esq.	17
Right hon. W. Pitt,	12

— The state of the poll for Suffolk this evening:

Sir John Rous,	1652
Joshua Grig, esq.	1283
Sir Charles Bunbury,	739

— At the meeting at Bedford, for the election of members for the county, the shew of hands in the hall appeared in favour of lords Ongley and Offory. A poll was immediately demanded for the honourable St. Andrew St. John.

— It is remarkable that through the whole principality of Wales, there is not a single contest on the present general election.

— A correspondent, well acquainted with all the unhappy circumstances, has sent the following particulars of the unfortunate family lately discovered in the Fleet-market:

The father was some years a reputable tradesman in Holborn, but

having through unavoidable losses twice failed, he was, with a wife and four children, reduced to the greatest necessity: however, his friends having purchased him the place of a sheriff's officer, his affairs began to wear a something better aspect; but a person, arrested for a considerable sum, having escaped from him, he was sued for the debt, and confined for two years in the Fleet, from whence he was at last delivered at the burning that prison by the rioters; by which, though he recovered his liberty, he lost his cloaths and every thing he had, which were consumed in the flames.

Thus turned penniless and almost naked into the world, he took a garret in the Fleet-market, and the landlord quitting the house soon after, his successor (seeing only a decent-looking man, apparently much distressed, and a girl about six or seven years old, who daily came down for a pennyworth of milk, and filled a large jug with water) knew nothing of the rest of the family. These circumstances raising his curiosity, he endeavoured to get into the room, but could not gain admittance, the door being instantly shut whenever he was heard on the stairs; but, being determined to get in, he took some people up with him, and forced the door, when they discovered a scene of distress scarcely to be equalled; a woman almost totally naked, a boy about twelve entirely so, besides the father, and the girl above-mentioned. Eight shillings were gathered for their relief among the spectators, the acceptance of which being declined by the parents, it was given privately to the youngest girl; and the landlord forgiving what rent was due, he, with his daughter

daughter, took another apartment at the house where the final discovery was made, but without the least intimation of their having any more in family. Here they continued a considerable time, till several voices being overheard in the room, and holes being bored in the wainscot, the whole family, with the addition of another naked boy, who seemed about sixteen, were seen sitting on the ground round a tub, with a board laid over for a table, and the mother dividing a loaf among them, of which she kept a very small part to herself. In consequence of this discovery the landlord demanded his rent, not having yet received any, and the man told him, that, notwithstanding his present wretched circumstances, he had a certain prospect of being soon extricated from them, as the whole fortune of a relation, who was very rich and very old, must come to him. Being questioned as to the increase of his family, he acknowledged that he brought in his wife and the youngest boy late at night in a sack; that the other, who had been articulated to an attorney, and had parted with his master by agreement, came to him since he had been there, and that they had subsisted on his cloaths till he had not a rag left. He added, he had another child, a young woman, who had contributed all in her power towards their support. Being advised to apply to the parish, it agitated him very much, and he declared he would rather patiently submit to his distresses than receive charity from any one.

8. There was a very numerous meeting of the freeholders of the county of Norfolk, at the town hall at Norwich, for the nomination of candidates. The sheriff (sir Tho-

mas Durant) read over the names of Astley, Coke, and Wodehouse. The name of Astley was echoed round the hall with continued bursts of applause; Mr. Coke next was received with great acclamations. Sir John Wodehouse then came forward, and his friends were almost equally loud. Sir Thomas Durant endeavoured to take the shew of hands for each candidate, but in vain; for upwards of two hours, the hall was in a continual bustle and uproar. The sheriff, finding it impossible to take the sense of the county on the nomination, withdrew. Sir Edward Astley, apprehending the strength of the county much in Mr. Coke's favour, took him by the hand, and proposed himself as joint candidate.

10. The right honourable Edmund Burke was installed in the office of lord rector of the university of Glasgow, he was attended by several persons of rank and eminence; the spectators were very numerous, and testified their satisfaction by the highest marks of approbation and applause. His lordship, after taking the oaths of office, addressed the meeting in a polite and elegant speech suited to the occasion. Having attended public worship in the college chapel, he was afterwards entertained by the gentlemen of the university.

13. The following are the amended lists to fill up the vacancy of East India directors.

HOUSE LIST amended.

John Manship, esq.
Francis Baring, esq.
John Harrison, esq.
George Cumming, esq.
James Moffat, esq.
Richard Lewin, esq.

PROPRIETORS LIST amended.

John Manship, esq.
Francis Baring, esq.

John Motteux, esq.
 Edmund Boehm, esq.
 Hugh Inglis, esq.
 Richard Lewin, esq.

14. The election for six directors of the East India company came on at the India-house: upon casting up of the ballot, the numbers were as follow:

John Manship, esq.	778
Francis Baring, esq.	621
Edmund Boehm, esq.	597
Hugh Inglis, esq.	567
John Motteux, esq.	470
Paul Le Mesurier, esq.	469
James Moffatt, esq.	468
John Harrison, esq.	435
George Cuming, esq.	414
James King, esq.	337
Richard Lewin, esq.	63

—The following malefactors were executed before Newgate, viz. William Martin alias Thomas Banks, for a burglary in the house of Charles Pavey; William Proffer, for privately stealing from Isaac Poland, in one of the avenues of Drury-lane play-house, a handkerchief and eleven shillings and six pence; Richard M'Donagh, for robbing Robert Hesler on the highway, near Battlebridge, of a silver watch, three guineas, and a pair of silver spurs; and William Smith alias Burnham, for feloniously assaulting William Rowe, in Cowcross, and robbing him of a hat. The behaviour of the unhappy sufferers seemed to indicate the sincerest contrition, and was in every respect becoming their unhappy situation.

20. This evening, at ten o'clock, the poll was finally closed at Bedford, when there appeared,

For lord Ossory,	1050
Mr. St. John,	974
Lord Ongley,	973

A scrutiny was demanded by lord Ongley; but as the whole had been

a strict scrutiny, and deeds fetched from a great distance, to settle the business, it was refused, as the poll had been open twelve days, and there never was an instance of its not being settled in two days before.

21. Came on the election for the county of Bucks, when the right honourable W. W. Grenville, John Aubrey, esq. and earl Verney, were proposed as candidates.

The sheriff adjourned the poll at two o'clock, on account of a most violent riot, in which the mob totally destroyed the booths; however, by the great exertion of the sheriff and the candidates, it was quelled, and about forty of the ringleaders secured, and committed to the county gaol.

— One of the gang, who broke into the lord chancellor's house, in Great Ormond-street, is now in custody; four other men, not as yet taken, were concerned in the burglary. The great seal was not found in his possession, but was sold to a Jew receiver, and melted down immediately, with a few silver spoons; the receiver was apprehended, but has since escaped, and diligent search is now making after him. It is said, a woman who lived with the Jew, has made an affidavit relative to the person, who, on the morning of the robbery, brought the great seal and spoons, and was present when the money was paid by the receiver, and saw the same put into the crucible, and melted down. The above gang are the same who broke into lord Grant-ham's house, Privy-garden, and carried off many valuable antique rings and medals.

Another account says, William Vandeput was yesterday committed to the New Gaol, Southwark, where he is now double ironed, on a charge of a burglary in the house of the lord

lord chancellor, and stealing there-out the great seal. A Jew in Petticoat-lane was yesterday afternoon apprehended, on an information against him for having purchased and melted the great seal into an ingot; but while he was conducting to the Rotation-office in Southwark, for examination, he was rescued from the peace officers by eight ruffians. The Jew melted the seal while the robbers remained in his house.

22. Came on the election for the county of Middlesex, at Brentford, for two members to serve in parliament; at the close of the poll, the numbers were as follow:

For Mr. Mainwaring,	1792
Mr. Wilkes,	1518
Mr. Byng,	1504

23. For W. Mainwaring, esq. 2117
 John Wilkes, esq. 1858
 George Byng, esq. 1787

Majority for Mr. Mainwaring, 330
 Ditto for Mr. Wilkes, 71

After which a scrutiny was demanded by Mr. Byng, and six or seven of his friends, which was allowed by the sheriff, and the county court was thereupon adjourned to Friday next, at six o'clock in the evening, at the sheriff's office, in Took's court, Curfitor-street, Chancery-lane, then and there to proceed on the said scrutiny.

At one part of the first day's poll at Brentford, Mr. Byng was a-head of Mr. Wilkes, above 230.

24. The right honourable Charles James Fox was presented by the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgeses, with the freedom of the borough of Bridgewater, Somerset, and therewith chosen recorder for the same, in the room of Vere Poulett, brother to Anne Poulett, member for the said borough, &c.

*Extract of a letter from Kirkwall,
 April 26.*

This day came on the election of a member for the northern district of the boroughs in Scotland, when the delegates from the towns of Wick and Dornock voted for John Sinclair, esq. late member for Caithness, and since returned for Lestwithiel, in Cornwall; and the delegates from Tain, Dingwall, and Kirkwall, for the right honourable Charles James Fox, upon which Mr. Fox was declared duly elected. Objections, however, were stated to the delegates from Kirkwall and Dingwall; and it was farther contended, that Mr. Fox, not being a qualified burges in any of the towns, was consequently ineligible; from which it is supposed, that the merits of the election will yet undergo the consideration of a committee.

27. This evening there was another private examination of Mr. Robertson, who is in confinement on a suspicion of forgery.

In the opinion of many people, the above mentioned affair, which is certainly a very extraordinary one, will in all probability turn out a manœuvre, put in practice to serve the purposes of an election.

Dumfries was the place at which this gentleman was canvassing, and the warrant for his apprehension came to him as he was on the hustings, or in his way thither.

What has transpired of this affair is to the following purport. Mr. R. in the course of his concerns, which are very extensive as a naval agent, received, among other effects of a deceased purser, the forged bill on the victualling-office, which now is become the subject of enquiry. As he received it, so it was presented for payment:

when

when being found to be untrue, application was, according to the usual forms in all such cases, made to Mr. Robertson, and he was taken into custody. There are, however, the strongest presumptions in the favour of his innocence, viz. the magnitude of his fortune, at least 150,000l; that the bill in question was not to be in the smallest manner beneficial to the estate of Mr. R. but of his employer merely; and, above all, the small value of the forgery, which, at the most, could not have profited him much above 200l.

29. Christopher Atkinson, esq. late contractor with government for corn, appeared in the court of King's bench, in consequence of his being convicted in June last of perjury. Mr. Bearcroft, his leading counsel, moved an arrest of judgment on two points: as soon as he had finished his arguments, the court committed Mr. Atkinson to the King's-bench until next Thursday, when the points are to be further argued.

30. The court of delegates held their second sitting at Serjeant's-inn hall, on the final adjudication of the validity of Mr. Morris's marriage with the celebrated Miss Harford, when Dr. Wynne and Mr. Mansfield were heard on the part of the lady; on whose part there remains also to be heard Mr. Lee. Counsel attending for Mr. Morris were Mr. attorney-general, Mr. Bearcroft, Dr. Bever, and Dr. Scott. Mr. Morris's advocates, to the honour of the profession, in compliment to him and the importance of the cause, which involves in it the validity of many thousand marriages of English subjects had abroad, and the legitimation of numerous children, attend without

fees; the other counsel have each of them twenty guineas a night. The delegates who sit, are the archbishop of York, the earl of Galloway, lord Sondes, the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of Bath and Wells, Mr. justice Willes, Mr. baron Eyre, Mr. baron Hotham, Dr. Calvert, and sir James Marriott. The court sit again this evening.

Extract of a letter from a cadet on board the Kingston East Indiaman, on his arrival in Bengal.

I promised to write you an account of the Kingston, I now sit down to perform that engagement. —Off Ceylon, at half past 11 A.M. the alarm of fire was given below. Every body was on deck in an instant, looking for their own safety. So many crowded into the boat, through the confusion, they upset the moment they touched the water, on being hoisted out. The chief and second officer did every thing, at first, that was in their power; but the smoke proceeding from below, where it began, no one could stand on the lower deck without being suffocated. In attempting to cut down the awning, on the quarter deck, one half was cleared away and the other left hanging; which choked the hatchway and scuttles; so that very little smoke could be observed by the other ships till it was too late. No kind of signal was made. The Vansittart was the nearest. On perceiving our distress, she fired two guns, signals to the other two ships, which were two and three miles a-head: they tacked immediately. I remained on board a quarter of an hour after the ship was on fire. By the time it had proceeded over the quarter deck, and caught hold of the sails on the main-

main-mast, I thought it full time to shift for myself. I stript and jumped overboard; and after remaining in the water an hour and a quarter, was taken up by the captain's boat, returning from a visit to the commodore ship.

The fourth mate and ship's steward, with others, had been below in the gun-room drawing spirits, and having finished, were taking a can to themselves. Fire caught from their lights, that which they had been on work. The fatal cask, not yet bunged, spread destruction like a train of gunpowder, in all parts below, and the smoke soon spread universally, so as to drive every one on deck. The captain was obliged to remain an excruciating spectator of the ship's loss, to save the floating ship's company. She burned five hours before she blew up.

I was landed here without a penny, or a shirt, but one, to my back. The company have allowed us cadets six months pay, and full batta, to compensate our loss and sufferings. May you be ever happy!

M A Y.

1. A boy, who is an apprentice to a box-maker in Alder-gate-street, was charged on oath, and committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell, by Nicholas Forster, esq. for feloniously and riotously, with others not yet taken, destroying, demolishing, and pulling down the house and a great part of the furniture of one Adlam, a coffee-house keeper, in White-horse-yard, Drury-lane, against the form of the statute therein made and provided. The proprietor, not thinking the remaining part of his property safe

and secure in his premises, applied for a guard of foldiers; the magistrate told him, he could not possibly comply with his request, for he disdained the idea of calling forth the military, while he was convinced that the civil power, with proper exertion, was sufficient and competent to protect, as well as quell any commotion that might happen, on its first onset.

Yesterday another rioter, a notorious thief, was taken and committed to the same prison, by the same magistrate, for trial at the next sessions in the Old Bailey.

— A very serious affray was prevented this evening in Covent-garden, by the timely interposition of sir Sampson Wright, with a strong civil and military force. An assault was made on Wood's hotel, in consequence of violent provocation given to a party in Fox's interest, passing peaceably by the said hotel. Six of the supposed assailants were seized by the military, but on a full examination into the matter at the office in Bow-street, yesterday morning, the men were discharged, it appearing evidently that the people at Wood's were the aggressors, and had provoked the indignation which had nearly fallen on the hotel.

3. The transaction on which the parliament of Ireland are now proceeding in their bill against lord Strangford, is to this effect. While the great cause was pending between Mr. Hume and the executors of the late lord Ely, the day before the decision in the house of peers a letter was written to Mr. Hume, signed Strangford, offering a vote according to his direction, if he would deposit the sum of 500l. Mr. Hume, much to his credit, took no other notice of this letter, than

than to have it in a proper manner communicated to the house. The house of course took it up; and the writing of the letter being tacitly confessed, the present proceedings are grounded, which are to incapacitate his lordship from ever voting in future.

— Col. Wall is said to be now on the continent, having evaded the pursuit of the officers who were dispatched after him to Ireland. They overtook him in Dublin, but being timely apprised, he fled to Donoughadee, crossed to Port Patrick, came post to London, and from thence got safe to Ostend.

— The freedom of the city of Norwich was unanimously voted to the right honourable Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Wm. Wyndham, one of their representatives.

4. Guildhall. At eleven o'clock, the sheriffs, Mr. Sawbridge, his scrutineers, and counsel, Mr. Brook Watson, and several of the livery, attended in the new council chamber, when the books were examined, and the rejected votes cast up, and the numbers finally adjusted. At twelve the sheriffs, &c. adjourned to the hustings, when sir Barnard Turner declared the numbers following :

Brook Watson, esq.	4776
Sir Watkin Lewes, knt.	4541
Nath. Newnham, esq.	4467
John Sawbridge, esq.	2812
Richard Atkinson, esq.	2803
Samuel Smith, esq.	286
The Hon. W. Pitt, esq.	56

Upon which the sheriffs declared, that the majority of legal votes upon the scrutiny appeared in favour of Brook Watson, esq. sir Watkin Lewes, knt. Nathaniel Newnham, esq. and John Sawbridge, esq. The court was then adjourned to Friday next, at the same time and place,

when those gentlemen will be declared duly elected, and the return signed.

Numbers at the end of the poll.

Watson,	4789
Lewes,	4554
Newnham,	4479
Sawbridge,	2823
Atkinson,	2816
Smith,	287

End of the scrutiny.

Watson,	4776
Lewes,	4541
Newnham,	4467
Sawbridge,	2812
Atkinson,	2803
Smith,	286

Bad votes for Watson,	13
Lewes,	13
Newnham,	12
Sawbridge,	11
Atkinson,	13
Smith,	1

— The hon. Mr. Grenville and John Aubrey, esq. returned members for the county of Bucks.— Lord Verney lost it by 24. A scrutiny was demanded for lord Verney, but refused by the sheriff.

Extract of a letter from Dublin,
May 5, 1784.

Mr. Bingley has brought an action against Francis Graham, of the county of Dublin, esq. for an assault and false imprisonment, first in coming out of his bailiwick and arresting him in the city of Dublin; and then for carrying him to the common guard-house at the castle, where he was a close prisoner, and no person suffered to have access to him, a circumstance very distressing, and also very degrading to the character of Bingley, who willingly became amenable to the law when called on, and made no resistance to the caption; and which is esteemed a flagrant violation of the laws and constitution of the king.

kingdom, by a wanton use of the military, instead of the civil power. —Bingley has also brought actions against Thomas L'Estrange, esq. deputy serjeant at arms, and Henry Holmes, one of the door-keepers of the house of commons, for an assault and false imprisonment, in arresting him when in custody of the common-law officers, the sheriffs, and going to give bail before a judge, and again after he was bailed in the house of judge Robinson, which was a sanctuary to him while there.

6. Christopher Atkinson, esq. was brought up from the king's bench prison into the court of king's bench, when his case was to have been argued upon the rule obtained by his counsel on Thursday last, why the judgment should not be arrested, but upon the motion of the attorney-general that rule is enlarged, and another rule is obtained by the attorney-general, for Mr. Atkinson's counsel to shew cause why the record (if imperfect) should not be amended. Both rules will be argued on Wednesday next, when the doctrine of the alteration of records in criminal cases, after judgment, will be fully argued and settled. The counsel for the prosecution are the attorney and solicitor general, sir Thomas Davenport, Mr. Lee, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Erskine (king's counsel), Mr. Serjeant Walker, and Mr. Law. For the defendant, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Dallas.

*Extract of a letter from Dublin,
May 7, 1784.*

A messenger is just arrived from London with duplicates of all the bills sent over, except the paving bill, the bill for disqualifying lord Strangford, and the press bill, which it is supposed are suppressed, and will never be returned.

8. Came on at Holyrood House, the election of the sixteen peers to represent the nobility of Scotland. There was a very strong contest; and at the close the following noblemen were chosen, having the greatest number of votes :

Duke of Queensberry,	42 votes.
Marquis of Lothian,	38
*Earl of Morton,	38
Eglington,	47
Cassilis,	43
*Moray,	42
Abercorn,	44
Galloway,	39
Dalhousie,	48
*Balcarras,	40
*Breadalbane	39
Aberdeen,	39
Dunmore,	39
*Hopetown,	42
Viscount Stormont,	48
*Lord Elphinstone,	41

Those marked thus (*) are new members.

The following were the unsuccessful candidates :

Earl of Glencairn,	18 votes.
Kelly,	17
Lauderdale,	26
Dysart,	9
Selkirk,	26
Dumfries,	34
Marchmont,	37
Roseberry,	34
Lord Salton,	15
Cathcart,	30
Kinnaird,	36
Cranston,	30

The following candidates are supposed to have been for Mr. Pitt, and to have had the interest of government.

- 1 Duke of Queensbury.
- 2 Marquis of Lothian.
- 3 Earl of Morton,
- 4 Earl of Eglington,
- 5 Earl of Moray,
- 6 Earl of Abercorn,
- 7 Earl of Galloway

- 8 Earl of Dalhousie,
- 9 Earl of Selkirk;
- 10 Earl of Balcarras,
- 11 Earl of Breadalbane,
- 12 Earl of Aberdeen,
- 13 Earl of Dunmore,
- 14 Earl of Marchmont,
- 15 Earl of Hopetown.

In the new elected list of Scotch peers, there is at least this novelty, that four or perhaps five of them are against government. What is still more strange, gold-stick in waiting was almost thrown out; he was the lowest of the sixteen—Lord Stormont the highest. The election was not over till eight o'clock at night.

The dukes of Gordon and Athol did not stand candidates at the Scots election. They are to be added to the list of English peerages. The other noblemen in the last parliament, who are not returned for this, are the earls of Glencairn, Lauderdale, Marchmont, and Roseberry. The disappointment fits very hard on lord Marchmont, who imagines that the business of the house of peers cannot go on without him.

Extract of a letter from Bristol,
May 8.

This afternoon the poll for members for this city which had lasted exactly five weeks, was finally closed by the consent of all the candidates,—the numbers were as follows:

Brickdale,	3458
Cruger,	3052
Daubeney,	2982
Peach,	373

whereupon the two first were returned by the sheriffs.—Colonel Cruger is to be chaired on Monday in the absence of his brother, who is at New York.

—Mr Bembridge, who had been confined in the king's-bench these

six months past, was brought up to the bar at Westminster Hall, and on giving bail was discharged.

—After the close of the poll for Westminster, an affray happened at Covent Garden. It seems, there had been summoned an extraordinary number of constables, from the Tower Hamlets, to keep the peace. At three o'clock all was peaceable and quiet; but in half an hour afterwards, when the business of the day was finished, a violent conflict took place between the constables and the mob; the former of which were driven out of the Garden down King-street. At four o'clock Mr. Justice Wilmot brought up a detachment of the guards, who after twice or thrice parading from Wood's hotel to the corner of Henrietta-street, (headed by a few constables) seized on the butchers who attend with marrow bones and cleavers, and conducted them to Hood and Wray's committee room. Mr. Elliot the high constable, several of the peace officers, and many of the mob, were very much bruised and wounded. The guards were attending late last night.

—This evening at seven o'clock, the high court of delegates proceeded to hear the merits of Mr. Morris's marriage with miss Harford; when Dr. Scott was heard in defence of the validity of the marriage for two hours. In the course of a most learned and eloquent speech, he adduced a variety of proofs from the laws of nature and nations to substantiate the contract, and the court adjourned until Friday se'nnight, when the counsel on the opposite side will reply.

Extract of a letter from Madrid,
May 11.

Many years have elapsed since the inquisition had celebrated an auto-de-fe in this capital; already the

the foreigners imagined that dismal spectacle would never be exhibited here any more ; but the day before yesterday they were undeceived : the holy office has celebrated an *autillo*, or little act of faith, in the church of St. Dominic ; the object of it was a man who vended sympathetic powders, by means of which he seduced many women ; two female accomplices have shared his punishment. By the sentence, which was publicly read to them in the church, they were condemned to be whipt by the executioner, then led with infamy through the streets of Madrid, and confined for life. Besides that sentence, all the acts of the process were also read publicly, filled with obscenity and details, which, although shocking to modesty, were nevertheless heard by all those who were present. The church was not only full of persons of both sexes, but there were upwards of 10,000 spectators in the square of St. Dominic. The ceremony lasted from seven o'clock in the morning until one in the forenoon. The greatest part of the prime nobility, and persons of the highest distinction, had been invited, and assisted at it. The marquis de Cogullulo, son of the duke of Medina Cœli, came from Aranjuez to perform the functions attached to his quality of alguazil mayor of the tribunal. It is proper to observe, that the crime punished by this *autillo*, is not of the nature of those which have rendered the very name of the inquisition odious to all other nations ; and that those who have been the object of it at this time, are criminals that would have been punished as impostors and seducers in every country of Europe. The only difference is, that their crime would not have

been looked upon as subject to the jurisdiction of a religious tribunal. The sentence was put in execution the next day.

14. The poll at Covent-garden closed at two o'clock, by particular desire of Mr. Fox. It had been determined, it seems, to bring the corpse of the unfortunate constable, who died of his wounds, from his residence in the Tower hamlet (to which place he was removed) and to bury him in Covent-garden church-yard, just at the close of the poll. This was intimated to Mr. Fox, who very wisely prevented the effects which this humane scheme would most probably have produced, by closing the poll at two. Mr. Fox, in his speech from the hustings, strongly recommended his friends to depart to their respective houses, and declared the poll would close on Monday next at three o'clock.

This day another proposal was made to Mr. Fox by lord Hood and sir Cecil Wray, through the official medium of the high bailiff, to close the poll finally as the next day ; which, however, was peremptorily declined by the former ; the high bailiff then rejoined, he should close it by his own authority on Monday next.

15. Mr. Fielding moved the court of King's bench for an information to be filed against a magistrate, for assembling a large body of Tower hamlet constables in Covent-garden on Monday last, by which the freedom of election was violated, and other outrages committed against the peace of his majesty's subjects, &c. &c. Earl Mansfield paid the utmost attention to the statement of the case by Mr. Fielding, and, at the close of it, informed him, that his motion for a rule to shew cause would come

stronger

stronger after the final close of the election: in consequence of which the further proceedings in this transaction are of course suspended, till the high-bailiff shall have made his return for the city of Westminster.

16. At three o'clock the poll for members to serve in parliament for the city of Westminster finally closed.

The numbers of each day's poll were as follows:

Hood.	Fox.	Wray.
April 1.		
264	302	238
2.		
970	941	866
1234	1243	1104
3.		
951	680	871
2185	1923	1975
5.		
1077	955	1010
3262	2868	2985
6.		
674	545	637
3936	3413	3622
7.		
616	414	495
4452	3827	4117
8.		
345	299	303
4797	4126	4420
9.		
80	65	69
4877	4201	4489
10.		
341	271	299
5218	4472	4788
12.		
246	205	207
5464	4677	4995
13.		
117	142	97
5581	4819	5092
14.		
151	186	116
5732	5005	5208
15.		
143	143	113
5875	5148	5312
16.		
96	82	88
5971	5230	5400

Hood.	Fox.	Wray.
17.		
81	75	65
6052	5305	5465
19.		
68	65	68
6120	5370	5533
20.		
54	73	41
6174	5443	5574
21.		
65	76	49
6239	5519	5623
22.		
35	51	27
6274	5570	5650
23.		
52	45	49
6326	5615	5699
24.		
51	56	38
6377	5671	5737
26.		
52	79	40
6429	5750	5777
27.		
39	77	40
6468	5827	5806
28.		
39	56	36
6507	5883	5842
29.		
25	38	23
6532	5921	5865
30.		
16	42	12
6548	5963	5877
May 1.		
14	29	13
6562	5992	5890

Hood.	Fox.	Wray.
3.		
12	24	12
6574	6016	5902
4.		
14	33	11
6588	6049	5913
5.		
12	35	5
6600	6084	5918
6.		
14	20	11
6614	6104	5929
7.		
10	9	8
6624	6113	5937
8.		
11	21	9
6635	6134	5946
10.		
23	15	19
6658	6149	5965
11.		
5	16	6
6663	6165	5971
12.		
5	11	6
6668	6182	5977
13.		
4	12	3
6672	6194	5980
14.		
3	7	2
6675	6201	5982
15.		
6	17	5
6681	6218	5987
16.		
13	15	11
6694	6233	5998

17. This day, at twenty minutes before three, the high bailiff came from the vestry-room, took his seat upon the hustings, and in a few minutes the candidates were seated by his side. Sir Cecil Wray, previous to the closing of the poll, delivered a paper to the following purport:

To Thomas Corbett, esq. high-bailiff of the city and liberty of Westminster.

I sir Cecil Wray, bart. one of the candidates to serve in parliament for the city and liberty of Westminster, and we the underwritten electors of the said city and liberty, do hereby demand of you a scrutiny of the votes taken at the present election of two citizens to serve in parliament for the said city and liberty, as witness our hands this 17th day of May, 1784.

CECIL WRAY.

Mountmorres,	Bateman,
R. Butler,	Francis Atkinson,
J. Meyer,	William Adams,
D. Mackenzie,	Peter Paul,
James Croft,	John Jackson,
Morris Marsault,	Rev. John Lloyd.
John Robertson,	

Sir Cecil spoke a very few words in justification of the motives that induced his friends to proceed on the scrutiny; and Mr. Fox immediately informed the bailiff, that his commission must of necessity end to-morrow (this day), that he had no farther controul in the business, and that, in fact, he must be under the necessity of returning the writ, and finishing the election. Mr. Corbett said, "it is a new case, and therefore I must well consider the several circumstances of it." Mr. Fox observed, that in the most severe and hard-fought election battles that he was

acquainted with, either by his own experience, or that he had learned from the journals, he knew but of two such special returns, one of the county of Cumberland, and the other of the city of Coventry, and both made on account of the utter impossibility of the returning officer making a due return, owing to riotous proceedings; that at the great scrutiny for Oxford, the officer thought it necessary to complete the return before the enquiry was ended, rather than run the risk of disobeying the precept. The high-bailiff then adjourned to the vestry-room, when a violent altercation took place, the event of which was, that Mr. Corbett, the bailiff, agreed to grant the scrutiny. In the mean time, the populace, not being able to resist the temptation of demolishing the hustings, began their operation, and in about twenty minutes they were totally demolished, and the materials carried away.

The chair was then taken out of the church, and at five o'clock Mr. Fox was lifted into it. The procession began in the following order:

Two gentlemen to lead and conduct the procession.

Portcullis—Westminster arms.

Sixty firemen, with coats and badges.

Parish of St. George's flag.

Committee and inhabitants, with white wands and cockades.

Crest of his royal highness the prince of Wales.

Old English music (marrow-bones and cleavers, two and two) with white waistcoats and cockades.

Saint Martin's flag.

Committee and inhabitants, with wands and cockades.

Horns and clarinets.

St. James's flag.

(C 2)

Com-

Committee and inhabitants, with
wands and cockades.

St. Paul's and St. Martin's Le Grand
flag.

Old English music.

Committee and inhabitants.

Flag—Fox and FREEDOM.

Flag—St. Margaret and St. John.

Committee and inhabitants.

Horns and clarinets.

Flag—St. Clement Danes and St.
Mary-le-Strand.

Committee and inhabitants.

Old English music.

Flag—St. Anne.

Committee and inhabitants.

Band of music.

Gentlemen, elegantly mounted,
blue and buff, four a-breast—
two hundred.

Father of the city—HARRY HOUSE.

Trumpeters on horseback, two
and two.

Select committee, with wands and
fox's tails.

Grand band of music.

SAM HOUSE, with his trusty band
of Englishmen.

Flag—MAN of the PEOPLE.

Select committee, sumptuously
mounted, composed of the
first men of rank and
fortune.

Mr. F O X

In a simple and elegantly adorned
chair, interwoven with laurel,
myrtle, and flowers, with
a relief of thirty-two
men in white.

Electors mounted, about two hundred.

Trumpeters.

Mr. Fox's carriage.

Flag borne by a horseman, SACRED
to FEMALE PATRIOTISM.

Duke of Devonshire's coach and six.

Duke of Portland's coach and six.

Seventy-eight livery servants mount-
ed, belonging to the two
noble families.

The procession moved round the
Garden, and proceeded down Ca-
therine-street into the Strand with
the highest degree of applause. The
windows, parapets, and even chim-
nies, were loaded with applauding
multitudes, particularly of the fair
sex, whose zeal and animation were
almost superior to their beauty. At
Northumberland-house (our corre-
spondent regrets to say it) there was
an universal groan. The gentlemen
proceeded down by Charing-cross,
through Parliament-street, round
George-street, up King-street, and
back again to Charing-cross, down
Pall-Mall, where the most heart-
felt applause was given to the
venerable old lady Albemarle,
her beautiful grand-children, the
amiable miss Keppels, and Mrs.
Sheridan and her lovely friends like-
wise received the warm effusions of
English gratitude. At Carlton-
house the procession entered at one
gate, and walked round, paying
their respects to the prince of a free
people. They proceeded up St.
James's-street, into Piccadilly, down
Berkeley-street, where, from the
garden-wall, his royal highness the
prince of Wales appeared, with the
duke of Devonshire, the duchess of
Portland, lady Duncannon, and
other of the nobility, and the pro-
cession passed then with great order
and respect. The prince deigned
to converse with some of the gen-
tlemen for a considerable time. The
cavalcade then paraded Berkeley-
square, and returned to Devonshire-
house, the gates of which were
thrown open, and discovered upon
the balustrades the heir apparent at-
tended by the first Whig families
in the kingdom.

The procession entered the gates,
and the several parishes were arrang-
ed with their different flags and
bands of music.

Mr.

Mr. Fox addressed the numerous assembly, and desired that their conduct might be marked by order and regularity, and by that means prevent their enemies from throwing the least reproach upon them or their cause. The electors immediately departed, and the procession ended.

18. The following persons of distinction in the party of Mr. Fox, were not returned at the late general election.

William Baker, esq. late member for Hertford.

Sir Tho. Charles Bunbury, bart. Suffolk.

George Byng, esq. Middlesex.

Lord John Cavendish, York.

Sir Rob. Clayton, bart. Surrey.

Tho. W. Coke, esq. Norfolk.

The right hon. Henry Seymour Conway, St. Edmondsbury.

Sir Grey Cooper, bart. Saltsb.

George Daubeney, esq. Bristol.

John Elwes, esq. Berkshire.

The hon. Tho. Erskine, Portsmouth.

Ferdinand Ferrand Foljambe, esq. Yorkshire.

The hon. Tho. Grenville, Bucks.

Thomas Halfey, esq. Herts.

The hon. William Hanger, St. Michael's.

Winchcombe Henry Hartley, esq. Berkshire.

David Hartley, esq. Kingston upon Hull.

Sir Richard Hotham, bart. Southwark.

Lord Visc. Lewisham, New Radnor.

Lord Lucan, Northampton.

James Mansfield, esq. Cambridge.

Humphry Minchin, esq. Oakhampton.

The hon. St. Andrew St. John, Bedfordshire.

The hon. Henry St. John, Wotton Bassett.

The hon. John St. John, Newport.
The hon. George Robert St. John, Cricklade.

Lord Sheffield, Coventry.

The right hon. Charles Townshend, Yarmouth.

The hon. John Townshend, Cambridge University.

Earl Verney, Bucks.

Robert Vyner, esq. Lincoln.

— About half past three o'clock his majesty went in state to the house of peers, and being seated on the throne, adorned with his crown and regal ornaments, and attended by his officers of state, (the lords being in their robes) commanded the gentleman usher of the black rod to let the commons know, it is his majesty's pleasure, that they attend him immediately in this house: who being come,

The lord chancellor, having received directions, said,

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ His majesty has been pleased to command me to acquaint you, that he will defer declaring the causes of calling this parliament till there shall be a speaker of the house of commons. And therefore it is his majesty's pleasure that you, gentlemen of the house of commons, do immediately repair to the place where the commons usually sit, and there choose a fit person to be your speaker; and that you present such person who shall be so chosen, to his majesty here, for his Royal approbation to-morrow at two o'clock.”

Then his majesty was pleased to retire, and the commons withdrew.

— A short account of the public breakfast given by the prince of Wales, in the gardens of Carleton-house.

About six hundred of the most distinguished persons in the kingdom assembled in his beautiful gardens about two o'clock. The preparations

parations on the occasion were full of taste and magnificence. Covers were laid under nine extensive marquees for 250 persons, and the entertainment consisted of the finest fruits of the season, confectionaries, ices, creams, and emblematical designs, ornamented with mottoes and other devices in honour of the triumph which they were to celebrate. Four bands of instruments were placed at different parts of the garden, and the company were entertained with various novelties of a comic kind.

After they had taken refreshments they rose to dance. A beautiful level in the umbrage of a groupe of trees was the spot which his royal highness selected for their ball, and he led down the country-dances, first with the duchess of Devonshire, and afterwards with one of the lady Waldegraves. The company frequently changed their partners, and at times grouped off into cotillons. The duchess of Portland danced with Mr. Greville, lady Jersey with lord Carlisle, lady Anne Poulett with lord Verney, lady Duncannon with sir Peter Burrell, Miss Keppel with Mr. St. John, lady Beauchamp with lord Berkeley, Mrs. Anderson with Mr. Fitzroy, Mrs. Meynell with Mr. Wyndham, Miss Ingram with sir Harry Featherstonhaugh, Miss Townshend, lady Augusta Campbell, lady Derby, the Miss Keppels, the Miss Norths, Mrs. Crewe, Mrs. Sheridan, and many other ladies danced; and we do not believe that a more superb exhibition of beauty was ever seen. The gentlemen were in blue and buff. The ladies in morning dresses, fancied in all the varieties of cultivated taste. The duchess of Devonshire was in slight mourning; lady Beauchamp in an elegant white crape, spangled with

silver; Mrs. Anderson in a Venetian habit; the elder Mrs. Meynell was most elegantly dressed in a white fancy habit.

The political party, lord North, Mr. Fox, col. North, col. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Byng, and others, retired under another groupe of trees to talk of the politics of the day; and the dowager ladies and gentlemen occupied themselves in the admiration of the graces which the scene afforded. During the height of the Fête his majesty passed the garden in procession to the house of peers to open the new parliament, and the band of violins was for the time accompanied by the state trumpets.

The breakfast ended about six in the evening, when the ladies retired to dress, only for a renewal of their pleasure at the select ball, which Mrs. Crewe gave in honour of the same event. But the whole of this *al fresco* festival was so delightfully conducted, the spectacle on the green was so grand and beautiful, the entertainment so truly novel and rich, and the company were so uncommonly gratified, that his royal highness with his usual magnificence invited them to a repetition of the *dejeuné* on Monday next. A select party of thirty gentlemen afterwards dined with the prince. The same beautiful taste marked the conduct of it, as of his supper in March last. It was managed also with the same absence of all unnecessary cost.

Carlton-house garden, the scene of this delightful fête, is, perhaps, for its central situation in a metropolis, and the great extent of the ground connected with it, without an equal in any town-house in Europe. The garden walls inclosing a cultivated track of ten acres.

— Mrs. Crewe's ball on Tuesday

day night, in honour of Mr. Fox's victory, was the most pleasant and jovial ever given in the circle of high life, and united all the charms of elegance, ease, and conviviality. The company was select though numerous, and assembled about ten o'clock in blue and buff uniforms; the dancing begun about eleven, and at half after the prince's quadrille arrived, consisting of his royal highness, the duchess of Devonshire, lady Duncannon, lady Bamfield, Miss Keppel, Mr. Stepney, Mr. Greville, &c. who, all dressed in uniforms, fashes and feathers, danced the most elegant figure dance that could be formed; the prince then danced minuets with the duchess of Devonshire, lady Bamfield, &c. and then followed country-dances, led by the prince and the duchess, till half after two, when the company descended to a truly elegant and comfortable supper.

There were present among others, the prince of Wales, duke of Devonshire, earl Fitzwilliam, earl of Jersey, earl of Carlisle, earl Cholmondeley, earl of Derby, lord North, lord Leston, lord Beauchamp, lord Melbourne, Mr. Onslow, Sir Ralph Payne, general St. John, col. Fitzpatrick, col. North, lord Robert Spencer, Mr. Hafe, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Wyndham, Mr. Faulkener, the duchess of Devonshire, and duchess of Portland; ladies Jersey, Duncannon, Fitzwilliam, Sefton, Archer, Melbourne, Bamfield, St. John, Beauchamp, North, Payne, &c. &c. — The company were all retired between six and seven, and the whole entertainment was conducted in a manner that did great honour to the beautiful patroness of the night, and will ever be remembered in the festive annals of the great and gay world.

21. At a general court of the

governors of the royal hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem, held yesterday by order of the president, for the particular purpose, the right hon. William Pitt was unanimously elected a governor.

— Mr. Christ. Atkinson was again brought before the court of King's-Bench, when, on reading the affidavit, and hearing Mr. Bearcroft and Mr. Wood in behalf of Mr. Atkinson, lord Mansfield, in a speech that did him infinite honour, declared the unanimous opinion of the court, that the record should be amended as prayed. Lord Mansfield concluded his address in words to this effect:—

“ There is a certain principle which I have laid down in this, as well as other places, which was never more properly applicable than in the present instance.

“ That no fiction of law, shall ever so far prevail against the real truth of the fact, as to prevent the execution of justice.”

By consent of the attorney-general, the judgment of the court against Mr. Atkinson, was postponed till the next term, in order that his counsel may inspect the record when amended; they being still entitled to take any further objection that may yet appear on the face of the record.

— At a quarter before seven o'clock in the evening, came on the final hearing of Mr. Morris's cause, to establish his matrimonial contract with Miss Harford. Doctor Scot recapitulated the heads of the forcible arguments derived from the laws of nature and nations, which he adduced on last Tuesday se'nnight.— Doctor Wynne replied, the doctor very ably contended, that the marriage being contracted in fraud, was void *ab origine*. To prove this position, he adverted to Mr. Morris's

conduct during the time the young lady was under the care of Mrs. Latouche for education, when that lady found herself under the necessity of informing Mr. Morris, "that his frequent visits prevented the young lady from making a progress in her education." He then traced him to every part of the continent, and shewed the probability of a like advantage being taken at Lille, where Miss Harford "desired the ceremony to be performed in the English language." He next proved from the *lex loci* of the country in which the marriage contract was celebrated, that it was illegal; that it was likewise illegal under the Marriage Act of 1753; that it was void by the common law antecedent to that period; that it was equally condemned by the principles of the Roman and the canon law. His argument, which embraced an immense scope of learning and law, both jurisprudential and canonical, lasted two hours. At nine o'clock Mr. Mansfield began his argument, and continued until ten, in the course of which he concluded that the marriage in question was founded in fraud and illegality: particularly with respect to the *lex loci* of the two places (French Flanders and Denmark) in which it was performed. He quoted the opinions of the ablest lawyers in those places to prove his assertions.—After a profundity of argument he concluded with craving judgment in favour of Miss Harford.

The court was immediately cleared and after half an hour's consideration the court was opened and final judgment was given.—"That both pretended marriages were void—that Miss Harford, falsely in the libel called Morris, was at full liberty to marry again, and that Mr. Morris was condemned in full costs."

22. The judges of the court of Exchequer, the lord chief baron, Mr. baron Eyre, Mr. baron Hotham, and Mr. baron Perryn, delivered their opinions separately, in favour of Mess. Adam, in a cause between them and the earl of Stanhope, that has made some noise, particularly in the county of Kent; and as it turns upon a point that affects most people in business, we shall state generally the import of the question, and the learned judges' opinions.

An application was made by Mess. Adam for a new trial, on a verdict given against them at the last Lent assizes in Kent, in an action brought in the name of the earl of Stanhope against those gentlemen, for damages sustained by the failure of Liardet's stucco, executed at the house of Chevening, under a patent right assigned to them by Liardet the inventor.

Lord Mahon appeared to be the sole manager throughout the whole of this business, and the principal witness brought to support this action was lord Mahon himself, who pretended to have had a warranty from Mr. Kennedy, one of Mess. Adams' foremen, who is dead, and the question turned upon the validity and credibility of the evidence given by lord Mahon, in support of this warranty.

With respect to the validity, it was established by the learned judges as a clear point of law, that unless a servant has either a general or a particular authority given him by his master to grant a warranty, that he has no power of binding him, and that the expressions made use of by Mr. Kennedy in the present case, were merely those sort of loose recommendations of this stucco, that every person who is a vender, commonly makes use of in praise of the

par-

particular commodity in which he deals, but by no means amounted to a specific warranty.

As to the credibility of lord Mahon's testimony the learned judges agreed, that lord Mahon's evidence was a strong proof, how cautious every person should be, of becoming a witness, in a cause in which he is interested, as the mind of any man under such circumstances is apt to be warped in its judgment, and in no instance could this appear stronger, than in the present, as the noble lord had upon the trial asserted facts to prove a warranty, in direct contradiction to his conduct, and which it was evident he would not have asserted some years before.

The verdict against the Messrs. Adams was accordingly for a second time set aside.—The counsel for lord Mahon were, Mr. Peckham, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Mingay; for Messrs. Adam—Mr. Erskine and Mr. Adam.—Mr. Erskine's speech on this occasion, was not only the most correct in point of argument, but also the most splendid and eloquent, that we ever remember to have heard in any court upon a law subject.

24. The following letter was received by the right hon. the lord mayor, from the marquis of Carmarthen, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state:

St. James's, May 24, 1784.

"My lord,

"I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that Mr. Stone is just arrived from Paris, with the definitive treaty of peace between his majesty and the states-general of the United Provinces, which was signed the 20th instant, by Mr. Hailes, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary, and the Dutch plenipotentiaries.

"I send your lordship immediate

notice of this event, that it may be made public without loss of time.

"I am, with great truth and regard,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble servant,

"CARMARTHEN."

Right Hon. the Lord-Mayor.

— *Carlton-House.* The utmost festivity prevailed throughout this mansion of gaiety, and a succession of elegant recreations made it a scene of continual pleasure and entertainment. The rain of the preceding night did not in the least interrupt the morning fête prepared in the gardens; as a camp of a new construction was placed along the front of the palace, so contrived, that in case of showers, the company might have stepped from the apartment to the marquees without the least inconvenience. The camp was composed of a range of five large tents, covered on each side by four lesser tents, and a beautiful pavilion which formed an *ensemble* in two points of view exceedingly picturesque and agreeable in its effect. At a little distance, under the umbrage of some fine trees, a beautiful awning was spread thirty feet high, eighty long, and sixty wide; it was fixed with uncommon taste, and contrived so curiously, that the means by which it was suspended could not be discovered.

About noon a company of upwards of 600 persons of fashion were collected to partake of the *dejeuné*. The ball was opened about four in the afternoon by the prince of Wales and duchess of Devonshire, on a level under the beautiful awning already mentioned. The extent of the awning admitted of a numerous company standing up, and the dances continuing till past seven, most of the

the gentlemen and ladies had opportunities of partaking in the ball.— Three bands were provided, among whom were the chief performers of the guards. The clashing of the cymbals was acknowledged to produce a fine effect, and give great life to the other instruments.

On the conclusion of the ball, many of the company retired: a party, however, to the amount of nearly 300 ladies and gentlemen, remained to dine with his royal highness. A most magnificent table was spread in the ball room, at which lady Southampton presided: the ladies dined first, according to the Parisian mode when large assemblies meet, and the gentlemen attended them: the prince himself was not an exception to this rule, but was foremost among the polite in waiting on his fair visitants. The dinner consisted, including its various courses and removes, of 2000 dishes; the whole of which was supplied in a style truly princely and grand: the foreign ambassadors who were present, spoke in the most animated terms of the hospitality and spirit of the English prince, and the order in which his fête was conducted. Some of the company took their departure after dinner, and others retired till the ball room was cleared, when the sprightly dance was again resumed; and the prince, determining that the festival should be as complete as possible, dispatched col. Lake as a courier of pleasure to Ranelagh, to summon his chosen friends to a *petit souper*.

Among the persons of distinction on Monday at the prince of Wales's fête, were the duchesses of Devonshire, Portland, Bedford, lady Duncannon, lady North, lady Conway, lady Cavendish, lady Melbourne, lady Archer, Mrs. Sheridan; the dukes of Devon, Portland, Beaufort, and

lord Mansfield; lords North, J. and G. Cavendish; general Conway; lords Pelham, Southampton, Petre, Aylesbury, Weymouth; sir W.W. Wynne, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Sheridan, &c.

26. There was a meeting of the Westminster electors at Willis's room in King-street, St. James's, to take into consideration the proceedings of the house of commons with respect to the Westminster election; and to intimate the intention of convening a general meeting of the electors in Westminster-hall for their advice and concurrence in prosecuting such future measures for securing the liberty of election, as may be necessary for them to adopt upon the event of an unfavourable decision of the house of commons. Lord Surrey, lord Ludlow, lord Robert Spencer, lord George Gordon, colonel Fitzpatrick, Mr. Hare, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Adam, and many of the leading electors were present on this occasion. The resolutions entered into passed unanimously. Mr. Counsellor Widmore was in the chair.

29. Last night's Gazette contains an address from the county of Kent, in favour of the present administration.

— The King against William Robertson, indicted for forging an order of sir Edward Hughes for supplying the garrison of Goree with provision, and a receipt of James Rooke, lieutenant-colonel and commanding officer of the troops at Goree, for the same provisions.

The indictment consisted of twelve counts for forging and publishing the said receipt and order, with intent to defraud, 1st the king, 2d the commissioners of the victualling-office, and 3d the said James Rooke.

An application was made to the pro-

prosecutors to put off the trial till Monday, which was after an hour's argument refused. The business then began.

Counsel for the crown, Mr. solicitor-general, Mr. Wilson, Mr. serjeant Walker, Mr. Sylvester, and Mr. Ruffel. Attorney, Mr. Baxter.—Counsel for the prisoner, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Lee, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Fielding. Attorney, Mess. Gregg and Potts. Mr. Robertson was honourably acquitted.

J U N E.

1. Nine prisoners were tried at the Old Bailey, three of whom were convicted of felonies, six were acquitted, among which number were the three persons who stood indicted for the murder of Nicholas Casson, in Covent-Garden, the evidence not being sufficient to identify the person who actually gave the blow which occasioned his death. The trial lasted seven hours, and the jury, without retiring, brought in their verdict—Not guilty.

After the trial ended, a gentleman who was included in the said indictment, surrendered himself, but there being no evidence given against him, he was also acquitted.

2. A petition from the bailiff of Westminster was presented yesterday to the house of commons, praying leave to be heard by counsel against a petition, signed by certain persons, electors of Westminster, and presented to that house on Monday last. Leave was given.

Yesterday a petition signed by a great number of respectable electors of the city of Westminster was presented to the house of commons, stating when the poll began and ended, with the numbers that had polled for each candidate—and stating that a scrutiny had been de-

manded—and likewise taking notice of the petition presented on Monday last. It then prayed that the bailiff might be directed to proceed upon the scrutiny, or that the house would give them such further relief as to their wisdom may seem meet—the same was read and ordered to be considered at the same time with the petition of the right hon. Charles James Fox.

Extract of a letter from Paris, June 3.

“The king has been pleased to erase the sentence of the court martial at l'Orient, that the affair be no longer agitated, which is ineffectual to answer the public expectation. It is said, that a second council of war will be held, solely to examine and judge the conduct of comte de Grasse, who in his quality of admiral and captain, ought, according to the marine law, to justify himself himself, by explaining the motives which obliged him to give up the Ville de Paris.

“On the 30th ult. the Parisians resorted in crowds to Versailles, to see the ceremony of investing Mr. le Bailli de Suffrein with the blue ribbon. In the procession were all the princes of the blood, and all the knights of the order of the Holy Ghost.”

5. On Saturday night lord Hinchinbroke was stopped in his carriage near Uxbridge by a single highwayman, who robbed him of his watch and twenty guineas.

10. A Scots correspondent suggests, that the increasing blackness of the aspect of public proceedings in all quarters of the world, where the king's present cabinet is concerned requires the most accurate attention, and the greatest abilities, to extricate the remains of the British dominions from the impending storms that threaten them. The troubles are already commencing

mencing in Scotland. The distillery riots are truly alarming. They are founded on the deep-rooted discontents which were occasioned all over Scotland by the contempt of their representations and petitions for the redress of grievances on that head. Lord George Gordon was instructed by the people from most parts of that country to lay their distressed situation before the house of commons; and he did so in several very long speeches in the winter-session, just before he was committed to the Tower; but the house of commons chose rather to believe, and act upon, what Mr. Henry Dundas advanced in opposition to him. Thus these discontents, we see, have been brewing and fermenting for some years past. The outrageous proceedings, however, only began on the king's birthday. The multitude then assembled in the Parliament-square, and in place of demonstrations of joy, and shouting for gladness on the occasion, nothing but dead dogs and cats were thrown about the streets of Edinburgh, accompanied with groans, hisses, and murmurings of every disagreeable description. In the evening they attacked the distillery at Cannon-Mills, in the neighbourhood of the city. Some hand-bills were distributed, to prove, that the high price of provisions was solely to be attributed to the immense quantity of grain manufactured into spirituous liquors. Other hand-bills and incendiary letters were dropt through the city, tending to excite a general rising. The attack was begun with throwing stones. The defence was made with fire-arms. One of the assailants was killed dead on the spot, just as he had got half-way in at the outer gate, by two of Mr. Haig's

servants firing their pieces at him. This, instead of dispersing, increased the tumult. The dragoons from Leith, and the military from the castle immediately attended, supplied with powder and ball. Mr. Haig's servants, who shot the man, were committed to prison; but though conducted there by a strong escort of dragoons, the multitude pelted them with stones in such a furious manner, that one of their lives is despaired of, and the other very much bruised. The commanding officer, and many of the dragoons, suffered also very much from the stones that were thrown at them. A strong party of the military was left to guard the premises. A second attack was made upon them the evening after. A third attack was made on Monday; and another party of 150 soldiers were ordered into the distillery to reinforce the 70 dragoons that were quartered there. These blocked up the passage to the works, and prevented the croud, which was now considerably increased by numbers from Leith, accompanied with drums, from making good their attack in front. They then attacked the West side of the works, but were driven back. They next proceeded to burn and destroy the carts, hay, &c. in attempting to prevent which, the military fired about two rounds, by which another man was killed, and several wounded. The very same night a large distillery at Ford, about four miles above Dalkeith, belonging to Mr. Reid, was destroyed and burnt to the ground with every article belonging to it. An attack was also made the same night upon another distillery at Clement's Wells, near Musselburgh, but successfully defended by the dragoons. General Leslie and colonel Campbell, and

and the rest of the officers of the military, have had but little rest since these disturbances began. The following declaration has been published by Messrs. Haig and Co. on the part of the distillers, by way of quieting the minds of the people :

Edinburgh, June 9, 1784.

“ Whereas various reports have of late been propagated, respecting the nature and effects of the distillery at Canonmills, carried on by us, it is thought proper to inform the public, that these reports have no other foundation than a *false state of facts*.

“ It has unhappily taken possession of the minds of many people, that all sorts of grain, wheat, oats, barley, and pease, are consumed there in great quantities; and that even oat-meal and roots, such as potatoes, turnips, carrots, are made to serve the purposes of distillation; and consequently, that the markets are really affected by this supposed consumption. Now, the genuine truth is, that no other species of grain are made use of by us in our distillery at Cannonmills, but barley, rye, and sometimes such parcels of wheat as happen to receive damage, or are in quality unfit for bread; and that not a grain of oats, pease, or a particle of oat-meal, nor any potatoes, carrots, turnips, or other roots, are used in our distillery in any shape.

“ With regard to the barley used by us, the markets cannot be affected, because it has been almost to a trifle imported into Leith from distant places; and so very attentive have we been, that again and again we have refused to purchase the parcels offered to us here; nay, we are confident, 500 bolls of the growth of this country have not been consumed at our works.

“ The wheat that has hitherto

been used, was, to a very trifle, bad grain, of the importation of last season, purchased at low prices.

“ If a doubt remain about these facts, they can be ascertained by the names and attestations of the importers.

“ So far are we from consuming roots at our works, that even the cattle and hogs are not fed with them. The cattle are brought there to consume the grain or draff, and by that food alone they are fattened for the markets.

“ We have reared a work at a great expence, and have at all times a considerable stock on the spot, which we are conscious must be of the highest advantage to the country and the neighbourhood; a work which gives bread to a great number of people, and returns a large annual sum to Edinburgh.—Great quantities of grain are imported by us, which would never have come to Scotland, and with the refuse of which numbers of cattle and hogs are fattened, and the necessities of human life increased.

“ The distillers in London, envious of the Scotch in the same trade, are, at the present moment, exerting their utmost influence to deprive the country of that valuable branch, and therefore, it must appear beyond measure cruel and impolitic in the people at home to endeavour to suppress it.

“ Were the people coolly to reflect, it would evidently occur to them, that the consumption of victuals upon the spot is lessened, by the markets being supplied with spirits extracted from imported grain.

“ Certain information has been received, that the reports complained of have been industriously spread abroad by interested people; and, should the same malevolence be continued, we shall find ourselves under the

the necessity of exposing the individuals, and applying for legal redress against them.

“ We are greatly concerned for those unhappy people who suffered upon Friday and Monday last; but the nature of the attack made upon our property must justify us in the defence of it. Arms of every kind are provided for that purpose, as also a military force in our works; and, if we shall be obliged to use them, many lives will be lost, a circumstance which we shall most sincerely regret.

“ The people, it is hoped, will reflect, that the damage (should they be suffered to do it) must be repaired by the public; and we have no doubt, that, besides our own endeavours, the public will take every measure to prevent farther mischief, and concur in affording all necessary protection.

“ JAMES HAIG and Co.”

15. A Scotch correspondent informs us, that five companies of the 24th regiment, from Dundee, arrived at Leith on Saturday, June the 12th, with an intention to prevent farther disturbances. A meeting of the heritors of the county of Mid-Lothian was summoned on the 9th by public advertisement from Mr. sheriff Cockburn, to convene in the inner sessions-house on the 12th at noon, to concert measures to put a stop to the outrages. They met accordingly. Mr. sheriff Cockburn, and sir John Dalrymple, one of the king's judges, proposed a string of resolutions in favour of the distilleries; but the king's solicitor-general observing that the matter was of so much importance, not only to that county, but to the country at large, wished no precipitate measures to be adopted. He then moved, that a future meeting should be called to deliberate farther upon

the subject. Sheriff Cockburn's and judge Dalrymple's resolutions were withdrawn. A declaration was published on the 12th by Mr. John Aitchison, the proprietor of Clements Wells distillery, tending to exculpate himself, and offering to sell meal to the people at a cheap rate.

14. Lord Sydney presented to the house of peers a petition of James Bartholomew Radcliffe, esq. by the style and title of earl of Newburgh, stating himself to be as well entitled to the earldom of Newburgh as to all the rights and privileges that are annexed to the peerage of this realm. His lordship signified his majesty's recommendation, and the petition being read, was ordered to be referred to a committee of privileges.

15. The crime of forgery, so dangerous in a commercial country, is now arrived at the most alarming height: two young men at this time in custody for uttering forged bank notes. On Monday they called at Mr. Baker's, in St. Paul's Churchyard, on pretence of choosing lace for a Mrs. Poltar, their employer, and made choice of a parcel, amounting to upwards of 240l. but something in their manner raising suspicion in the mind of Mr. Baker when they called in the evening for the invoice, he desired his clerk to follow them, who traced them to Mr. Caruther's in Cheapside, where they had been with the same story, and had chosen a parcel of lace, to the amount of 230l. In order to detect them, it was therefore agreed by Mr. Baker and Mr. Caruthers that when they came again for the goods, which they had agreed to pay for, that the one would let the other know. About half after six on Tuesday evening, Mr. Caruther ran to Mr. Baker with a bank note of 100l.

100l. in his hand. Mr. Baker went to a neighbour to compare it with a note of that sum; but not finding one, he went into the city to his bankers, to ask their opinion of the note, and of two others which Mr. Caruthèr had got from the young men in his way to the city. The bankers and their clerks gave it as their opinion that they were genuine; still the prejudice was so strong in the mind of Mr. Baker, that he went to the Bank, and finding in the bill-office a clerk, he asked his opinion of the notes. His answer was, he had no doubt they were good. Not yet satisfied, he fortunately went to the accomptant's office, and on examination they were all found counterfeited so exactly, that it was almost impossible, on comparing them with the genuine notes, to find any difference. The principals concerned in these forgeries are supposed to be the persons who were some time ago advertised in the papers.

16. The recorder made his report to his majesty of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, viz. Thomas Randall, Robert Ganley, Daniel Beane, Archibald Burridge, James Davis, Joseph Hawes, James Hawkins, John Lynch, James Farrell, Patrick Birmingham, Samuel Hall, William Hobbs, John Taylor, Drummond Clarke, Charles Barton, Patrick Burne, William Smith, Isaac Torres, Elizabeth Vickry, Peter Haslett alias Edward Verilly, Charles Criswell, John Moseley, Simon Young, and John Boyle; when Robert Ganley, Patrick Birmingham, Peter Haslett, Patrick Burne, Isaac Torres, Charles Barton, Thomas Randall, William Smith, Daniel Beane, Archibald Burridge, James Farrell, John Lynch, James Hawkins, Joseph Hawkins, and James Davis, were ordered for

execution on Wednesday next, the 23d instant.

19. Came on to be tried before the lord chief baron of the exchequer, at the Guildhall, London, the cause captain Sutton against commodore Johnstone. The trial began at ten o'clock on Saturday morning, and continued twenty-two hours. The jury retired about seven o'clock, and at eight on Sunday morning gave a verdict of 5000l. damages for captain Sutton.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, June 21.

Saturday se'nnight, about seven o'clock in the morning, a number of persons, to the amount of more than a hundred, assembled in a riotous manner before the house of Mr. Andrew Clarke, of Chancery-lane, in this city, master taylor, and eight or nine of them having forcibly entered his house, they laid hold of him, and dragged him almost naked through the streets to a place called the Tenter-ground, where, being assisted by a considerable number of persons who had joined them in their way thither, after making use of the most horrid menaces and imprecations, they stripped him quite naked, and with a brush besmeared him all over with tar, assigning as their reason for so doing, that he was an importer of English cloth; that their treatment of him then was only to be considered as a slight punishment for what was past, and that the next time they were determined to hang him.

The lord lieutenant and council have this day issued a proclamation, offering a reward of five hundred pounds for apprehending the first of the offenders, and two hundred pounds for each of the next five; to be paid on conviction.

In addition to the above, the corporation of taylor's have offered a reward

reward of one hundred and ten pounds to the person or persons who shall prosecute to conviction the persons concerned in the above daring outrage, viz. fifty pounds for the first, and twenty pounds for each of the three next persons convicted.

22. This morning at eleven o'clock came on at the hustings, in Mill-lane, Tooley-street, the election of a member for the borough of Southwark, in the room of sir Barnard Turner, deceased. The candidates were, sir Richard Hotham, formerly member for Southwark, and Paul Le Mesurier, esq. a director of the East India company. Upon the shew of hands, the majority appeared in favour of sir Richard Hotham; but the friends of Mr. Le Mesurier demanded a poll in his favour, which immediately commenced.

23. The following convicts were executed on the scaffold erected for that purpose before Newgate: William Smith, Isaac Torres, Charles Barton, Patrick Burne, Patrick Birmingham, John Lynch, James Farrel, James Davis, Daniel Bean, Archibald Burrige, Robert Ganley, and Thomas Randall, for burglary; Peter Haslet alias Edward Verilly, for personating and assuming the name of Thomas Howard, of his majesty's ship the Pallas, with intent to receive his wages; and Joseph Haws and James Hawkins for a street robbery. The above unhappy men came upon the scaffold a little before seven o'clock; they all seemed devout and penitent, and behaved in every respect as became their miserable situation. The platform dropped about a quarter before eight, and at the same moment they were all launched into eternity. The concourse was immense; the windows and roofs of the houses

commanding a view of the fatal spot, were crowded, and many thousands of people were assembled in the Old Bailey before six o'clock.

24. This afternoon, at four o'clock, the poll for a representative for the borough of Southwark finally closed, when the numbers stood as follow:

	22.	23.	24.
For P. Le Mesurier,	533	863	935
Sir R. Hotham,	506	842	924

Majority 11

A scrutiny was demanded in favour of sir Richard Hotham.

25. This day, at four o'clock, Mr. Holder, the high bailiff of the borough, held the adjourned hustings in Mill-lane, Tooley-street. He said, that his very ill state of health obliged him to decline granting a scrutiny; the fatigue he had already gone through in the election having very much injured his health, which was before much impaired, he therefore made the return to the writ, declaring, that by the number of the poll Mr. Le Mesurier was elected. After this declaration, Mr. Le Mesurier came forward, and made a short speech to the electors, thanking them for the honour done him.

Sir Richard Hotham also came forward; thanked his friends for the trouble and fatigue they had undergone, and declared his intention of appealing to the house of commons, in justice to them as well as himself; as he had ample proof to found a petition against his opponent, not only of bad votes, but of other illegal practices. The hustings was then adjourned.

26. Mr. Atkinson was brought up to the court of King's bench, in order to abide the determination thereof; when Mr. Bearcroft, on his behalf, produced an affidavit sworn

sworn by Mr. Atkinson, which was read, and tended to throw a great many different lights on the subjects; and to elucidate the several points on which he was found guilty. He was also permitted, *viva voce*, to go into the different statement of the account which he had with the victualling-office, explaining the transactions thereof with great accuracy and precision, which by some means or other were neglected, and not produced at the trial. Earl Mansfield then recapitulated the evidence given at the trial, and compared it with that now offered, and pointed out some very material parts, that went in a great measure to clear him from the imputations he laboured under. He said, in order that substantial justice might be done to both parties, either to punish the guilty or protect the innocent, it would be necessary to have affidavits from the commissioners of the victualling-office (though some of them had been examined at the trial), and all papers and accounts in their possession relative to this business, and postpone the further consideration thereof till they can be produced. Mr. Atkinson was therefore remanded to prison; but whether judgment will be given this term or not is very uncertain.

29. The four men who were taken up by the patrol near Kentish-town, were examined before sir Sampson Wright, in Bow-street, when they were ordered for farther examination; one of whom, William Vandeput, who, it was reported, stole the great seal from the lord chancellor's, is ordered for farther examination to-morrow.

— In the court of King's bench, several gentlemen surrendered themselves at the bar, to receive judgment for being concerned in a riot in the prison of the King's bench

some time ago, whereof they were tried and convicted; some affidavits were read in extenuation of their offence, and the court were about to send them to the New Gaol in the Borough, but the defendants begged hard to be committed to the former prison, which was granted, and they are to be confined one month in the strong room of the King's bench.

St. James's, June 29. One of the king's messengers arrived on Sunday last with the ratification, on the part of the States General of the United Provinces, of the definitive treaty of peace, signed at Paris on the 20th of May last, which was exchanged with Daniel Hailes, esq. his majesty's plenipotentiary, against his majesty's ratification, on the 19th instant, at Paris, by the plenipotentiaries of their high mightinesses.

J U L Y.

Extract of a letter from Hanover, July 1.

The prince bishop of Osnabrug, second son of his Britannic majesty, set out this morning for Vienna. His royal highness will afterwards visit several other courts of Germany, and will not return hither till towards the end of October next.

2. Wednesday last, as the prince of Wales was going on a visit on horseback, a few miles from town, two carriages passing the road together, he rode his horse in between them, by which he was much bruised, and narrowly escaped with his life. This morning his highness was something better than he had been the preceding day, but toward the evening he was much worse; the pains occasioned by the bruise on his side attacking him very severely. His highness has been let blood twice.

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4. The prince of Wales has been so ill, in consequence of his late accident, that three physicians were obliged to be called in, and at one time had their doubts of the safety of his royal highness. We are happy to add, that the prince is now pronounced out of danger.

Dublin, July 6. The high sheriffs waited on his grace the lord lieutenant with the petition of the aggregate body of the inhabitants of the city of Dublin to his majesty, requesting his excellency that he would be pleased to transmit the same. He returned the following answer :

“ Gentlemen, at the same time that I comply with your request, I shall not fail to convey my entire disapprobation of the contents, as casting unjust reflections on the laws and parliament of Ireland, and tending to weaken the authority of both.”

7. At one o'clock, William Bishop, common cryer of this city, attended by proper officers, read at the Royal Exchange gate two proclamations, one relative to the definitive treaty being signed at Paris between Great Britain and the States General, and the United States of America; and also a proclamation for a general thanksgiving to be observed on the 29th instant, on the peace; they were all afterwards stuck up in divers parts of the city.

8. This morning Mr. Linton, one of the principal musicians belonging to Covent-garden and the Haymarket theatres, was attacked somewhere (as it is imagined) about St. Martin's lane. A woman accidentally looking out of a window about one o'clock, saw a gentleman pursuing three fellows up Bedford-bury, into New-street, St. Martin's lane, where Mr. Linton was soon

after found, with a wound in his belly, supposed to have been given with a knife. He was bled, and every endeavour used to recover him, notwithstanding which he soon after expired. A piece of a watch chain was found in Mr. Linton's hand; from which circumstance it is not improbable that his watch was taken from him by force, and that his not parting with it easily was the cause of the villains stabbing him. Two persons are already in custody, on suspicion of being concerned in this horrid murder; and every step is taken to bring the offenders to justice.

Dublin, July 9. The play of Douglas being ordered by his grace the lord lieutenant, on the rising of the curtain the audience cried out for the volunteers' march, which, on his excellency's entrance, was played accordingly. The play, or more properly the clamour, now began, and choruses of groaning, hissing, and shouting, with whistles, cat-calls, horse-legs, and geld horns, all kept in tune by the trunk-maker, thundered through the house, and made the drama a complete farce. The manager was called upon: “ I am,” said he, “ the servant of the public, and wish to know whether it is your will the performance should continue.” The propriety of this speech was universally approved, and the play was suffered to go on, but with frequent interruptions. A few scenes were acted, and the catastrophe introduced. The entertainment concluded a few minutes after eight, when the viceroy withdrew, but not unnoticed, the former music attending him to the castle. Among those who were most noticed on this occasion was the adjutant of the Goldsmiths' corps.

corps. Him the sheriff trepanned out of the house by a tap on the shoulder. On passing the door, he was hurried to the guard-room, and his pockets searched; but he had not been there long before the multitude assembled, to the number of 4000, before the castle gate, and were continually increasing, so that it was thought necessary to release him. It has since been reported that his grace has solicited his recall.

10. A medal has lately been struck to perpetuate the memory of capt. Cook, the execution of which is equal to the subject. On one side is a bold relief of capt. Cook, with this inscription, *Jac. Cook Oceani Investigator acerrimus*; immediately under the head is expressed, in lesser characters, *Reg. Soc. Lond. Socio suo*. On the reverse appears an erect figure of Britannia standing on a plain. The left arm rests upon an hieroglyphic pillar. Her spear is in her hand, and her shield placed at the foot of the pillar. Her right arm is projected over a globe, and contains a symbol expressive of the celebrated circumnavigator's enterprising genius. The inscription round the reverse is, *Nil intentatum nostri liquere*; and under the figure of Britannia, *Auspiciis Georgii III.*

The above medal was engraved at the expence of the Royal Society. Six impressions were struck in gold, and two hundred and fifty in silver. The gold medals are disposed of as follow:

One to his Britannic majesty, under whose auspices captain Cook proceeded on his discoveries.

One to the king of France, for his great courtesy in giving a specific charge to his naval commanders, to forbear shewing hostility to

the Resolution and Discovery, the two sloops under captain Cook's command, and to afford him every succour in their power in case they fell in with him.

One to the empress of Russia, for her great hospitality to capt. Cook when he touched at Kamiskatka.

One to Mrs. Cook, the captain's relict.

One to be deposited in the British Museum; and

One to remain in the college of the Royal Society.

The silver medals were distributed among the members of the Royal Society, some particular lords of the admiralty, and a few other distinguished persons.

— Three persons have been apprehended at a house of ill fame near Bedfordbury, on suspicion of being concerned in Mr. Linton's murder, one of whom was discharged on producing a favourable character from a butcher, with whom he lived a few months ago. A second was strongly suspected of having committed the fact, on account of some blood being sprinkled over his coat, and his having given very contradictory accounts of the manner and places in which he spent his time the preceding night: he is a taylor by trade, and a man of most infamous character. The other person was of equal notoriety, and warranted the strongest suspicions of his guilt; he gave an account of his having slept, and been with his favourite female, from eleven o'clock on Wednesday night till six o'clock on Thursday morning; but, on sending for the woman, and examining her apart, she swore, that he left her about eleven o'clock at night, and that she had not seen him till his appearance in Bow-street. A parcel of instruments for

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housebreaking were taken in their possession, and fully proved their desperate practices.

13. We are happy at having an opportunity of informing the public, that the two murderers of Mr. Linton are now in custody; one of the parties was seized on Saturday evening by Mr. Smith, the keeper of Tothill fields, to which place he went up in a visit to Dixon, one of the men committed by Mr. Addington upon suspicion. The man taken on Saturday is named Morgan, and is well known to the officers of the police; he has made a confession of the whole melancholy transaction, acquitting Smith, one of the two first taken in custody, acknowledging that Dixon and himself were the only persons concerned in the murder and robbery. We cannot too much applaud the activity of Mr. Bond and Mr. Smith, in pursuit of the perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Linton, and the address with which Morgan was got to confess the particulars.

— Counsel were called to the bar of the house of peers to be heard on the adjourned argument of appeal, wherein the honourable Andrew Foley, and Thomas Foley, an infant by the said Andrew Foley his father and next friend, are appellants; John Grant and others, respondents; when, after hearing Mr. Mansfield and Mr. Scott, for the respondents, and the attorney-general by way of reply, the lord chancellor came forward, and having spoken for a considerable time, his lordship concluded with proposing the following question to be put to the judges, viz.

Whether Edward Foley had such an interest in the plate in question in this cause as rendered the same liable to an execution at the suit of the creditor?—or, whether the

plaintiff had any such interest therein as barred such execution?

The judges desired to consider the question; the further consideration was put off till to-morrow.

A short statement of the proceedings in the above cause.

The right honourable Thomas lord Foley, father to the appellant, Andrew Foley, died in 1777: that Robert Foley (the testator's brother) and the said Andrew Foley, the acting executors, permitted the respondent, Edward Foley, to take possession of one of the services of plate left by the testator as an heirloom for the use of the several persons who should be entitled to the use and possession of the house at Stoke.

That the respondent, Edward Foley, caused a considerable part of the said plate to be removed from thence to his house in Portland place, without the consent or knowledge of Andrew and Robert Foley.

That John Grant and John Battey, two of the creditors of Edward Foley, caused writs to be issued to the sheriffs of Middlesex, and on the 15th of March, 1779, the sheriffs, by virtue of the said writ, took in execution all the said plate so removed by Edward Foley.

That the appellant, Andrew Foley, gave notice to the sheriff, that the said plate was not Edward Foley's, but was part of the testator's plate, and had been left by him as an heirloom.

The bill filed in the court of Chancery prayed,

That the respondents, Burnell and Kitchen, might be decreed to deliver up all the said plate which had been taken by them in execution, and that the same might be replaced in the house at Stoke, there to remain as an heirloom for the

the benefit of the several parties interested therein, under the will of the said testator, Thomas, lord Foley, and that in the mean time they might be restrained by an order or injunction of that court from making any sale of the said plate, or any part thereof; and that the said respondents Grant and Battye, might in the manner be restrained from calling upon the said sheriffs for returns of the said writs of *feri facias*, and from all proceedings against them, for not making returns thereof; but in case it should appear that the sheriffs had sold the plate, or any part thereof, that the said Grant and Battye might be decreed to replace and make good the same."

The cause was heard and judgment given, March 21, 1783, when the lord chancellor was pleased to order the appellant's bill to be dismissed against Burnell, Kitchen, and Robert Foley, with costs to be taxed; and against the other respondents without costs.

The lord chancellor was pleased to determine the said cause on the fact of the birth of a son of the respondent Edward Foley, who died fourteen days after he was born, in 1779, which was not in issue between the said parties, but mentioned in a deposition of one of the witnesses.

The appellants conceiving themselves aggrieved by the said orders of dismissal, brought their appeal.

14. A cause was tried before Mr. justice Buller and a special jury, in which Mr. Edmund Burke was plaintiff, and the printer of the Public Advertiser defendant. The action was brought for a libel against Mr. Burke, and the damages laid at 500*l*. The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff with 100*l*. damages.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, July 15.

Early yesterday morning a number of people armed, seized on Mr. Plowman, woollen-draper, the corner of John's-lane; and hurried him to the Weaver's-square, where in a few minutes they stripped and tarred him. Sheriff Kirkpatrick, having received intelligence, posted off to the Liberty, and imprudently threw himself among the crowd, without guards, or any other assistance. The sheriff rescued the unhappy man; but on attempting to seize some of the ringleaders, he was most violently opposed. Swords were drawn, and the sheriff received two most severe cuts on the head. At this moment alderman Hart appeared, with a strong military force, and came up most opportunely, as sheriff Kirkpatrick was knocked down, and lay in the utmost danger of his life. Mr. Plowman had, it seems, made some very considerable importation of English goods the day before he was waited upon, directly infringing the non-importation agreement, and which, it is alledged, drew upon him the resentment of the populace.

17. Mr. Simpson waited upon Mrs. Linton by the desire of the directors of the society of Ancient Music, and presented her with thirty guineas. From the very liberal manner in which the musical fund is conducted, this unhappy lady and her children will be very decently provided for; as the widow of a member she is to receive 18*l*. a year, and the allowance for the maintenance of her three children will near amount to the same sum. The salary the husband received at Mr. Colman's theatre is to be continued during the season, the gentlemen of the band having (very much to their honour) hired a substitute

at their own expence to do the duty.

27. The following convicts were executed this morning before Newgate, pursuant to their sentence, viz. William Thompson alias Peter Smith, John Branton, Thomas White, George Dane, and John Richards.

Extract of a letter from L'Orient, July 30.

“ Monf. le comte de Grasse is gone home to the place of his exile. The captains of De Suffren's fleet have not yet received sentence for their conduct in the East-Indies: they are yet on board L'Amphion of 50 guns, where they have been already imprisoned near twelve months.

30. Friday night arrived in town his excellency the duke de Chartres, and the prince de Leury, from France. They set out on Saturday for Brighthelmstone, accompanied by the duke de Lauzun, on a visit to the prince of Wales.

31. His royal highness the duke of Gloucester, arrived in town with his duchess from the continent.

AUGUST.

Dublin, Aug. 4. Last Monday night, between the hours of eleven and twelve, a number of officers in the army, most of them aids de camp to his grace the duke of Rutland, flushed, it is thought, with wine, entered the shop of Mr. Flattery, a publican on Ormond-quay, near Essex-bridge, after assaulting a waiter that stood at the door, in a most riotous and turbulent manner, under the pretence of calling for liquor. Here they had not been long, before two of them behaved with the utmost rudeness and indecency to Mrs. Flattery, notwithstanding her earnest in re-

ties to them to desist; she was at last overheard by her husband, but on his appearance, the treatment he received was by no means more becoming the character of those gentry who inflicted it: “What!” cried one of them, on observing a military stock upon him, “You are a volunteer, an't you?” and tweaked him by the nose. Flattery had too much Irish blood in him to bear with this personal indignity, in addition to the assault upon his wife; he knocked the ruffian down, on which the whole corps immediately attacked him with their swords, and obliged him to retire for a moment, when he returned with a musket in his hand, happily without a bayonet, with which, and the assistance of two young men who were in the house, he soon cleared his shop of the rioters; who, though for the present expelled, soon returned to the charge, and endeavoured once more to force an entrance, but were valiantly withstood, though one of them actually fired a pistol laden with bullets into the shop: fortunately this act of desperation miscarried, as no person was hurt by it. The officers now demanded a parley, and pretending a contrition for what had happened, insidiously closed in upon Flattery, seized his firelock, and flung it over the parapet wall into the Liffey; hereupon the fight was renewed, but a volunteer armed only with his bayonet, passing that way, ranged himself on the side of the injured citizen. This succour turned the scale, and the offenders thought proper to make a precipitate retreat; but before they got clear of the mob, whom this affray had gathered together, and now joined the victors, they were saluted with a volley of stones, by which some of them received such severe

severe contusions, as disabled them from following their flying comrades. One of them indeed endeavoured to command respect from the populace, by calling out, that he was a peer of Great Britain; but this availed little: it rather aggravated the heinousness of his unworthy conduct, and the more exasperated and irritated them against him. The officers, who escaped first, hastened to all the city guards, drafting from thence, particularly at the national bank, all but the centinels on duty, returned with large bodies of soldiery, denouncing vengeance and extirpation to the volunteers; sheriff Smith hearing of this dangerous riot, repaired to the main guard, but even there could only get five men to support the civil power, and keep the peace of the city:—His presence, however, for this time, put an end to the disturbances of the night; and the next morning Flattery swore examination for an assault and battery at the justices rotation-office, against the rioters.—One of them was brought into a house on Ormond-Quay, where he lies very ill of his wounds. Though these persons are, for this flagrant offence against the police and peace of this city, now in the hands of civil justice, where they must answer for the same, and be judged by the laws of the realm, there is another tribunal before whom they must be arraigned; a court martial, which the commander in chief has ordered to be called, on the charge against them of ungentlemanly conduct, and leading the soldiers through the streets in a tumultuous and riotous manner.

August 5. The following letters passed and re-passed on Ormond-Quay, yesterday.

“Secretary Ordre’s respects to

Mr. Flattery, has just received his letter; wishes to have the pleasure of seeing him at his office, soon as convenient.”

Dublin Castle, Wednesday morning.

“Mr. Flattery’s respects to Secretary Orde, informs that he, or any person for him, never had the pleasure of sending him a letter.”

Ormond-Quay, August 4.

Mr. Maffett, the young gentleman who behaved with so much bravery and gallantry in rescuing Mr. Flattery from the attack of the military rioters, must have undoubtedly fallen a sacrifice to their savage fury, had it not been for the knowledge he possessed of the use of arms, and his activity in defending himself with a sword cane. He was attacked by seven with drawn hangers, who at the same instant exerted every effort to bring him to the ground; by his activity he extricated himself from this perilous situation, and he and Mr. Flattery drove them out of the house. On the Quay, the skirmish recommenced with new vigour; here, indeed, he had only five, whom he fought round for a considerable time. We are happy to find that of the six wounds he received, none of them are likely to prove mortal. After a parley was made for a minute, and both parties agreed to stop farther hostilities, two of them rushed behind and disarmed him, while another gave him a violent contusion on the head.—Mr. Maffet happily made his escape to Abbey-street, where he was pursued by some soldiers.

Extract of a letter from Arras, dated 4th instant

“Yesterday morning Mr. Charles Clutterbuck, who has been confined at St. Omer’s, and at this place, for two years past, was conducted

amidst a vast concourse of spectators from the royal prison to the council-chamber, in order to pass his last interrogation touching the offence he has committed against the bank of England; the examination lasted about an hour: the judge demanded his defence, which he delivered in French, in these words: ‘ Si mon procès avoit été instruit en Angleterre sous le faux titre royal, il auroit été rejeté et il n’auroit pas été reconnu.’ I understand that he has also presented to the bench of judges a very ingenious memorial, shewing the nature of his crime, and the nature and institution of the different banks in Europe. The judges are puzzled to make a decision upon this unprecedented suit, which affords much argument and profit to the lawyers here; the prosecution has already cost the bank more than 20,000 l. and as the whole of these proceedings are transmitted to the king’s council chamber at Paris, it may probably cost them as much more.”

Extract of a letter from Dublin, August 5.

Yesterday, about two o’clock, the duke of Rutland arrived at the castle from the county of Westmeath, supposed to be in consequence of an express dispatched for his grace the day before, relative to the military outrage on Monday night.

We are informed that a special messenger was dispatched yesterday evening to his majesty, with as impartial an account of the riot on Monday night as could be obtained. The lord lieutenant declares that he will not screen the offenders.

Three of the gentlemen concerned in the above riot, we hear, have given bail.

“ At a meeting of the corps of

independent volunteers, the following resolutions were agreed to:

“ Resolved unanimously, That we behold with the highest indignation and concern the unjustifiable conduct of certain officers in his majesty’s army, on the night of Monday the 2d current, who indecently and abusively attacked the wife and person of a citizen of this metropolis; at the same time committing the most flagrant violation of the laws, by acts of outrage and riot, disgraceful to the soldier and the gentleman, and subversive of the peace and security of the public.

“ Resolved unanimously, That from the complexion of the times, we think it incumbent on us to invoke all our fellow citizens not yet disciplined immediately to join us, and learn the use of arms; as from the volunteer strength, the people of this kingdom have the surest protection for their civil rights, relying at the same time on our brother soldiers now associated, that they will hold themselves always in readiness, properly appointed, to turn out on the shortest notice, for the security and protection of every inhabitant of this city from such outrage in future.”

7. At the assizes for the county of Kent, the cause between earl Stanhope and the Messr. Adam of the Adelphi, was tried a third time, when the plaintiff, earl Stanhope, obtained a verdict of 1,500 l. damages, besides costs of suit.

10. Some of the prisoners in the King’s bench attempted their escape in the following manner: despairing of being liberated by the insolvent bill, which has slept so long in the house of lords, one D——s with a number of associates, assembled, and in a peremptory manner demanded the key of the prison.

son from the door-keeper, who, fearing the consequences of a refusal, gave up the same. D. thus in possession of the key, in the height of his joy ran back into the prison to give notice thereof, when the door-keeper immediately clapped too the door, which having a spring lock, and there being no key-hole within side, the insurgents were in a moment as close prisoners as if they had not the key. A guard was immediately sent for, which has done duty at the prison ever since; where things remain in a state of tranquillity.

—. Dixon, one of the villains apprehended for the murder of Mr. Linton, escaped out of Clerkenwell bridewell. He was not missed till the usual hour of locking up the prisoners in the different wards. There is little doubt of this atrocious offender being soon retaken, his person being well known to all the constables belonging to the different public offices, as well as the runners of the different gaols. The means by which he effected his escape were as follow: a woman, with whom he cohabited, conveyed into the prison the apparel of a female. He dressed himself in this disguise, and his complexion being fair, with white hair, and his person not masculine, it is not surprising that he was suffered to pass the prison door. The woman, who furnished him with the clothes, has been examined before Mr. justice Hyde, but she would not describe the dress.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, August 11.

Yesterday, about twelve o'clock, a mob, armed with swords, pistols, &c. seized Mr. Cromie, merchant, on the Old-Bridge, and hurried him into Purcel's-Court, where they stripped, tarred, and feathered him.

Sheriff Smith came to his assistance when the operation was over, and the mob dispersed. One of the villains wounded Mr. Cromie in the neck with a sword in a very dangerous manner.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, August 12.

Yesterday a great number of armed men went to the market in Cole's lane, and took from thence a butcher, and was bringing him for the purpose of tarring and feathering, when alderman Hamilton got information, and instantly pursued them; on his appearing they immediately dispersed, without performing their intention. The crime they charged him with was for not serving a regular apprenticeship.

This day about twelve persons, armed with blunderbusses and other arms, went to the house of Mr. Corbett, woollen-draper in Christchurch-yard, whom they seized upon by stratagem. At the same time he had been taken into custody, some shots were fired from the house, which were repeatedly returned by the populace, but without any effect, except that Mr. Corbett received a contusion in the ear by a ball from his own house; the croud then proceeded to the earl of Meath's Liberty, where he was tied to a tree and received a dozen lashes; after which he was completely tarred and feathered, and paraded through several streets: but on the appearance of Sheriff Smith and alderman Huran, he was given up without farther injury. The crime of which he was accused, was, that he had, after subscribing to the non-importation agreement, taken into partnership several obscure persons, under whose names he had imported and sold very large quantities of English manufactures.

Dublin, August 13.

At a general meeting of the corps of Uppercrofs and Coolock volunteers, at the Centaur in Fishamble-street, Tuesday the 10th of August, 1784.

Major M'Cormick, in the chair.

"Resolved, That we view with the utmost abhorrence the cruel and unprovoked outrage committed on the person of Mr. Neal Flattery, a member of this corps, and a citizen, with other persons of his family, by certain officers of the army, on Monday the 2d instant, and that we consider this as one of the evil effects of the unnecessary augmentation of the military establishment.

"Resolved, That we pledge ourselves in the most sacred manner, to each other, and to our fellow-citizens, to hold ourselves always prepared to assist the magistrates to repel any such violence in future."

Major M'Cormick reported his having received the following letter from col. lord Harrington, containing a message to be communicated to this corps.

Dublin Barracks, Aug. 6, 1784.

Sir,

Having learned, with much concern, that an affray which happened some nights ago (wherein my name has appeared) has been imputed to an intention on my part, and that of the officers of the army, of offering an insult to the corps of volunteers of this city, I took the earliest opportunity of endeavouring to remove so ill-founded an impression, by a message, which I begged an officer of my regiment to deliver to you, of which the following is a copy, viz.

I am desired by lord Harrington to wait on you, in consequence of his "having been informed that the unfortunate affray, which hap-

pened on Monday night on the Quay, is considered in the light of an intentional insult on the volunteer corps: his lordship desires me to assure you, sir, and through you the corps to which you belong, that he is persuaded, that there was not the remotest intention of that kind:—and that in regard to himself (whose name has been mentioned in it) he never had an idea of treating with disrespect, much less of offering an insult, to you, or any other corps of volunteers."

Understanding that you have expressed a wish, that the above message should be conveyed by letter, previous to its being communicated by you to the corps, I trouble you with this repetition of it.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble
and obedient servant,

HARRINGTON.

To the Commanding Officer
of the Upper-Crofs and
Coolock Volunteers.

14. The duc de Chartres set off for France, being sent for by order of the French king.

—To the right hon. the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled,

The humble petition of upwards of eight hundred prisoners confined in the prison of the king's bench, in behalf of themselves and many thousands of fellow-sufferers at home and beyond the seas,

Sheweth,

That a confinement for the space of near three years has deprived a great many of your petitioners of the power of exercising their several trades and professions, whereby their little property has been long since expended, and themselves and families reduced to a state of the most exquisite distress. That they are, from the number of unhappy

ob.

objects now confined, unavoidably crowded together in small apartments, where they labour under all the complicated miseries of disease and famine.

Your petitioners therefore most humbly pray, that your lordships will please to take into your humane consideration the bill now pending before your lordships, and thereby restore to life and liberty those many unhappy families, who, but from the mercy of your lordships, have not the most distant prospect of relief.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

King's-Bench prison,

Aug. 14, 1784.

Committee for the whole.

R. Sharman,	J. Reynolds,
N. Humphries,	G. Miller,
W. Settle,	P. D. Stanhope,
J. Wilson,	S. Staniland,
R. Grant,	J. Lodge,
J. Buezelin,	Simon Patrick
I. Jenkins,	Hely.

Dublin, Aug. 16. Besides all the old and extraordinary guards and stations of the king's garrison in and about this metropolis, established within these few weeks, a serjeant's guard, since Thursday last, does duty at the foot of the Old Bridge.

An express was yesterday morning dispatched from the castle for London, containing, it is said, an account of the proceedings at Roscommon and Ballinasloe.

Last Friday, in the afternoon, a number of persons unknown, armed with swords and pistols, went to a printing-office in this city, where a paper is published, and there seized the person of a Mr. Lascelles, supposing him the printer thereof, with an intent, it is thought, to tar and feather him; but before they had dragged him many yards

from the house, discovering their mistake, he was enlarged, not however before he had received some strokes to urge his speed.

17. Henry Morgan was committed to Newgate by William Addington, esq. charged, on his own confession, with feloniously assaulting Charles Linton on the highway, in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, and taking from his person a gold watch, two guineas and a half, and one shilling, his property. He also stands further charged, on his own confession, with the wilful murder of the said Charles Linton.

— The right hon. William Pitt narrowly escaped being shot by a gardener near Windsor. The circumstance was nearly as follows: Mr. Pitt dined that day with Mr. Jenkinson, and returned to town by a post-carriage; but the boy's blundering out of the main-road, and not being able to find his way back, induced Mr. Pitt to go to the next farm-house, to be rightly informed; the dogs, however, making an alarm, the man of the house came out with a loaded gun, and insisted on Mr. Pitt's standing still, on pain of being fired at; Mr. Pitt pleaded and expostulated in vain, till at length the farmer actually fired on him; the bullet went through the loose part of his coat, but happily without any injury; the post-boy hearing the explosion, ran to the spot, and his appearance, together with Mr. Pitt's arguments, at length so far prevailed on the farmer, that the young chancellor was permitted to withdraw; and his antagonist gave him every necessary instruction to find out the main road to town.

20. Mrs. Hastings wife of Mr. Hastings, governor-general of Bengal,

gal, was presented to their majesties at St. James's, and most graciously received.

Dublin, August 20. Yesterday evening, about seven o'clock, a mob assembled in Grafton-street, for the purpose of riot, as it is supposed to attack some gentlemen who had been very active in associating for the preservation of the public peace; in a moment the inhabitants of that neighbourhood turned out, well appointed, and by their spirited interference, put an end to this daring attempt.

Wednesday evening a number of the military with side-arms, forced their way through several markets in this city, behaving in a disorderly manner, throwing the meat about, and ill-treating every person. Several officers overtook the rioters in Patrick-street, and compelled them to return: when the gentlemen got them to Arran-quay, they formed a line, and took down the name of every person concerned, in order to bring them to justice.

Dublin, Aug. 25. Yesterday, at noon, Garret Dignam, found guilty the day before of a riot, and tarring a butcher, was, pursuant to his sentence, whipped from the Tholsel through Patrick-street, the Cross Puddle, Francis-street, and back to the Tholsel, by the way of High-street. The sheriffs Smith and Kirkpatrick, and several aldermen, attended to see the punishment duly inflicted, which was accordingly done with unexampled severity, the unhappy wretch being for the purpose tied across a car. The magistrates for security were attended not only by all the peace officers of Dublin, but also by a strong guard, consisting of a troop, composed of picked men, of Lord Drogheda's regiment of light

dragoons, and a detachment of fifty foot soldiers from the regiments in garrison.

When they came to the lower end of Francis-street, near the Cross Puddle, some stones were thrown from the mob in the rear, on which the soldiers, without any orders but the impulse of resentment, fired upon the croud upwards of twenty shots, by which one man, a poor wool-comber was killed, and three or four wounded; the sheriffs immediately interposing, a stop was put to the further effusion of blood, and the two first men that fired were taken into custody. This disturbance occasioning a halt, an account thereof was immediately sent off to the castle and the barrack, from whence, in a few minutes, strong parties arrived to reinforce the guards; no other accident, however, worth relating occurred, except the wounding of a man in the head, by a soldier, at the Tholsel, who was attempting to cross the file.

The news that the guards were firing in Francis-street spread the greatest consternation throughout the city, which would not have been diminished, if the inhabitants had known, that all the regiments of the garrison were drawn out, fully accoutred with thirty rounds of ball-cartridges in their cartouch-boxes, in the squares of the barrack. Sheriff Smith, after the execution, repaired to the barrack, and acquainted the commanding officer with the delinquency of the soldiers.

Yesterday, after three in the afternoon, the castle gates were closed, and no person suffered to enter or pass through.

— Mr. recorder made his report to his majesty, of the convicts under

der sentence of death in Newgate, viz James Stodart, John White, John Codd, Robert alias John Moore, Richard Edwards, James Shiers, Joseph Tufo, William Holmes, John Matthew Cox, John Portie, John Foreman, John Ruffer, Mary Marshall, Richard Middleton, John Shelley alias Sherley alias Sherlock, James Napier and Thomas Turner.—When James Napier, John Codd, John Shelley alias Sherley alias Sherlock, Robert alias John Moore, William Holmes, and Richard Edwards, were ordered for execution on Wednesday next, the 1st of September.

Dublin, Aug. 27. At four o'clock yesterday afternoon, the body of Condon, the woofcribler, who received his death by a musket-shot from one of the guard that attended the execution of the sentence of whipping inflicted last Tuesday, on Garret Dignam, was carried from the Liberty, through the city, accompanied by a vast concourse of people, to the cemetery at Churchtown, and there interred. The procession was throughout conducted with the greatest decency.

This morning Mr. Dowling, printer of the Volunteers Journal, Dublin, was apprehended by justice Graham, and carried before judge Robinson, who committed him to Newgate, on a charge of high treason, at the suit of the crown.

31. His royal highness the prince of Wales set out from Windsor to Brighthelmstone.

SEPTEMBER.

1. The following malefactors, convicted in July sessions, were, in pursuance of their sentence, executed on a scaffold erected for that purpose before the door of New-

gate, viz. Richard Edwards, for assaulting the hon. Keith Elphinston, near the theatre in the Haymarket, and forcibly taking from him a gold watch, gold seal, &c. Robert alias John Moore, for assaulting Mrs. Arabella Jeffreys near St. James's gate, and snatching from her head dress a cluster diamond pin; John Codd, for a street robbery on Samuel Ellison; William Holmes, for a burglary in the house of Adam Hamilton at Enfield; John Shelly alias Sherley alias Sherlock, for being concerned with others in rescuing and carrying away 350lb. of tea, which had been seized by an excise-officer; and James Napier, convicted the sessions before, for assaulting the hon. Albina Hobart, near the Opera-house, and taking from her person a diamond ear-ring, by tearing the same from her ear, but which slipped out of his hand, and fell into her handkerchief. Having attended divine service in the chapel, the unhappy men appeared on the scaffold at twenty-five minutes before seven; and after being tied up, they joined the ordinary in fervent devotion. The prayers being over, Mr. Vilette took them each by the hand, and having respectively recommended them to Almighty mercy, went off the scaffold, when John Codd gave a handkerchief to the deputy-executioner, who at the convict's desire delivered it to a person among the croud. The platform dropped a few minutes before seven, when Codd, in consequence of the noose having slipped from under the ear to the back of the neck, writhed his body and struggled near ten minutes after his fellow-sufferers appeared to be quite dead. They were stout well-made young men, the oldest not appearing to be more

more than four or five and thirty, and decently dressed. Sherlock wore a new suit of mourning.

CITY of YORK.

At the Guildhall of the said city, the first day of September, in the year of our Lord 1784, it was resolved by the mayor and commonalty of the said city,

That the thanks of this corporation here assembled be given to the right hon. Charles James Fox, the right hon. William Eden, William Jolliffe, esq. George Dempster, esq. and John Courtenay, esq. for their wise, strenuous, and patriotic opposition to the bill brought into parliament during the last session, imposing an additional duty on windows in lieu of part of the late duties on tea, which bill had been declared by the inhabitants of this city, at a general meeting, to be extremely impolitic, partial, compulsory, oppressive, and unjust, and which now appears to this corporation to lay a heavy and peculiar burthen upon the people of this kingdom.

Resolved also, That the thanks of this corporation be given to the forty members of parliament who divided against the third reading of the said bill in the house of commons on the 10th of August last.

Resolved, that these resolutions be entered into the corporation books; that copies thereof be made and signed by the common clerk, and transmitted by him to the several gentlemen named in the first resolution, and that the same be published in both the York papers.

By order,

GEO. TOWNEND,

Common clerk of the said city.

— Last week colonel Fox, as the representative of the late lord Holland, paid into the Bank, for the use of government, the sum of

46,000l. the payment was made by a bill upon the house of Drummond.

6. This morning, about six o'clock, one hundred transports (men only) were put on board a lighter at Blackfriars-stairs, in order to be transported to America. They were attended by Mr. sheriff Pickett, Mr. Akerman, &c. who saw them properly secured; there are now left in Newgate eighty-one more, mostly women; amongst the notorious ones are one Webster, who has been transported three times before; and Hopping Dick, who has been capitally convicted twice before.

— The nobleman's carriage lately tarred and feathered by the Dublin mob, is said to have belonged to lord Muskerry. It was the beautiful and magnificent coach not long since sent over by Hatchet.

The quarrel with lord Muskerry is not on any political or personal ground, but merely the offence his carriage has given the non-importation agreement: the agreement, by the bye, did not take place till two months after the coach was landed in Dublin; so that here is disorder not more full of absurdity than barbarism.

Extract of a letter from Plymouth, Sept. 7.

Last Thursday morning, at ten o'clock, the remains of sir Eyre Coote, K. B. were landed at the Jetty Head, in the dock-yard, the Bombay Castle firing 21 minute guns. The corps of marines formed a line to the dock-gates. Drums beating a point of war, colours flying, music playing a solemn dirge. The officers saluted the hearse as it passed them. In Fore-street, two companies of royal artillery, the 39th and 40th regiments of foot, received

ceived the body, forming themselves into divisions of six abreast; the grenadiers and light infantry taking the lead. They then proceeded through the towns of Dock, Store-house and Plymouth, through the Glacis to the gates of the citadel, where the lieutenant-governor, Campbell, received the body with every mark of respect. The two battalions and artillery formed on the parade, before the governor's house; the grenadiers and light infantry, in four divisions, escorted the hearse to the chapel, the troops presenting their arms; the drums beating and music playing, 19 minute guns were fired during this ceremony, and the body was deposited in the chapel with great solemnity and respect. The numerous crowds of spectators which attended, testified their regard to the memory of so great a man.

7. This night's gazette contains an address to his majesty from the freeholders of the county of Meath, in Ireland, in which they say, that they see with concern and indignation the public peace disturbed, and the government insulted, by the intemperance of some misguided persons in the city of Dublin, and are happy in declaring to his majesty, that the tranquillity of that county has been preserved without interruption, and that they will, in their several capacities, use every exertion to maintain and cultivate a disposition to good order, an obedience to the laws, and a respect for the legislature, as the best securities of their properties, freedom, and religion.

*Extract of a letter from Dublin,
Sept. 10.*

The consequences of the attempt made a few days ago by the military to rescue one of their officers, confined for debt, have turned out

to be much more melancholy than the public were at first taught to believe. The following are the particulars of that unfortunate affray. Captain Palliser, of the 9th dragoons, was arrested and carried to a lock-up house, where he was safely lodged: a woman, whom he kept, called together out of their beds, a number of the privates of the regiment; and after giving them a great quantity of spirituous liquors, she excited them to go and rescue her paramour. The men readily undertook the business, heated as they were with spirits, and perhaps not a little prompted to it by affection for their officer. The sheriff's officer's house was at the end of a little narrow court; from this circumstance it was more dangerous to approach it in hostile array, and the more easy to repel an attack: the dragoons, however, attacked it with great violence; but were repulsed with three discharges of a blunderbuss, loaded with flugs. One man was left dead upon the spot; three more were wounded in such a manner that they died a few hours after; five more were carried to the Royal Infirmary, and of two of them the surgeons have despaired; many others were wounded in the legs, breasts, and arms. The reason that so many were wounded was, that the place being narrow, and the shot flying in various directions, almost every flug told; so that scarcely one of the dragoons escaped unhurt. Soon after the affray, captain Palliser was removed to New Prison for greater security. The whole of the regiment had been ordered into country quarters some time before the above melancholy affair; and two troops had actually marched out of town; the other two were to have followed them as

on the second day after the riot; but as soon as the news of the affray reached the Castle, they were ordered to march at an hour's notice; and an express was dispatched for lord Drogheda's light-horse (the 18th dragoons) to speed to Dublin to replace them: the 18th is actually arrived.

11. This night's gazette contains an address to the king from the mayor, sheriffs, and grand jury of the county of the town of Carrickfergus, thanking his majesty for the restoration of their rights and privileges to the kingdom of Ireland, and expressive of their loyalty and attachment to his majesty's person and government, and their sorrow and indignation at the late tumults in Dublin.

Ennis, Sept. 13. This morning a duel was fought near Tubber, in the county of Galway, between J. Boucher and R. Evans, esqrs. Mr. Evans took the first shot, and lodged his ball in Mr. Boucher's groin, who, with the greatest coolness, (though it is feared mortally wounded) preserved his ground, and returned the fire, wounding his antagonist in the belly, and it is thought equally dangerous; the seconds now interfering, put an end to this melancholy affair.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, Sept. 14.

About two o'clock on Sunday last, an account was received at the Barrack, that a soldier belonging to the 26th foot, was lying on the Circular Road, houghed in a dreadful manner; a serjeant and a guard were immediately dispatched to his assistance, and found him in the state described, with two contusions on his head; on enquiry, he said, that he was attacked by three villains, who knocked him down, and then houghed him. During the

time the soldiers were preparing means to have their wounded companion carried to the hospital, the serjeant tracked the blood about twenty yards, and at some distance found a knife bloody; this he put in his pocket, without further notice till he arrived at the Barrack, when he desired the soldiers of the mess to which the wounded man belonged to prepare their mess knives; behold here was one missing: he asked them if they would know the knife, they said they must know it well; on which he produced the one found, and they declared it belonged to their companion. Suspicions now arising that the deed had been done by himself, he was brought to a court-martial, and tried, and the evidence appearing very strong against him, he confessed the fact, and was sentenced to receive 500 lashes before he was discharged.

About three o'clock this morning was received the melancholy intelligence of the death of Richard Evans, esq. in consequence of the wound he received in the late duel. He was a gentleman of the strictest integrity and most unblemished character; as a friend, was sanguine and sincere; and as an acquaintance, safe and agreeable. His death is most universally lamented.

— The remains of general sir Eyre Coote were brought in great funeral pomp from Plymouth, to be interred at Rockburne, in Hants. Col. Boyd, the hon. gen. Bathurst, the hon. Mr. Bulkeley, sir Edward Hulse bart., col. Owen, col. Hulse, major Coote, major Bromley, capt. Hutchinson, with the principal gentlemen and clergy of the neighbourhood, and the tenants of the late sir Eyre Coote, attended to pay their last tribute of respect.

15. The populace took the horses from

from the coach of the right hon. Charles James Fox, in Old-street, and substituted themselves in their places.

16. It is said that his royal highness the prince of Wales, having heard that a natural son of his late majesty king George II. was in a manner unprovided for, made an inquiry into that gentleman's situation, and having received the most convincing testimonies, that he was no impostor, has most graciously been pleased to settle on him a salary of 200l. per annum.

His late majesty George the Second had several natural children in the electorate of Hanover, who were all properly taken care of. The above gentleman, by some fortuitous circumstances, however, was totally neglected. He, at an early period, was sent on board a man of war, and served some years as a warrant officer. He afterwards was an ensign in the Hampshire militia, in which situation he continued, till a worthy character represented his case to his royal highness the prince of Wales.

17. This day came on the trial of Henry Morgan for the murder of Mr. Linton; and the jury having found him guilty, the recorder addressed him precisely in the following words:

“ Henry Morgan,

“ You have been justly convicted of the crime of murder, a crime from which nature shrinks with horror, and which in all ages and in all countries, in the sight of both God and man, hath been ever detested as a most enormous crime.

“ We have had the pain of seeing many unfortunate wretches pay their forfeited lives to the offended laws of their country, for crimes of infinitely less magnitude. Those

wretches who, like beasts of prey, go about for the purpose of rapine and destruction, to attack the properties, and, upon the least resistance, the lives of their innocent fellow-subjects, must be cut off from that country to which they have proved so dangerous, and the savageness of whose disposition exceeds the very beasts of prey themselves.

“ You stand forth a melancholy example of the dreadful consequences of a profligate and abandoned life, and of those certain steps by which the commission of one crime too frequently leads to that of others of a much deeper die. You have deprived an innocent fellow-creature of his life, actuated by no other motive than a thirst of plunder and blood, and for no other provocation than the just defence of his property. You have deprived the wife of her husband, the children of a father, and both of their protector. You have reduced an innocent family to misery and distress, and deprived them of that support, or forced them to seek it from the public, which they derived from the honest industry of the deceased. For crimes so enormous as these you can expect no mercy from those entrusted with the execution of the law.

“ Happy will it be for you, if that remorse and contrition of mind, which seemed to have led you to make a confession of your guilt, should operate so upon your wicked heart as to produce that sincere and deep repentance which alone will obtain mercy in the sight of that God before whom you are soon, very soon, to render an account.

“ After, therefore, exhorting you to make the best use of that little space of life which now re-

mains to you, it is my duty to pronounce the awful sentence of the law, which is, That you, Henry Morgan, be on Monday next hanged by the neck until you are dead, and your body be afterwards dissected and anatomized; and may the Lord have mercy upon your soul!"

20. Henry Morgan, convicted last Friday for the wilful murder of Mr. Linton, on the 7th of July, near St. Martin's lane, by stabbing him in the belly with a large case-knife, was executed on a scaffold erected before Newgate. At half past six the convict came upon the scaffold with a book in his hand, and prayed in an audible voice, and with every appearance of fervent devotion. In about a quarter of an hour the ordinary quitted the scaffold, when the malefactor, in an impassioned tone of voice, continued to repeat—"Oh, my God, forgive all my sins; Lord, have mercy upon me; Christ Jesus, receive my soul:" and while uttering these ejaculations, the platform dropped, and after a few convulsive struggles, he became motionless. A woman and a child now came upon the scaffold, and had the hand of the malefactor stroked several times upon their necks, under a notion of its removing wens. After hanging the usual time, the body was put into a shell, and carried to Surgeon's Hall, in order for dissection.

The following extraordinary particulars relating to Morgan, the murderer, may be depended upon. He made a full confession of his guilt, immediately after his trial; and, on Sunday, publicly declared he was the person who gave Mr. Linton the fatal wound, and even went afterwards with some of the

mob to see the dead body. His behaviour at chapel was attentive, and exceedingly penitent. Early on Monday morning (for he had no sleep) he repeated his contrition for the horrid fact to two prisoners in the cell with him. On going to chapel, however, previous to his execution, to receive the sacrament, he denied to Mr. Villette any knowledge of the murder or robbery; and, weeping bitterly, said he had been prevailed upon to make the former confession. On his persevering in this singular assertion, the ordinary, with great propriety, refused to administer the sacrament to him. He then ascended the scaffold, and declared repeatedly his innocence to the sheriffs, &c. On a gentleman asking him, what he thought would become of his immortal part, if he left the world with a lie in his mouth; Morgan answered, "the hottest pit in hell would be too good for such a wretch." He in his last moments continued to deny the fact, and read the Lamentation of a Sinner from the Liturgy the instant before he suffered.

The unfortunate Morgan, during his confinement in Newgate, sent several messages to an uncle, a tradesman of reputation at the west end of the town, requesting to see him; but the latter could not be prevailed on to visit the prisoner. The cause of this was, we are assured upon good authority, owing to Morgan's having repeatedly stripped his sister, a sober, modest girl, of her cloaths, &c. Being frequently ill treated by him, she sought an asylum with her uncle, who took her into his family, and employed her in the shop. In this situation Morgan sometimes visited her by stealth; and one Sunday, when

when the family were abroad, he made a proposal to her to rob her benefactor: struck with horror at such a proposition, she refused, and threatened him in the severest manner; on which he drew a knife, and attempted to cut her throat; but her cries alarmed a man who happened to be below stairs, and the villain precipitately left the house. The young woman was exceedingly afflicted at his miserable fate, and often afforded him assistance during his confinement. She was sent out of town by her relation on Saturday last in an agony of despair.

28. Dixon, the accomplice of Morgan, in the robbery and murder of the unfortunate Mr. Linton, a month or two since, in St. Martin's lane, was apprehended at the house of his father, in Lisle-street, Leicester-fields, and brought before justice Addington, at the office in Bow-street, where, on his examination, a charge was made against him of a burglary, committed in the house of Mr. Andrews, watchmaker, at Dover, on or about the 18th instant. The father was concerned with Dixon in receiving the property taken at Dover, and it was on that account that Sir Sampson Wright's officers visited his house in Lisle-street: while they were searching for the stolen goods in a dark closet, which the mother endeavoured to keep them from looking into, they felt the face of a man, and upon their forcing him from his hiding place, it appeared to be Dixon, after whom they had long been in pursuit. The father is in Dover gaol, having been apprehended at the Ship inn, in that town, on suspicion of being concerned in the burglary; a part of the goods, stolen from Mr. An-

drews, were found upon him; and last night the sister of Dixon, a decent well-looking girl, was committed to New Prison for farther examination. The mother made her escape; but Dixon will himself be re-examined on Friday. He yesterday evening asserted, that Morgan and he were both innocent of the murder of Mr. Linton.

— This evening the tragedy of Zara, and the farce of Catherine and Petruchio, were acted at Covent-garden-theatre for the benefit of Mrs. Linton and her family. The night was very profitable to the objects to whom this consolation was meant to be imparted. The number of tickets distributed previous to the night exceeded all precedent. Above six thousand were out in the hands of different partizans. The receipts of the house were 320l. and the presents made an addition of almost twice as much more. The players, according to their usual munificence, and, to do them justice, on such occasions no order of men are more munificent, all were volunteers, and gave up their night's pay.

— The house of Edmund Burke, esq. of Beaconsfield, was broke open and robbed of a variety of plate and other articles to a considerable value. The robbers came down from London in a phaeton which they had hired in Oxford-road. They broke open a field-gate at the side of the road, opposite the avenue which leads up through the lawn to the back of the house, and there the horses and phaeton were left in a corner of the field, as appeared by the marks of the wheels, the horses, and the men. At about one, it is supposed, they came up to the house, and having passed the left wing on the

rear, they took their stand under a pear-tree, in the corner, where, by the grass being much trodden, it may be conjectured they stood about an hour. Mr. Burke was in town, but Mrs. Burke and the rest of the family were at home. Mrs. Burke's maid was looking out of the window, it being a remarkable clear night, until half past one o'clock, but heard no noise, nor saw any appearance of robbers. Soon after she retired. From the circumstances of the case, it must be, those fellows came round to the front of the house, and cutting a hole in the glass, and then through the window in the area, they pushed back the bolt, and got in. They proceeded only to the place where the plate in daily use was kept; the rest was in an iron chest, in the butler's pantry, and where young Mr. Burke's man slept. Having got about 150*l.* worth, as may be calculated from the number of ounces, they packed it up, and retreated with their booty. They left behind them a match and tinder box, a sack, a wax taper, a fashionable cane, and an iron instrument for forcing window-shutters. They also left a tea canister, which they carried out of the house; but they broke it open, and took out of it all the tea. The time in which this business was accomplished, was about three quarters of an hour; for a little before three, some of the labourers were up about the house, but the burglary was not discovered until near six o'clock. A pursuit was instantly set on foot, but no certain traces could be discovered which road they took; and as there was no account at the turnpikes, it is probable they proceeded through the bye-roads, which lead from Beaconsfield to Watford,

and so across the common to Harrow, from Harrow to the New Road, where the turnpikes are open all night, and along the New Road across Ilington, into Moorfields, and from thence into Duke's Place, where in all probability the whole has been melted down by the gang. The plan for this robbery must have been a very regular concerted scheme, and the robbers must have had an accomplice perfectly acquainted with the house; somebody perhaps who lived in the family, and had been discharged; at least it is so suspected.

29. According to ancient custom, a common hall was held at Guildhall for the election of a lord-mayor, for the ensuing year. At one o'clock the lord mayor, the aldermen Alfop, Crosby, Sawbridge, Hallifax, Plomer, Wilkes, Boydell, Newnham, Clark, Wright, Gill, Pickett, Sanderson, Kitchen, Watson, Bates, Hopkins, Lewis, and Burnell, attended divine service at St. Lawrence's church.

Upon their return to the hustings, the common hall was opened with the usual solemnities, and was filled with at least fifteen hundred liverymen. All the aldermen below the chair, who had served the office of sheriff (except Hart and Pugh, who yesterday resigned their gowns) were put in nomination; but aldermen Clark and Wright being the gentlemen in rotation for the office, were unanimously returned to the court of aldermen.

30. Died, at his house in Bermondsey, in Surry, Richard Russell, esq. in the commission of the peace for that county. He died a bachelor, and has left, among other legacies, 3000*l.* to the Magdalene hospital; 3000*l.* to the Small-pox hos-

hospital; 3000l. to the Lying-inn hospital near Westminster-bridge; 500l. to the Surry Dispensary; 2000l. for a monument to be erected in St. John's church, Southwark; 50l. each to six young women to attend as pall-bearers on the night of his interment; 20l. each to four other young women, who are to precede his corpse, and strew flowers, whilst the Dead March in Saul is to be played by the organist of St. John's; 100l. to the reverend Mr. Grose to write his epitaph. This sum had been first left to Dr. Samuel Johnson, but altered by a codicil in favour of the reverend Mr. Grose. All the rest of his property, after sale of his estates, to the Asylum for young girls in Lambeth parish; which, it is supposed, will amount to 15 or 16,000l. after all the legacies and funeral charges are defrayed. Eight of the acting magistrates in Surry are requested in his will to attend his funeral; and his executors are Sir Joseph Mawbey, bart. Samuel Gillingham, Thomas Bell, and William Leavis, esqrs.

We also learn, that he has left 100l. to be given away, on the morning of his interment, in bread and meat to the poor of St. John's parish in Southwark. He has also left 100l. to the charity school of St. John's, and the like sum to the charity school of Bermondsey.

The six young women who are to attend his funeral as pall-bearers, and the four others to strew flowers before his corpse, are to be spinners, and of good character and reputation.

He has left four guineas to be paid yearly to the sexton of St. John's parish, to keep his monument clean; and has directed his picture shall be placed in the com-

mittee-room of the Asylum, and his will to be read there once in every year, for which the secretary is to have an annual gratuity.

Five hundred pounds are to be spent on his funeral, exclusive of the sums left to the young maidens, which he expressly declares shall not be considered as part of the charges of his funeral.

He has directed his body to be moved to a more convenient place than his own house, previous to the funeral procession; in consequence of which the body will lie in state in the Great Room at Union-hall, in Union-street, Southwark; from whence it is to be carried for interment in St. John's church, on Tuesday se'nnight in the evening.

He has left 100l. each to three or four friends, but has not mentioned the name of any one of his relations, one of whom, Miss Russell, an amiable young girl, in poor circumstances in Southwark, we are glad to hear, has been appointed a pall-bearer by his executors. His other relations are said to live in Staffordshire, and at Birmingham.

Mr. Russell was formerly a wooll-stapler, but had relinquished business; he was 61 years of age at the time of his death.

O C T O B E R.

City of Gloucester, } At a com-
To wit. } mon coun-
cil house, held at the Tolsey, in
the said city, on Friday the first of
October, in the 24th year of the
reign of our sovereign lord George
the Third, by the grace of God of
Great Britain, France, and Ire-
land, king, defender of the faith,
and so forth, and in the year of our
Lord, 1784.

Resolved unanimously,

That the honourable Thomas Erskine, barrister at law, be presented with the freedom of this city, as a testimony of the approbation of this corporation of his zeal, abilities, and spirit, with which he defended the rights or juries in the late trial of the dean of St. Asaph, at Shrewsbury, for a libel; and that the same be communicated to him by the right hon. the mayor of this city, and also published in such public papers as the mayor shall think proper.

2. A wardmote was held at Innholders' hall, in Elbow-lane, before the right honourable the lord mayor, for the election of an alderman for the ward of Dowgate, in the room of John Hart, esq. who resigned his gown last Wednesday, when Paul Le Mesurier, esq. a merchant in Walbrook, and member for Southwark, was unanimously chosen.

— The right honourable the lord mayor held a wardmote at Bakers' hall, in Harp-lane, Tower-street, for the election of an alderman of Tower ward, in the room of Evan Pugh, esq. resigned, when Richard Atkinson, esq. merchant, of Fenchurch-street, was chosen without opposition.

8. The unhappy anecdote of the banking-house and their clerk, which is now so much the topic, is in its principal circumstances as follows. Some months since a main portion of the account was found to be disordered; the bill-book was blotted, defaced, and mutilated: and at the same time a deficiency was discovered in the general balance to the amount of a thousand pounds. The consequence of this, as might be expected, was much

uneasiness, and much serious enquiry and animadversion; the books were again and again examined; the clerks together and separately put to the test; but without any effect: not a single observation transpired that could bring the commission home to any one. Of course, suspicion fell on many, and all were very narrowly watched. Not long after, there was another loss from the cash account of twenty pounds, and the day after, the bill book was again defaced and torn. The examination of the clerks proved again as fruitless as before. The twenty pounds bank bill was however traced, from hand to hand, till it was found to have come from a broker in Moorfields, who said he received it in payment for an old bureau, giving sixteen pounds in change; and, what was extraordinary, the gentleman had not since been heard of, nor his bureau, that he had paid for, been sent for. The description the broker gave of the gentleman who had been his customer, was precise, and agreed precisely with one of the banker's clerks. This clue being given, other circumstantial proof was led to; and after some deliberation, Mr. Payne, the bank-director, in the absence of the principal partners, was applied to, and a consultation held with sir Sampson Wright; the result of which was, that the party suspected should be taken in custody: this was done directly, and with that address and contrivance which the event shewed to be necessary. For, on seizing the delinquent, there were found upon him two brace of pistols loaded; there was also secreted under his coat sleeve a small bottle of poison. The conclusion of this event is not the least extraordinary part of it;

as it appeared that the money was all invested in other names in the funds; from which it happens that the loss of the *Mass. D.* will be next to nothing.

— A few days ago two very fine young Arabs, a horse and a mare, were presented to his majesty from Mr. Hastings. They were brought from Bengal in the *Atlas* and *Besborough* East-Indiamen.

7. This evening, about six o'clock, as some boys were diverting themselves with throwing squibs round a small bonfire in Duke's Place, it being a kind of holiday among the Jews, a person who keeps a coffee-house near the place being much exasperated at their behaviour, took a loaded blunderbuss and fired among them from a one pair of stairs window, whereby one boy was instantly shot dead, two others mortally wounded, besides three more; after which he came down with a drawn cut-throat, but being overpowered, was secured and lodged in the Poultry compter.—He was brought before the sitting magistrates yesterday, and recommitted for examination on Wednesday next.

10. This morning another of the boys which was shot on Thursday night in Duke's Place, died in Bartholomew's hospital.

12. Mr. Barrett, organist, at Northampton, having proposed it to a worthy baronet and clergyman, to have a publick breakfast and concert at the George-Inn in Northampton, for the benefit of Mrs. Linton, the hint was carried into practice, and the concert was supported by the nobility and gentry of the town and county of Northampton, under the direction of Mr. Barrett. The produce of the benefit was twenty-three pounds, twelve shillings and six-pence;

which Mrs. Linton received a draft for, by the hand of Mr. Blake, who generously performed a fortnight at Mr. Colman's theatre, in the place of her deceased husband, and allowed her the salary. The vacancy in the band was then filled up, or Mr. Blake would have performed gratis for Mrs. Linton during the remainder of the season.

To state such instances of goodness and generosity to her and her infant family, Mrs. Linton holds it to be not less her duty, than to speak her sincere gratitude to her kind benefactors; she begs all the parties, therefore, to accept her most warm acknowledgments, and to rest assured, that a due sense of the great obligations bestowed upon her by those benevolent souls, who have exerted themselves for the humane purpose of lightening the heavy load of misfortune, that so suddenly overwhelmed her, and her little ones, shall cease only with her existence.

MARY LINTON.

No. 26, Porter-street,

Oct. 11, 1784.

13. David Batty was committed to Newgate by George Reid, esq. charged on the oath of the right hon. Charles James Fox, on suspicion of privately and feloniously stealing from his person a gold repeating watch, and two gold seals, a pair of spectacles, and a tooth-pick case, his property.

19. The Union Hall having been refused by the trustees of that building, the corpse of the late Richard Ruffel, esq. lay in state at his late house in Bermondsey-street, from whence it was removed in the following manner:

Staff men to clear the way.

Constables with hatbands.

(E 4)

A mourn-

A mourning coach and four with the four young ladies to strew the flowers, all drest in white filk, with nosegays and flower baskets on their arms.

The plume of feathers supported.

A hearse and six with the body properly clothed and drest with feathers, velvets, escutcheons, flags, &c.

A coach and four with two of the pall-bearers, (females) dressed in black farfenet with white gloves, scarves, hoods, and fans, and nosegays in the right hand.

A ditto with two ditto.

A ditto with two ditto.

A mourning coach and four with three clergymen, viz. rev. Mr. Pinnock, rector of St. John's, rev. Mr. Abdy, curate of St. John's, and the rev. Mr. Grose.

Six other mourning coaches and four with two friends of the deceased in each.

The procession set off at twelve o'clock, and moved slowly, partly from the *etiquette*, and partly from the number of people assembled up Bermondsey-street, Tooley-street, and Fair-street, Horsleydown, to the front gate of the church, where it arrived a quarter before one.

When they arrived, the concourse of people within and without the church-yard was so great, that the young ladies, strewers, were obliged to be carried through the croud into the church, and when the corpse was taken out of the hearse (with great difficulty) the men, ten in number, were near falling down under its weight, before a passage could be cleared to get it to the church. No pall could be put on, and the pall-bearers (ladies) were with great hazard, and in a very trembling condition, got safe to the same

place. The clergy and mourners, the latter particularly, met with as indifferent a reception. The feathers could not be borne before the body; nor was the path strewed, but with hisses, groans, throwing of dirt, and other missile weapons; at length it was placed on the trestles of the middle aisle, and the flower strewers, pall-bearers, mourners, &c. at length arranged, the organ struck up a funeral dirge, but so great was the noise, that nothing distinct could be heard. The curate then read the burial service, not a syllable of which could be heard, owing to a confusion of mock sighs, groans, &c. all in contempt to the deceased. The first service being finished, the body was then borne to the vault below the church, and there deposited in a stone case which had been provided for its reception on the pavement, about the centre of the gloomy mansion.

The after service here was not a little interrupted also from the noise without.

So thronged a church was, perhaps, hardly ever seen before in this metropolis; and so great a disturbance at a ceremony usually solemn has occurred but seldom. The young ladies at the funeral appeared nearly as dead as the corpse they were attending, though their dress, in which there was a perfect uniformity, added a great lustre to their pallid charms. The clergy were never, perhaps, sweated before on such an occasion; and the church was so intensely hot, though the windows were all open, that ladies and gentlemen fainted away, among which last were two of the mourners, who were brought out of church, and conveyed into the vestry.

When

When the funeral was ended, the attendants with difficulty were put into their coaches, and arrived back at the late deceased's house about three o'clock.

The outer coffin was of walnut-tree, rubbed very bright, with silver plate-handles, and other ornaments; the body was dressed in linen, and the lid so contrived as to shut close without screws.

The pulpit and desk of the church were hung with black and escutcheons, as was also the front of the organ loft.

The funeral sermon to be preached by the rev. Mr. Pinnock, rector of St. John's, and librarian at the British Museum, on Sunday morning next.

Previous to the procession setting out, the effigy of the deceased, with a label on its breast, was hung on a gallows before his own door, and such distinguished marks of indignity shewn as happen but seldom.

Mr. Russel's own father was buried at St. Mary Magdalen's, Bermondsey, a few years ago, when some such severe marks of similar indignation were used, which occasioned his orders to change the place of his otherwise intended burial.

The ladies, supporters of Mr. Russel's pall, were:

Proposed by sir Joseph Mawbey, bart.

Miss Jones, Miss Dundas.

By Samuel Gillam, esq.

Miss Sally Russell, Miss Leavis.

By Thomas Bell, esq.

Miss Valley.

By William Leavis, esq.

Miss Leavis, sen.

Whatever other objection there may be to parts of Mr. Russell's will, that which relates to the bequests to ten young ladies, meets

with general approbation; each pall-bearer will receive in money and cloaths, in value about seventy pounds; and each strewer of flowers upwards of thirty; which sums may be extremely convenient to the young maidens, and contribute probably to the future happiness of life. All the young ladies are said to be pretty; but two of the number, Miss Russel, of Mill-street, (a cousin of the testator) and Miss Jones, of Tooley-street, are esteemed to be extremely beautiful.

The executors, Sir Joseph Mawbey, bart. Samuel Gillam, Thomas Bell, and William Leavis, esq. attended the funeral, at the express desire of Mr. Russel himself. The eight justices who accompanied them are said to have been Samuel Swabey, Isaac Stapleton (who has a legacy of 100l.) John Levy, William Winter, Thomas James, James Bulcock, Jonathan Stonard, and William Hill, esqrs. acting magistrates in East Brixton division.

Some doubts have arisen respecting parts of his real estate. It is said, part by his father's will, goes among the children of his uncle Thomas Russell, one of whom, a son, is now living, and has a family in Staffordshire. Miss Russell is the daughter of another, and there is also another daughter of a third, who lives at Birmingham. It is also said they will dispute the will on the ground of the statute of mortmain, contending, that the ordering of his estate to be sold, and the money to be given to the Asylum, was a measure originating in a wish to evade that statute, and therefore subject to reversal by a court of equity. The will was made in April last.

— The attempted sale of lord
Fox

Foley's advowsons, nine of which were a week or two since put up by auction, is likely to become not a little beneficial to Westminster-hall. The case is to this effect: the livings in question were advertised in the usual way, put up, and sold, at the rate of two or three years purchase. Lord Foley being the seller, immediately there were objections made to the sale, both by the trustees under the late lord's will, and by the creditors of the present lord: the first of whom alleged, that his lordship was barred by the will from making any alienation of the property in fee; the latter contend, that if his lordship be not thus barred, any beneficial interest of which he may be seized, inevitably devolves during his life to them: and in this awkward predicament the affairs for the present stand.

Extract of a letter from Cashel, Oct. 19.

On Saturday last an order of government was received for the army to assist in putting Mr. Collins, of Clonmel, in possession of a farm of Mr. English, (Ballynukka); in consequence of which the two companies in our barracks marched to dispossess some desperadoes, who, however, notwithstanding the smallness of their number (only nine, we are told) repulsed the entire two companies, with above one hundred gentlemen; killed three of the soldiers, wounded the surgeon and seventeen privates, one of whom has lost a leg, another his arm; and sustained no loss themselves, being strongly fortified in an unprecedented manner, having coverts formed under ground, arched over, and covered with ten feet of earth, but thinner in some parts, for the convenience of firing through; the

passage to the garrison is above a hundred yards in length, and contrived so as to admit only one person at a time, who must advance on all-fours; several trenches are also thrown up at certain distances, which communicate with the passage; in short, nothing but starving them can be of any avail, as all the artillery in the kingdom could have no effect: they are amply supplied with powder and ball, and have some live cattle in the garrison. Collins talks of proceeding against them by mine. They took, after the repulse, a drum and twelve stands of arms belonging to the assailants.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, Sept. 21.

Monday came on in the court of king's-bench the trial of Mr. Benjamin Matthews, for killing Rourke and Drury, two dragoons of the 9th regiment, who attempted with several others, to rescue captain Pallier, who was in custody for debt, when, after a trial of some hours, the jury brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide, or manslaughter.

21. At the sessions at the Old Baily, which began yesterday, William Murrow was indicted for stealing a bag, containing 1000 l. and sundry other sums of money, the property of Messrs. Drummond and Co. bankers. He was convicted on his own confession and other corroborating circumstances, for it did come out by what means he got at the bag, which it appeared was kept in an iron chest in the strong room, at the keys of which every clerk in the office had free access in the way of business. His salary with the perquisites did not exceed 90 l. a year, and of this he had only been in possession since 1782; previous

to that period he had only 60*l.* a year; yet Mr. Pygot, the stock-broker, had purchased for him 50*l.* stock in August 1783, in the 3 per cents consols; on the 3d of October 1783 purchased 50*l.* on the 27th of April 1784 purchased 250*l.*; on the 23d of July purchased 70*l.* Mr. Wright had purchased for him 525*l.* 4 per cents. on the 3d of June 1784; 264*l.* 10*s.* 4 per cents. on the 3d of July 1784; 262*l.* 10*s.* on the 7th of September 1784. When the prisoner brought the first 400*l.* he said he had received 200*l.* from a friend in the country, the other 200*l.* he had saved from his salary. When he brought the next 200*l.* he said he had part from a lady at Lancaster, the other part he had raised by selling part out of the 3 per cents. The third sum, he said, from the sale of all his 3 per cent. stock.—His counsel did not deny the fact; but endeavoured to prove him at times insane; but lord Loughborough, before whom he was tried, observed, that if a man was deprived of his reason, he was certainly an object of compassion, not of punishment; but here was a regular plan, a habit with too much method to be compatible with the plea set up. Singularity of conduct gives no protection. The jury found him guilty, but recommended him to mercy.

22. At the sessions at the Old Baily, Joseph Ridout was tried for the murder of Moses Lazarus, a boy of 13 years of age, whom he killed on the 7th instant in Duke's place, by firing a carbine among the people who surrounded his house. A number of witnesses, some Jews, some Christians, were brought to prove, what was not denied by the prisoner, that he was the person who fired the carbine by

which the boy was killed. Of all the witnesses for the crown, two only proved any thing that could affect the prisoner's life. One of them swore that, speaking of the approaching festival, when the Jews were to celebrate the anniversary of the promulgation of their law, he had threatened that, if they proceeded as they usually had done, on the like occasion, to assemble riotously to throw serpents and crackers, to the great annoyance of their neighbours, instead of applying to the civil magistrate, he had fire-arms in his house, and would give the Jews the contents of them. The other witnesses swore to the same effect; but both being of suspicious characters, little credit was given to their evidence.

The prisoner, in his defence, proved, that having observed the Jews to assemble as usual on the 7th instant, and that men, not boys, began to throw serpents, squibs, and crackers, he applied to the civil magistrate; that he had assisted the constable of the parish in the execution of his duty; that he had been thrown in the kennel; that several men got about him, while others were dragging him along the kennel by the legs; that it was with difficulty he escaped from them with life; and that they followed him with groans and hisses to his house, which they forcibly endeavoured to enter, threatening at the same time to put him to death; that he was grievously hurt and wounded; and that he called to them in vain to disperse. These facts being all fully proved, lord Loughborough, who tried the prisoner observed, that if a person assaulted finds himself in a situation in which a man of firmness would have reasonable cause to apprehend

the

the destruction of his property, or the loss of his life, and under that apprehension slays the aggressor, the law will not say that in killing him he had committed either murder or manslaughter, but that he killed him in his own defence.

Having thus explained the law, his lordship left the case to the decision of the jury, who, without a minute's hesitation, acquitted the prisoner, and he was instantly set at liberty.

— Alexander Dixon was tried on Friday at the Old Bailey, for the murder of Mr. Linton. The counsel for the prosecution did not attempt to prove that the prisoner was the person who actually stabbed the deceased; but they charged him with having aided and abetted Morgan, who was lately executed, in giving Mr. Linton the wound of which he died. The evidence of guilt in the prisoner, with respect to the murder, was only presumptive. When the officers of justice took him, there were marks of blood upon his cloaths, which they had reason to presume he had been endeavouring to wash out, for the cloaths were wet in many places, which appeared to have been stained with blood; and there was water in a basin under the prisoner's bed, that seemed to be tinged with blood. While the prisoner was in Bridewell, Morgan, who was since hanged on his own confession, went to see Dixon, in company with the mother of the latter; and in the room where the prisoner was confined, his mother was heard to say to him, "Be of good cheer, for Morgan has cleared you, and has declared his readiness to relate all the particulars of the murder, and the names of his accomplices; and, as he says, you were not of the

number, you have nothing to fear;" upon which he abused his mother, and told her, the best way to serve him was to hold her tongue; he then turned to Morgan, and cautioned him to disclose nothing about the murder.

The prisoner's defence was an *alibi*, which he substantiated as far as a positive oath could do it; but the witness who swore, was an old friend of the prisoner, of Morgan, and a number of such other persons: so that had he had nothing to depend upon, but his own defence, he must inevitably have been convicted. But the recorder observing, that the indictment was not supported by very strong evidence, the circumstance that happened in Bridewell having been proved by a person of just as respectable a character and profession, as was the man who proved the *alibi*, and the prosecution resting on very light and obscure grounds: the jury pronounced the prisoner, *Not Guilty*.

The recorder said he approved of the verdict; but he found it necessary to warn the prisoner to quit his evil ways; for if he should ever be convicted of a capital offence, there were circumstances in the defence which he had that day ventured to set up, which would be remembered, and ought to point him out as an object totally undeserving of mercy; intimating, that there had been in the present case subornation of perjury. The prisoner was next indicted for robbing Mr. Linton; but as the proofs of the robbery were not stronger than those of the murder, the court did not go into a second trial; but directed the jury to acquit him. He was not, however, set at liberty, as a detainer was lodged against him

for a burglary committed at Dover, whither he is to be sent for trial.

23. Lord Loughborough, lord chief justice of the common pleas, in conjunction with the recorder of London, who do the Old-Bailey business this sessions, were on Saturday moved by Mr. counsellor Chetwood, in behalf of captain Kenneth Mackenzie, who stands charged with the wilful murder of a private man at Cape Coast, on the coast of Africa, in order to his being tried, bailed, or discharged. The application to the court was on the ground of the hardships the captain sustained by the prosecution, not having brought over his witnesses when they brought over the witnesses for the crown. The nature of the persons the captain had to deal with, whom he took to Cape Coast, viz. capital felon convicts who had received his majesty's mercy on condition of transportation for life, among whom was that well-known desperado, Patrick Madan, and the deceased, who had three times received his majesty's mercy. That they had bored a hole in the hull of the ship in order to sink her, with other acts of desperation, and that the act of the prisoner was an act of necessity. That the vessel sent out for the captain's witnesses was not returned, and in all human probability never might, and therefore he prayed he might be tried, bailed, or discharged.

The court in answer said, that it certainly was a peculiar misfortune to the prisoner to labour under such difficulties. With regard to the facts this was not the time to investigate them, and with respect to the ship having been sent out for the captain's witnesses, it was done by an order of government at the captain's request. That he was at liberty to go to trial if he pleased,

and would venture it without the witnesses he had sent for, but with regard to discharging, the court could not do that. With respect to bailing, the attorney-general, who was out of town, had not been served with any notice, and it would be highly indecent to do it either without his consent, or without his knowledge, if the court was competent to it; but they were of opinion the court of king's bench must be applied to, as was done in the case of captain David Roache, who had killed a man at the Cape of Good Hope, and who had applied to the sessions of Oyer and Terminer to be tried, bailed, or discharged, but who was referred to the court of king's bench, where he was afterwards bailed. The motion therefore fell of course, and captain Mackenzie ordered to remain still in Newgate.

24. A funeral sermon was preached at St. John's church, Horsleydown, Southwark, after the morning service, by the rev. William Jarvis Abdy, curate of the parish, on the death of the late Richard Ruffel, esq. who was interred there on Thursday last with such uncommon funeral riot. The text was taken from the book of Ecclesiastes, chapter the last, verse 7. "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God that gave it." The subject consisted wholly of the brevity and uncertainty of human life, and the certainty of death and eternity. Very little was said of the deceased, so that it was a funeral oration that might have served any body; or rather a discourse upon death that may be applied to every man living. After the sermon an anthem was sung suitable to the discourse which had been read. The church was remarkably crowded, inasmuch that

that many of the parishioners could scarce get to their pews. Neither the basket virgins, pall-bearers, mourners, nor any of the relations or friends of Mr. Ruffel were present. The hangings of the pulpit and desk, which had been pulled down on the day of the funeral, were restored.

25. The name of a certain colonel, who stands charged with many offences during his government on the coast of Africa, was lately, by orders from above, struck off the army list.

Authentic letters from Ostend mention, that lieut. col. Joseph Wall, who was some time since advertised in the Gazette, in consequence of being charged with murder during his residence at Goree, was lately married there to Miss Catherine M'Kenzie, a young lady of great beauty and merit, descended from a noble family. The new-married couple, as the above advices inform us, set off a few days after for Pisa, in Italy.

— Sunday night about twelve o'clock two men in a hackney coach went over Blackfriars-bridge; as soon as they came to the toll-gate the coachman stopped for them to pay the toll, which they refused, and damned the coachman, and bid him drive on, which he refused; on which they jumped out of the coach, snatched the staff out of the man's hand that kept the bar (John Pell) and beat him in so cruel a manner, that he died this morning.

26. This night's gazette contains the addresses of the lord-mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of Dublin; and from the foreman and grand jury of the quarter session, held at Kilmainham, in Ireland, on Tuesday the 5th instant.

27. On the inquisition taken before the coroner for the county of

Surry, relative to the unhappy circumstances of the murder of the watchman on Blackfriars bridge, a few nights ago, the following account was given:—"That the two gentlemen, who were principals in the affair had spent their evening at the Circus coffee house, in St. George's-fields, in company with a friend, where they drank very freely; and on going home they ordered a coach, which coming to the door, two of them jumped in, and the third hastily mounted the box, and insisted on driving them; the coachman remonstrated, but without effect, and they drove on, leaving him to follow them. He ran after the coach, and got up behind. On coming to the toll-house the coach was driven through the gate without discharging the toll; on which the coachman got down and paid it. An outcry had been raised by the toll-men at the gate, that the coachman had not paid the toll, and the watchman, who was stationed half way over the bridge, on its approach endeavoured to stop it; upon which the gentlemen got out, and some angry words passed on each side, when the watchman told them "they could not be gentlemen, to endeavour to bilk the bridge of the toll;" upon which a scuffle ensued, and one of the gentlemen, which it does not appear, forcibly took the watchman's staff from him, and gave him the fatal blow on the head, which put an end to his existence. They then drove on, not apprehending the fatal consequences, and arrived in Red Lion-street, Wapping, the place of residence of the two principals, where they were set down; but a trifling dispute arose between them and the coachman, who it was thought insisted on more than his fare. The next day they were alarmed with the

the news of the watchman's being dead, and, for fear of the consequences, it became necessary to secrete themselves, until the coroner's inquest could be summoned, who, on Wednesday last, after an examination of witnesses, which lasted from ten in the morning until eight at night, brought in a verdict of wilful murder.

It may be very necessary to add, that it did not appear the person who drove the coach moved from his seat during the whole of the unhappy affair.

Immediately on the coroner's verdict being known, the parties absconded.

— A very melancholy and most uncommon accident happened last week at a village near Highgate. Miss G. a young lady of fortune, being thwarted by her friends in her affections for a deserving man, shot herself with a pistol. The ball passed through her brain, and she died in an instant.

30. A respectable tradesman in Wapping was brought before the right honourable the lord mayor, by Mr. Miller, the city marshal, in order to give some information of the persons concerned in the murder of the watchman on Blackfriars-bridge, on Sunday se'nnight; but as the inquisition had been taken in Surry, his lordship directed Mr. Miller to conduct him to a magistrate of that district, before whom he gave so full and candid an information, on oath, as must inevitably be a means of soon bringing the perpetrators of so infamous a transaction to condign punishment.

N O V E M B E R.

1. Alexander Dixon was removed by habeas corpus to take his

trial at the session for the town and port of Dover, which began yesterday, to a charge against him of burglariously breaking and entering the dwelling-house of Thomas Andrews, at Dover, and stealing several gold and silver watches, plate, and jewellery goods.

2. His royal highness prince Edward has been upwards of two years under a military tuition, but had not yet been placed on the list of the army, till on Tuesday last, when, on the occasion of its being the anniversary of the prince's birth-day, the king, his royal father, surprised him very agreeably, by presenting to him a pair of colours of the first regiment of foot-guards, which is the first introduction of his royal highness to the public as a military officer.

— We hear from Norfolk, that his royal highness the prince of Wales was on Monday se'nnight elegantly entertained at Rainham, the seat of the right honourable lord viscount Townshend. The right honourable Charles James Fox was one of the company, whose popularity in this populous and respectable county, has, especially during the late recess, very sensibly increased. His royal highness and illustrious favourite were on the Tuesday following at Holkham, the seat of Thomas William Coke, esq. which place they left Thursday last on their return to Newmarket for the ensuing races.

— The service of plate, intended for the minister as his official perquisite, and just finished, was stolen from the house of a Mr. Hemings, in Pond-street.

The particulars of the above-mentioned event, as they have come to our knowledge, are to this effect: Mr. Hemings, who has for the most part retired from business

business, and does not concern himself with any thing but very important strokes in trade, had, according to the order given him, prepared the service of plate for Mr. Pitt, and it was all delivered to Mr. Hemings, in Bond-street, from the different workmen, on Friday or Saturday. On the evening of the following Sunday, it was all taken away again, nobody can guess by whom, and carried, nobody can tell where. The only circumstances at all appearing collaterally to be connected with this extraordinary occurrence, are as follow: that a hackney coachman has been found, who deposes that he was called off a stand in Oxford-street by three men, whom he set down towards the west end of Conduit-street; that the coach was kept for them in waiting, and that in the course of about half an hour they all three returned with bundles of a very large size, and as they seemed of great weight; that on the three men getting, thus loaded, into the coach, the man was ordered to drive to Old-street-road. That in his way thither, he was bid to stop at a house in Long-lane, where one of the men got out, and after staying a few minutes in the house, he returned, and said to the men, "We need go no farther;" on this they all got out, and the bundles were carried into the house. The time in which this happened, was at the same time that the robbery was committed, viz. between the hours of seven and nine in the evening.

The loss sustained by this incident is valued at near 3000l. sterling. As the weight was above 1200 ounces of metal, besides the workmanship of the silver, which in many of the articles must have

cost almost, if not quite as much as the intrinsic value of the plate.

Extract of a letter from Dover, dated Nov. 5.

We are happy to inform you, that at our quarter sessions of the peace, which began yesterday, Dixon, who was tried in London for the murder of Mr. Linton, was yesterday tried here for a burglary in the dwelling-house of Mr. Andrews, silversmith, in this town, on Saturday the 18th day of September last, and, after a trial which lasted two hours, was, to the satisfaction of a very numerous court, capitally convicted. He is to suffer death on Thursday next. His father, who was unknown when apprehended here, having been promised mercy, if he would discover the offender, was admitted king's evidence, and was examined against his own son. Since conviction he has confessed that he held Mr. Linton whilst Morgan stabbed him. One of those humane gentlemen, whose profession it is to save the lives of unhappy wretches at the Old Bailey, appeared as attorney for Dixon; but such was the rage of the populace, that he was obliged to sue out an habeas corpus for his safety, and bring his own body from Dover to London, being pursued for some time by the posse comitatus. By the vigilance and circumspection of Mess. Jealous and Carpmeal, of Bow-street, Mr. Andrews happily recovered the whole of his property, which consisted of the following articles:—two gold and seven silver watches, an oval silver tea caddy, a silver tea pot, a silver basin, a silver sugar basket, two silver sauce boats, six dozen of tea spoons, three dozen of table and desert spoons, seven silver salts, three half-moon

bottle

bottle lables, eight silver chains, and twelve seals; two boatswain's calls, one cream jug, one pair of plain butter ladles, one pap boat, one sugar ladle, thirty pair of fashionable silver buckles, one pepper castor, twelve new Spanish dollars, some French crowns, one pair of stone shoe-buckles, two pair of plated square-foot fluted candlesticks, three dozen of gold rings, six twist rings, six pair of gold wires, ten garnet hoop rings, eleven garnet gold broaches, and eighteen pins; three pair of stone studs, two pair of silver purse runners, and six pair of metal ditto; three lady's steel chains, one metal ditto, three lady's silk strings, and three men's ditto; four dozen of common broaches in silver, and four pair of Moco studs, with several other articles. The mother is to be tried in London as a receiver.

Extract of a letter from Dublin, Nov. 6.

The following is an instance of the alarming pitch to which public depredation is at present carried. On Thursday evening, about the hour of eight o'clock, a number of fellows, armed with pistols, &c. formed a plan to commit a robbery, which they effected in the following manner: one of them, well dressed, called a sedan chair, while another went before as footman; they went to a lady's house in Temple-street, rapped at the door, and sent in the name of a right honourable gentleman, who happened to be known to the lady; desiring to speak with her; it was accordingly desired that the gentleman should walk in: the chair was opened, and the villain, with his associates (four in number) rushed up stairs, all of them armed.

1784.

The chairmen immediately disappeared. The family consisted of the lady of the house, a young lady, a friend of her's, and a servant maid. The lady, hearing some unusual noise below, looked over the railing, and saw the villains make fast the hall door, upon which she retreated, and locked herself up in her bed-chamber; but the villains soon broke every door in the house, took what they pleased thereout, of goods and money; and during four hours (the time they remained in the house) practised every brutality on her and her friend. The youngest of the females having at length contrived to make her escape over a back wall, gave the alarm, and two of the villains being apprehended, were brought before Mr. Graham, who committed them to Kilmainham gaol; and as strict search is making after the other villains, it is hoped they will be brought to condign punishment.

6. On Saturday last Sir Joseph Lenhouse, one of the aldermen of the city of Carlisle, waited upon the right honourable William Pitt, with the freedom of that city, agreeable to an order made by the corporation, *nemine contradicente*, the 30th of last month. Mr Pitt is one of the first honorary freemen which the corporation of Carlisle have made within the last five and twenty years.

8. This morning early, the right honourable lord George Gordon, president of the Protestant Association, sent the following note to his excellency baron Van Lynden, the Dutch ambassador, who arrived on Friday from the Hague at the hotel in Suffolk-street:

“ Lord George Gordon presents his most sincere respects to the ambassador of the States General of the

(F)

United

United Provinces, and congratulates his excellency on his arrival. Lord George Gordon wishes to have the honour of an interview, as he has it in his power to be of service to the states, and begs to be informed when he may have an opportunity of waiting upon his excellency. Lord George Gordon's heart cleaves to the states of Holland; he has no intelligence that he would keep secret from them; but wishes to communicate every thing that may tend to give them the advantage over all their enemies."

Welbeck-street,
Monday, Nov. 8, 1784.

To this note the Dutch ambassador returned a most polite answer (by the bearer), appointing an immediate interview. In consequence of which condescension, lord George Gordon had the honour of entering into a private conference with his excellency, which lasted above two hours. From all that transpires, we have reason to believe they were quite cordial together.

Brussels, Nov. 8. Accounts have been received here, that last night the Dutch broke one of their dikes near Lillo, by which several persons were drowned. They attempted to break a second, but were prevented by the Imperial troops. This event has spread an alarm at Ostend, and has occasioned an extraordinary diligence in completing the works on the ramparts there. *London Gazette.*

Yesterday afternoon a Dutch mail arrived, which brought the following intelligence:

Antwerp, Nov. 8. There was a real and serious cannonade this day from the Dutch fort of Cruysshans; it was directed against the inhabitants, subjects to the empe-

ror, occupied in repairing a breach, from which they feared the farther progress of the inundation already begun, and their entire ruin; a shot even entered a farm-house at some distance, in which was a piquee of Imperial infantry. The night before was a prelude to what is to happen this day; for the Dutch have already fired some musket-shot on the patrol of the Imperial troops, which, as usual, surrounded the territory of his Imperial majesty.

9. A court-martial was held at the Horse-guards, at which col. Howard presided, on the subject of the charges which have been instituted by the master general of the ordnance against colonel Debbieg of that department. The court was composed of the most respectable and distinguished military characters, so that the fullest and most satisfactory explanation may be expected, that can be given by great abilities, long experience, and established integrity. The duke of Richmond attended on the part of the prosecution, and colonel Debbieg took the place assigned to the defendant. The evidence of one side only of the business appeared yesterday, therefore no judgment can be formed as to the result of this very extraordinary prosecution. Some letters were read by sir Charles Gould, judge advocate, to the court, which seemed to place the conduct of the colonel in the most honourable light.

After the evidence on the part of the prosecution was closed, the court declared a readiness to proceed on the colonel's defence; but that gentleman requested that he might be permitted to defer it till Thursday, and his desire was cordially assented to. The duke of Richmond then

then desired that copies of the correspondence might be placed in the hands of every member of the court, which was agreed to. The court broke up, and adjourned till ten o'clock to-morrow.

10. This morning lord George Gordon had the honour of again paying his respects to the Dutch ambassador. Lord George Gordon acquainted his excellency that a number of his friends and countrymen, among whom were the Dutch consul, and some officers, of the navy, and of British and American troops, had determined to draw and accompany his excellency's carriage to the court at St. James's, as a public token of their taking a decided part against all the enemies of the republic, provided such a public mark of the adherence of the body of the people of these kingdoms to his excellency's person and the states of Holland seemed proper, before he had been introduced to the king, and his majesty's intentions towards these protestant states made known to him, and declared to the world. After some conversation, in which the secretary also took a part, it was thought best not to appear at present in any great numbers in personal attendance upon his excellency. In consequence of this opinion lord George Gordon went singly to St. James's, just to receive his excellency between the grenadiers, at the foot of the innermost stairs, and to receive him again when he came out of the king's closet. Lord George saluted him with a drawn broad sword, and the grenadiers on each side rested their firelocks at the same time.

— Lord George Gordon attended the Dutch ambassador to St. James's, dressed in a great

coat, with a large belt flung over his shoulder, and in that a broad sword, and a Dutch cockade in his hat. Upon coming at the bottom of the stairs, he there halted until the ambassador returned, when he drew his sword, and saluted the ambassador, declaring at the same time that he would protect to the utmost of his power the Dutch protestants and their interest.

When lord George Gordon went into the guard-room at St. James's, on Wednesday, to acquaint the third regiment of guards, that they should rest their firelocks to the Dutch ambassador, the serjeants and corporals invited his lordship into their little room at the end of the main-guard, and helped him with scissars, and held the ribbons, till they were all cut into Dutch cockades, and then delivered them to the rank and file men without. This was transacted during the time his excellency was opening his negotiation with the king for the good of the republic.

When lord George Gordon was passing by the prince of Wales's gate, the two centinels upon duty there, belonging to the second regiment of guards, rested their firelocks to his lordship; upon observing which, his lordship presented the lads with a guinea, to drink to the success of baron Van Lynden, and the prosperity of the republic.

12. Mr. Recorder made his report to his majesty of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, viz. Richard alias Jonas Wooldridge, Francis Doyle, Joseph Hulet, John Barker, Edward Robinson, Richard Court, William Brooks, William Smith, George Drummond, James Forbester, William Collop, William Rellions, and Robert Abel; William Hogborn, Peter

ter le Roche, William Smith, Ephraim Ephraims, Samuel Thomson, and George alias John Campbell; Kyran Ryan, James Lyle alias William Johnson, and Charles Colley: when Kyran Ryan, James Lyle alias William Johnson, Joseph Hulet, William Hogborn, Peter le Roche, William Rellions, Robert Abel, George Drummond, William Collop, and James Forbester, were ordered for execution on Wednesday next.

13. This morning, at eight o'clock, Samuel Harris and John North, the two pirates convicted on Thursday last at the Old Bailey, were taken from Newgate, and carried to Execution Dock, attended by the two under-sheriffs and deputy marshal of the Admiralty, carrying the silver oar, where they were executed according to their sentence. Their behaviour was penitent, suited to their unhappy situation. They are to be sent down to Deal to be hung in chains.

Harris, executed on Saturday, was formerly a porter at a tavern near Temple Bar, and recommended as a waiter to a public house at Margate, where he unhappily got connected with some smugglers, and entered into their fraternity.

North alias Norton was a native of Donnegal in Ireland, and bred to the sea. They were both under twenty-five years of age.

15. The right honourable Edmund Burke was re-elected lord rector of the university of Glasgow.

17. This morning the following malefactors were executed on a scaffold erected for that purpose before Newgate: James Lyle alias William Johnson, for assuming the name and character of Edward

Stokes, late a seaman on board the Lively sloop, in order to receive his wages; William Hogborn, for stealing two geldings and a cow from Putney-common, the property of different persons; William Rellions, for robbing William Rough of 5s. 1d. on the highway; William Collop, for robbing James Fergus of a pair of studs and a pair of knee-buckles; James Forbester, for a burglary in the dwelling-house of Daniel Andrews; George Drummond, for stealing from the person of the earl of Clermont a gold watch, steel chain, and two gold seals; Peter le Roche, for stealing a quantity of apparel, the property of James Martin; Joseph Hulet, for privately stealing in the house of Mr. Priestman, a pawnbroker in Bloomsbury, to whom he was apprentice, watches, rings, &c. to the value of 35cl. and Kyran Ryan, for forging the will of John Welch, deceased. The prisoners came upon the scaffold a few minutes after eight, and after joining the ordinary in the usual devotions with every appearance of the most earnest and unaffected piety and contrition, the executioner put a cap upon the head of each, when Drummond and Hulet desired him to turn their caps above their eyes, which being complied with, they prayed aloud in a fervent manner, and with a very impassioned gesticulation, at intervals addressing themselves to the spectators, and admonishing all young persons to avoid the evil courses which had brought them to a premature and disgraceful fate. Hulet, a slim lad, about eighteen, kicked and struggled surprisingly, and continued to do so for several minutes after his fellow-sufferers were motionless. On this occasion the

the executioner, by order of the lord-mayor and sheriffs, for the first time, wore a black baize gown. The concourse of people was astonishingly great, and many were much hurt, particularly a woman, who was taken to the hospital, and a girl about twelve or thirteen years, who, after fainting, was moved over the heads of several hundreds of people into Fleet-lane, where she was taken into a house. So great a number of people got upon Mr. sheriff Hopkins's chariot, standing at the gate of the Sessions-house, that the axletree broke.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable Lord GEORGE GORDON, President of the Protestant Association, to the Right Honourable Mr. PITT, First Lord of the Treasury.

‘ Sir,

‘ Several hundred seamen have addressed me to-day; many of them, lately arrived from India, came in coaches. Acting lieutenants, mates, and midshipmen of the royal navy, are among them. The following is the copy of the generality of their addresses :

“ To the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon, President of the Protestant Association.

“ May it please your lordship,

“ We, the seamen, whose names are undermentioned, are able, willing, and ready, to serve the United Protestant States of Holland against the King of the Romans, and all their popish enemies. And your petitioners will ever pray for lord George Gordon.

Signed by Edward Robinson, and thirty-four other seamen, at the Kettledrum, Radcliffe Highway, Nov. 17, 1784.”

‘ Several officers of distinction in the land service have also applied to me, and offered their services to the States General, particularly a field officer of the Connecticut line, in the province of Massachusetts, and an officer who has lately left the Irish brigade of France, who wished to enter into a service more agreeable, and congenial to his sentiments and principles. Many of the guards have requested to go volunteers. Some Athol Highlanders are on their way to town, who, I make no doubt, will engage in the good protestant cause of their high mightinesses. I acquaint you, as prime minister, with these matters, that you may convince baron Van Lynden of the general good disposition of the people of these kingdoms to comply with his excellency's request, and to renew again their old friendship with Holland upon the righteous and solid foundation of the protestant interest.

‘ I am, Sir, with all due respect,

‘ Your humble servant,

‘ G. GORDON.’

18. His lordship sent another letter to the minister, acquainting him, that captain Rawlinson, of Shadwell, had made him an offer of the Prince William frigate, of 26 guns, to cruise against the Imperial merchantmen, and all the enemies of the United States; that several artillery men, and more than 1000 seamen, with a full proportion of masters, mates, gunners, and carpenters, have already signed their requests to be employed in the same just cause.

Dublin, Nov. 18. Came on the trial of Benjamin Matthews, for killing two soldiers of the 9th regiment of dragoons, who attempt-

ed, with several others, to rescue captain Palliser, who was in his custody for debt. After a trial of some hours, the intended rescue being clearly proved, the jury brought in their verdict—justifiable homicide.

19. Benjamin Wilson, esq. an acting lieutenant in the navy, was taken into custody, and carried to lord Sydney's office. He had been at the Kettledrum, in Ratcliffe Highway, speaking to the seamen, who wished to be employed by the Dutch, to defend the States General against the emperor of Germany. He had also read a letter to them from lord George Gordon, stating, that it wholly depended upon Mr. Pitt whether this country should assist the protestant interest in Holland, or take a part with the King of the Romans. After a long examination before lord Sydney, and other officers of the crown, Benjamin Wilson, esq. the acting lieutenant, was told he had done nothing amiss, and was at liberty again. Lord Sydney then requested Mr. Wilson to carry a verbal message to lord George Gordon, which Mr. Wilson did; but lord George Gordon sent back to lord Sydney, that if he had any business with him, he must write a letter, as verbal messages were uncertain.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable Mr. PITT, First Lord of the Treasury, to the Right Honourable Lord GEORGE GORDON.

Downing-street, Nov. 19, 1784,
26 m. past One P. M.

“ My lord,

“ I have hitherto returned no answer to the letters I received from your lordship on the 17th and

18th instant, because I did not think it my duty to enter into a correspondence with your lordship on the subject. But having been informed that many seamen have been induced to quit their occupation, in the expectation of being employed to serve against the emperor, I think it proper to remind you, that whatever steps you have taken, have been without the smallest degree of authority or countenance from his majesty's ministers, and that it is for your lordship to consider what consequences may be expected from them.

“ I am, my lord,

“ Your lordship's obedient,

“ Humble servant,

“ W. PITT.”

Right Hon. Lord G. Gordon.

Lord GEORGE GORDON's Answer to Mr. PITT.

“ Sir,

“ I received your letter of to-day just now. It was very rude in you not to answer my two letters sooner. I am glad to hear you say, that many seamen have been induced to quit their occupation, in expectation of being employed to serve against the emperor. This shews the seamen's hearts are warm towards the States of Holland, and that they wish to lend a hand to assist them against their enemies. As soon as you, and the rest of his majesty's ministers, are pleased to authorize and countenance these honest endeavours of the seamen to support those protestant states, I will make proposals to the Dutch ambassador, and to the States of Holland, to take them into immediate pay. The consequences may fall on the heads of the king's servants, if they advise their sovereign

to take a part against the protestant interest.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your humble servant,
“ G. GORDON.”

Welbeck-street, Nov. 19, 1784.

Copy of a Letter from the Worthy Magistrates of the Rotation-office, in Litchfield-street, to the Right Hon. Lord GEORGE GORDON.

“ The magistrates at the Rotation-office in Litchfield-street, present their compliments to lord George Gordon, are much obliged to him for his information, and will pay due attention to his letter.”

Litchfield-street,

Nov. 19, 1784.

20. One o'clock, about a hundred and fifty sailors assembled in Welbeck street, where lord George Gordon harangued them, and referred them to his and Mr. Pitt's letters in the public papers, adding, that he wished them very well, but that he could not serve them without the approbation of the king and his ministers. A gentleman, in the uniform of a lieutenant of the navy, assisted his lordship on the occasion; both had the blue and orange cockades in their hats, and the lieutenant had another in his bosom.

20. King against Atkinson.—

Lord Mansfield gave the opinion of the court in the cause Wadham and Barlow, and the attorney-general moved judgment against Christopher Atkinson, esq. Mr. Bearcroft arose, and, after making a few prefatory observations, which were obviously dictated by the personal feelings of the man, and did not flow from the ingenuity of the advocate, intreated that the affidavits in defence of his client might be read. After a few minutes con-

sultation, leave was given, and the affidavit of Mr. George Slade, one of the commissioners of the victualling-office, was read. It stated at length the particulars of the accounts, the manner in which they were adjusted, with a balancing invoice, and the strong probability of the innocence of Mr. Atkinson, in a very exact and critical manner. The affidavits of Mr. Bates, Mr. Hanway, and other commissioners, and Thomas Nevet, chief clerk, were produced, and the contents of them operated to Mr. Atkinson's disadvantage.

Mr. Bearcroft then resumed his subject, and declared in the most solemn manner, that he was fully convinced of Mr. Atkinson's innocence, and that if ever a man was punished for a crime which he had not the least intention of committing, it would be the case with his unhappy client. Had he meant to defraud the public, he would have taken the very contrary steps to those which he pursued. He then descended to the particulars of the accounts, and shewed, that, notwithstanding the apparent nominal difference of the prices between the buying and invoice books, yet that the total sums were regulated in so exact a manner by the balancing account, that it would have exceeded belief, were not the books in court to justify his assertion. In order to effect this regulation, almost every one of those accounts was brought to a small fraction, and in one instance, where the fraction would not completely settle the difference, the scrupulous exactitude of his client was such, that a sum of 6d $\frac{1}{2}$. was noted as an overplus. Indeed, if his client was guilty of the specific charge, he was likewise guilty in three thousand other instances. He was

followed by Mr. Wood, who expatiated for a considerable length of time with the same ardor. He particularly asserted, that "it was as impossible for Mr. Atkinson to specify the several prices of the corn supplied in large quantities, purchased at different times, and an infinite number of parcels; as it would be to fill a cask of water at Gravesend, and determine the exact quantity which passed through the middle arch of London bridge." After a great number of pertinent observations, Mr. Wood most earnestly intreated the court would send his client to a new trial, where the innocence or guilt of the whole transaction might be firmly established.

Mr. Dallas, in a most masterly and able speech of two hours length, contended that it was not too late for the court to order a new trial, and produced two or three similar instances. Lord Mansfield informed him that the court could certainly grant a new trial, if they thought it necessary. Mr. Dallas then entered into the account, and from a chain of deductions endeavoured to convince the court of the rectitude of the accounts in every possible view of them. He meant not to impeach the verdict, but that a very great part of the truth was left uninvestigated. He next made some striking observations upon the several affidavits produced subsequent to the trial, and drew very favourable conclusions in behalf of the defendant.

Mr. Atkinson then craved permission to be indulged a few words, which Lord Mansfield and the other judges assented to. He began with expressing his apprehensions that their lordships were unacquainted with the merits of the transactions,

but that he trusted his counsel had elucidated them to their conviction; however, if that should not be the case, he begged leave to trouble the court with a few explanations, which he hoped would satisfy them of the justness of his request in desiring a new trial. He was so well assured of manifesting his innocence to a jury, that if he failed, he would cheerfully meet the most ignominious punishment that could be inflicted, or even death itself. Mr. Slade, he observed, was the only commissioner upon whom he could prevail to take the trouble to examine his accounts, and having done it, he had solemnly sworn they were just and fair. The other gentlemen had done no more than affirmed that they knew nothing of his own supplies nor of the balance bill! the contrary was the truth, and it evidently appeared so by the testimony of Mr. Hanway; nor did it signify whether they knew it or not. Was not the furnishing his own consignments or his own stores, by which ever name they were called, at the market-prices, according to the established usage and daily practice of the market? and was not the adjusting of the accounts by making the total of the purchases and supplies agree with the total of the invoices, by making the last invoice for the balance of the cost of the purchases, the most accurate method that could be devised? The balancing bills would speak for themselves and give their lordships the most unequivocal proof, first, by terminating with fractional prices a thing that did not exist in purchases; secondly, by taking the buying-book, which he then produced, with that alone he would call upon Mr. White, the treasury-solicitor, for such invoices

as should make the exact total of every settling in the said buying-book, and he would take the invoices which were at nominal prices, from the victualling-office, in his own hand, and by them alone would tell the court the amount of every sum total in the buying-book. But this demonstration, which appeared the touchstone of the balance-bill, he was not allowed to go into!

Lord Mansfield had indeed remarked, that the commissioners had sworn, that in one invoice, there were frequent instances of various prices, which shewed, they must be meant for real ones, the observation he allowed to be well founded, but upon further investigation, it would prove, what he contended for, namely, that the invoices were at nominal prices, for out of the two years and a half, that he bought corn for the victualling-office, it would be found, that from November, 1778, to December, 1780, each invoice was uniformly at *one price*, and as each cargo consisted of various purchases and supplies, at various prices, the remark before made, proved such invoice must have been nominal. Mr. Atkinson appeared to think, this important fact had sufficiently impressed the court to grant him a new trial, that the truth, if it really existed, might come out in evidence, but he proved mistaken.

Lord Mansfield stopped the attorney-general, who was going to reply, and immediately gave his opinion in a very particular manner, in which he recapitulated the whole of the circumstances of the trial, evidence, and conviction. His lordship remarked upon the situation in rank and life of Mr. Atkinson, and stating his reasons for wishing to have the fullest infor-

mation from the commissioners, but that the affidavits had, in his opinion, turned much against the defendant. His lordship was upon the whole satisfied with the verdict of the jury, and should therefore refuse a new trial. Mr. justice Ashurst gave a similar opinion, particularly remarking upon the defendant's making the supply at the market-price, when it was well known the markets were under his own influence. (Here the defendant very feelingly observed, that the market had nothing to do with the general account rendered to the commissioners.) Mr. justice Buller coincided in opinion, and the court fixed Wednesday next to pass judgment. The affidavit of Mr. Farrer, a very considerable cornfactor, was offered to be read; the contents were stated to be a complete justification of the mode in which the accounts were balanced, but the court was of opinion that it went to the merits. Another affidavit of Mr. Chambers, a merchant in Mincing-lane, was likewise offered, in order to prove the truth of the accounts, but lord Mansfield refused to enter into the particulars. Mr. Bearcroft then with great agitation made a few observations, to extenuate his client; and he alleged, that no individual since the Revolution had been so heavily fined; which, after considering the loss of a most beneficial business, and the expence incurred, amounted to an enormous sum. The learned advocate therefore, under such circumstances, wished to impress the court in his favour. The attorney-general made a short reply. And

Mr. Atkinson desiring again to be heard in his defence, lord Mansfield told him, "there must be an end."

end." The prisoner was then remanded, and on Wednesday next, he will be brought up to receive judgment.

— The long contested cause between John Gallini, esq. and the trustees of the king's theatre was finally determined by the lord chancellor, in favour of the latter; the temporary receivers were discharged, and the said trustees confirmed in their right of managing the property for the benefit of the creditors. Counsel for the trustees, Mr. solicitor-general, Mr. Selwyn, and Mr. Evance; solicitors, Mess. Harborne and Seton of the Adelphi.

— The crown lawyers we are informed did not persist in their opposition to the ancient privilege of the town of Dover, and on Saturday last Dixon, and Bruce, another felon, were executed pursuant to the sentence passed upon them by the mayor at the last sessions held for Dover. We further learn, that Dixon behaved with great composure and indifference, and persisted in his innocence, and declared that he was not concerned in the murder of Mr. Linton.

22. The following extraordinary affair came before the Bow-street magistrates: count Duroure, who has made so much noise about town, some little time since, got acquainted with a gentleman of the law, who lent him his assistance to extricate him from difficulties he was involved in: having access to his friend's table, who was married to a young lady of some accomplishments, the count, by his attentions, insinuated himself so far into her affections, as to prevail upon her to elope with him to France. He sent off his baggage to Dover, whither he was to follow in a day or two. The husband by a laconic letter

from the lady, received the first intimation of her infidelity. After a very minute enquiry, he discovered, that the lady and her paramour were at a bagnio in Leicester-fields, whither he went on Sunday night, accompanied with some friends, and being guided to the room desired admittance, which was refused, upon this he forced open the door, and the moment he entered, the count fired upon him; the ball went through his hat without doing him any mischief. The count's conduct appeared in so extraordinary a light to the magistrates, that for the purpose of more security he was committed to Newgate.

The gentleman charged with wilfully firing a pistol at Tuxley Sandon, esq. in the Long-Acre bagnio, and committed to Newgate by sir Sampson Wright, is Louis Henry Scipio Duroure, esq. of a noble family in France, and an officer in his majesty's service. The offence he is charged with is capital, by what is called the Black Act.

— The court-martial for the trial of colonel Debbieg being on Monday last re-assembled at the Horse-Guards, by his majesty's command, the following sentence was read by the judge advocate, who declared that his majesty had approved thereof, and had directed that it be carried into execution.

The court-martial, upon due consideration of the whole matter, are of opinion, that colonel Hugh Debbieg is guilty of each article of the charge exhibited against him, viz.

Of "writing to his grace Charles duke of Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigny, master-general of his majesty's ordnance, his commanding officer, several unbecoming letters since the month of June last,

containing indecent and disrespectful expressions towards him, and groundless and injurious imputations of partiality and oppression in the discharge of his duty as master-general of the ordnance, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline ;”

And of “ writing disrespectfully in the month of August last of the said duke of Richmond, &c. master-general of his majesty’s ordnance, his commanding officer, to major-general James Bramham, the chief engineer, and in terms obviously tending to depreciate the conduct of him the said master-general in the opinion of the said chief engineer, and of the corps of engineers, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline.”

In consideration of the high character of the said colonel Debbieg, as an officer, and his meritorious services, which consideration alone could have induced them to give so lenient a sentence for crimes which they must conceive to be highly detrimental and tending to produce the worst consequences to the service, they adjudge that he, the said colonel Hugh Debbieg, be reprimanded in open court,—and that he do also make his submission to the duke of Richmond, &c. master-general of his majesty’s ordnance, in the following terms :

“ My lord duke,

“ In compliance with the judgment of this court-martial, I do declare my great concern, that I should have made use of expressions in my correspondence with your grace, my superior officer, which in the opinion of the court tended to the prejudice of good order and military discipline.”

The president, lord Howard,

then addressed colonel Debbieg as follows :

“ Colonel Debbieg,

“ In addressing myself to an officer of so long standing, and so distinguished as you have been for your meritorious services, it cannot fail to give me the sincerest concern to have it fall to my lot to convey to you a reprimand from the court-martial before whom you have been brought.

“ It is, sir, by his majesty’s commands, that I do so. Wherein, having consulted the court, I am to say to you, that they would have to dread the ill effects of such an unbecoming spirit as that which has so conspicuously shewn itself in your late correspondence, which they have had under their consideration, if they did not persuade themselves in regard to the dangerous tendency of such behaviour to his majesty’s service that you will upon cool reflection think as they do, and hereafter regulate your conduct accordingly.

“ The other part, sir, of the judgment of this court, your submission to the duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance, has been already read to you by the judge advocate ; and which no doubt you will immediately and agreeable to that becoming deference due to their directions, proceed to comply with.”

Colonel Debbieg then read the submission to the duke of Richmond as the court had directed ; after which the duke of Richmond addressed himself to the court as follows :

“ The judgment of the court in pronouncing every article of my charges well founded, and the imputations against me groundless, together with the observations which

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the court has made on the conduct I complained of, have I trust fully justified the necessity I was under of appealing to this tribunal.

“ I flatter myself that in carrying on this prosecution, I have not shewn a vindictive spirit; I hope it is not in my nature. The apology directed by the court, I readily accept from col. Debbieg. I trust his future conduct will be regulated by the sentiments which the court has expressed on what is past, and I promise colonel Debbieg that he shall never trace in my behaviour any ungenerous recollection of this transaction.”

The judge advocate then informed colonel Debbieg, that the sentence of the court having been complied with, he was released from his arrest, and then declared that the court martial was dissolved.

24. King against Wooldridge.

This day the long depending cause was again argued in the court of King's-Bench, before lord Mansfield and Mr. justice Buller. Mr. Garrow, as junior counsel, after a very handsome apology for his youth and inexperience, craved the indulgence of the court. His first argument went to the informality of the return to the mandamus, which although by no means the ground that he meant to set his foot upon, yet was in itself sufficient to insure success to his client. He then by a chain of very clear deductions and apposite cases, a great variety of which he quoted, stated his objections to the words of the return, but the court declining to enter directly into the merits, Mr. Garrow judiciously (as Mr. justice Buller afterwards said) abandoned his intentions, and went boldly to the general questions.

The first charge was a pretended embezzlement of a part of sir James Langham's charity to soldiery and sailors, the alderman having drawn on the chamberlain for the sum of four pounds, payable to James Aspell, from whom he took a receipt, whereas in fact it was alleged that he paid Aspell only one guinea, and appropriated the remainder to his own use. Mr. Garrow denied the fact—his client had *bona fide* distributed the money according to the true intent of the donor's will, and there was no averment in the petition of the inhabitants of Bridge ward to the contrary—but it was meritoriously distributed to several persons instead of one person.—Admitting the fact, it was but at most but a misapplication, which, according to the doctrine held by Holt, chief justice, in the King against Chalk, in the borough of Wilton, 1 Raymond, fo. 225, “ a misapplication of corporation money was no cause of a motion because an action will lie against the party.”—He quoted an infinite number of other cases, together with lord Mansfield's former opinions corroborating this position in many points of view. He then made some striking observations upon the nature of charitable donations vested in the hands of corporations, and furnished the court with much entertainment at the expence of Mr. Chamberlain Wilkes, in his late correspondence with Mr. Josiah Dornford.

The second charge was extorting 15l. from William Parry, nine guineas of which he received under pretence of raising two substitutes, the said Parry having been discharged by the alderman, from a criminal prosecution on condition of

of serving his majesty. He averred that it did not appear either upon the petition or the return of the mandamus, that the alderman had not actually raised the substitutes. But suppose it was not so, this was no crime in his client's corporate capacity. The alderman [should have been indicted, and the record of conviction might have operated. If an alderman was thus to be ousted of his freehold contrary to the great charter, where the same parties were accusers, judges, witnesses, and jurymen, then a member of a corporation was in such a miserable state as no other citizen could possibly be placed. If every circumstance which was "*contra bonas mores*," was to be punished in this summary way, perhaps *gluttony* and *drunkenness* (of which crimes he did not presume the corporation in question were guilty) might be made grounds of a motion. He here likewise quoted a variety of precedents analogous to his purpose, particularly King and corporation Gloucester, 5 Bullstrode—and Bags case in lord Coke.

His client's crimes had formerly been held up in the form of an Hydra, but they were now shrunk into a Cerberus; their being only a third charge, viz. that of imprisonment for debt upon escape warrants. The liberality of the present day held bankruptcy to be no cause of disfranchisement; how then should imprisonment; and this was clear in the determination of the Liverpool case, reported 2d Burrows, folio 723. He here, with great force and feeling, painted the mischiefs that might arise from such a power being vested in corporations, as to disfranchise for involuntary absence; what opinions had the citizens hitherto held? had they been always so scrupu-

lously exact? Alderman Lee was four yeats absent an agent for congress, then in open arms against this country; alderman Peckham abroad four or five years to recover his health; the late alderman Bridgen had not attended duty for nine years, only the last act of his political life he had expiated all his offences, arising from neglect, by giving a casting vote for the present worthy recorder (a general laugh.) Where were the disfranchisements at that time? On the contrary, his unhappy client, after being ruined by the American war, stripped of his property by a second commission of bankruptcy (since proved to have been issued illegally) had all the power and the vengeance of the corporation poured forth upon him. Was not the present chamberlain elected an alderman when under a more severe predicament? Mr. Garrow then, in a very animated manner, drew his conclusion, and craved judgment of the court to restore Mr. Wooldridge to his seat amongst the elders of the city.

Mr. Gibbs answered, in a very ingenious speech, in which he adduced two cases, that claimed the attention of the court, in support of the third charge—first case, King and Truebody, a capital burghess of Lestwithel, in Cornwall, 2 Raymond, fo. 1275—and King and Glyde, a member of the corporation of Exeter, reported in 4th Modern, fo. 33. Both of these cases went to this point, that a corporator being removed out of the jurisdiction, and being *incapable* of performing his duty, it was held good ground to remove him. Mr. Gibbs used several other forcible arguments, and was replied to by Mr. Garrow.

Lord Mansfield.—The case has been

been well argued. He was always desirous, that corporation questions might be defined with as much accuracy as possible. The first charge, respecting sir John Langham's charity does not seem to be a sufficient ground, it is not charged to be done corruptly. The second, if true, was an offence as a justice of the peace, and therefore against the general law of the land—must be a previous conviction. The last head is of great consequence. The two cases, adduced by Mr. Gibbs, must be well considered. A man is not a corporator for his own sake—when he ceases to be in a condition to perform the duty, the question is, whether he ought to remain. His lordship therefore desired to have a further hearing on the third head, in the course of next term.

Mr. justice Buller. The first charge, clearly no offence against the corporation. The second, merely a subject for common law, and therefore there must be a previous conviction. The third, he desired a farther argument, to be treated under two heads; namely, first, how far it may affect the public administration of justice: secondly, to what extent it may militate with the welfare of the city and corporation.

Lord Mansfield assented. And thus Mr. Wooldridge has completely succeeded in the two most important points, and has only to wait until next term for a solemn adjudication of the third.

Copy of a letter from the right hon. count O Rourke, to the right hon. lord George Gordon.

*Cary-street, opposite Lincoln's Inn,
Nov. 24, 1784.*

“ My lord George,

“ I shall be glad to know what motive or what interest you can have in being so vehement against

the ancient catholic religion? Has your lordship forgot that you are sprung from ancestors who thought that way of thinking right; and that at this moment your aunt professes it in all its original forms? That which was the religion of your family at so late a period as in the time of your grandfather, should not be reviled by you. Give me leave to ask what religion it is that you profess, which recommends persecution? Surely not the Protestant! I acknowledge that I am, and all my forefathers were, Roman Catholic. My family can boast of antiquity before that of the Gordons—well known to the British court, well known at all the courts in Europe—I am at present the chief of that family, and as I before observed, profess the same way of thinking that they did in matters of religion—but I am not for persecution—men of late, of both religions, have got a more liberal way of thinking; toleration has diffused itself over the world, and shewed men the folly of falling out about religion, and that it is not any particular mode of worship that will open the road to heaven. What became of your lordship that you did not share or partake of that blessing? Did you envelope yourself in so great a degree in enthusiasm, as to prevent its approaching you? In former times no wars were carried on, no disaffection to government, in short, no plot, thought ever so wicked, but had as its covering the security of religion. The interest of the established church has been, and you intend shall again be your foundation for tumults, riots, murders, burnings, &c. &c. similar to those of 1710. Take care, my lord, hearken to my advice, desist from your late conduct; let every man

go to heaven his own way; his majesty has not more loyal or better subjects in his dominions than the Catholics; they have committed no outrage, they have not disturbed the public peace, nor attempted to distress the government of this country, when at war with many great powers. Forget that odious word, Papist, which you so frequently make use of when speaking of the Roman Catholics; but should it endeavour to force up, take a cup of warm water, and wash it down again. I had the honour of being a captain in a Scotch regiment in the French service; in it were men of different religions, yet we lived like friends, not suffering the difference of religion to create feuds and dissensions among us; lord Lewis Drummond commanded that regiment—it would have been fortunate for you had you passed a few years in it; it might have given you a more liberal way of thinking, and kept you out of a vast deal of trouble: it is not too late to mend; and when your lordship pleases to call on me, I shall be happy to enlarge on the subject with you; and perhaps, if you are not predetermined, I may be able to convince you that you are wrong.

I have the honour to be

Your lordship's most obedient,
Humble servant,

O'ROURKE.

P. S. I should be glad to know who this officer of the Irish Brigade is, that you so pompously mention in your letter to Mr. Pitt; if he has quitted that brave corps with the approbation of his commanders, and with the character of a man of honour, and is so in reality, I am sure you can have no influence over him to make him join in your present schemes. I must also re-

mark, that when you speak of the emperor, you should observe the respect due to so great a public and so illustrious a private character.

27. The court of King's bench was exceedingly crowded with auditors, anxious to hear the fate of Mr. Atkinson. At ten Mr. Atkinson was conducted into court by the deputy-keeper and tipstiffs. In a quarter of an hour lord Mansfield, Mr. justice Ashurst, and Mr. justice Buller, took their seats upon the bench, (judge Willes being absent on account of the death of his brother.) After a few justifications of bail, lord Mansfield called for Mr. attorney-general, who immediately attended, and Mr. justice Ashurst, with great deliberation and solemnity, proceeded to pronounce the sentence of the court.

The learned judge first observed, that the defendant stood convicted of perjury, to the satisfaction of the court and jury, and stated that it arose from an affidavit made by him to ground a motion for an information against William Bennet. He then read the words in which the affidavit was couched. The indictment contained nine different assignments, of which he was convicted of six, viz. 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 9th. He then explained the several charges or assignments in the order they arose, and took notice that Mr. Atkinson's counsel had particularly objected to the conviction on the 4th, which respected malt, and the 7th, an article of wheat, purchased at 34s. 6d. and charged at 36s. But, "admitting that these assignments or counts were done away, still there were four remaining, and the malignity of the offence, whether to cover one fraud or many, equally tended to shew the depravity of the defendant's mind."

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The counsel had set up two modes of defence; first, they had created a distinction between supplies and purchases; and in this instance the defendant had rendered himself not only the corn-factor, but the corn-seller. "The commissioners must have been the most unfaithful, or the most ignorant of public servants, if they had suffered such a practice to prevail." The jury were therefore well warranted in finding their verdict upon the assignments that were attempted to be defended upon that ground.

The second mode of defence was, that all the over-charges were qualified by a balancing bill. "This idea, said the learned judge, is contrary to the bills themselves," which were continually varied in their prices. Besides which, the affidavit on which the conviction was founded, positively avers that no more was charged on the several articles, than the price actually paid, which was utterly repugnant to the charge of an article of the 28th of May, 1779. These balancing bills were made out merely by the defendant's discretion, altogether unauthorized by the board, and were subject to no cheque or controul. When the court desired that the books might be inspected, it was answered, they were destroyed. How the defendant had exercised his discretion, was plain to the commissioners and jury, the former having discharged him from his employment, and the latter having found him guilty of the crime laid to his charge. There was no plea of defence that the money was paid on account, because the charges were regularly adjusted, and the specific sums to each article.

The learned judge then concluded in the following words, "I shall not endeavour to aggravate your

crime; for if you have any feelings, your situation must be sufficiently painful: and there remains nothing more for me to say, but the disagreeable necessity of pronouncing the sentence of the law.

"You are to be committed one whole year to the prison of this court. You are to stand in the pillory upon the Corn-market for the space of one whole hour, between twelve and two o'clock; and you are to pay a fine of two thousand pounds, and remain in prison until the same is paid."

Mr. Atkinson seemed exceedingly affected with this sentence, and for a few moments looked stedfastly upon the court, as if going to speak. He then made a respectful bow to the judges, and retired with great fortitude.

Extract of a letter from Kilkenny, Nov. 27.

We hear that on Tuesday night a number of White Boys surrounded the house of a farmer near Gowran, and demanded what arms he had in the house; on which he fired amongst them, when they all fled, except one man, who was found dead next morning of the wounds he received. It is supposed some others were wounded, as much blood was tracked a considerable distance from the house.

30. The high sheriff of the county of Dublin, in Ireland, received his sentence from the court of King's Bench, to be imprisoned for one week, and to pay a fine of five marks.

D E C E M B E R.

Much has been said concerning the family of the unhappy youth now in Newgate, lieutenant Durore, late of the horse-guards Blue, who stands charged with firing

firing a pistol at ——— Sandon, esq. in the Long-Acre Bagno. He is the son of lieutenant-general Scipio Duroure, in the service of the king of France. This worthy veteran, who has been greatly distinguished by his military talents, is at this time governor of Fort l'Esprit, near Avignon, in the South of France, and has the command of a corps of 3000 men.

— In the will of John Barnard, (son to the late patriotic sir John Barnard, many years father of the city of London) late of the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, in the county of Middlesex, esq. deceased, dated the 6th of November, 1779, among other things therein contained, is as follows:

I give to capt. Thomas Baillic, late deputy governor of Greenwich Hospital, five hundred pounds, as a small token of my approbation of his worthy and disinterested, though ineffectual, endeavours to rescue that noble national charity from the rapacious hands of the basest and most wicked of mankind.

1. A most remarkable murder was perpetrated in the following manner, by a journeyman barber that lives near Hyde Park Corner, who had been for a long time past jealous of his wife, but could no way bring it home to her: a young gentleman by chance coming into his master's shop to be shaved and dressed, and, being in liquor, mentioned his having seen a fine girl home to Hamilton-street, from whom he had certain favours the night before, at the same time describing her person; the barber, concluding it to be his wife, in the height of his frenzy cut the gentleman's throat from ear to ear, and absconded.

1784.

Extract of a letter from Dublin,
Dec. 4.

Saturday last three attachments were granted (unless cause to the contrary is shewn) by the court of King's bench, against the three magistrates who convened the freeholders of the county of Mayo, agreeably to a requisition, for the purpose of considering of the necessity of a parliamentary reform, and to elect delegates to meet in national congress.

Extract of a letter from Winchester,
Dec. 4.

Last night the dean of St. Asaph arrived at his father's house at Twyford, within three miles of this city. At the end of the town he was met by a vast concourse of inhabitants from the neighbouring villages, who for some time preceded his carriage with incessant huzzas, two men at their head carrying colours.

When the dean was arrived within a mile of home, they took the horses from the carriage, and insisted upon drawing it themselves, which they did with great alacrity. It was near seven o'clock, and the evening naturally dark; but from every house being illuminated, and the reflection from several bonfires, the whole horizon was enlightened, and had a most beautiful effect. When the dean alighted, he politely thanked his neighbours and countrymen for so pleasing a mark of their good wishes and attention; and assured them, he should reflect with real pleasure upon the long persecution he had undergone, if it should ultimately be the means of securing and establishing the sacred rights of English juries.

This was received with repeated acclamations. The populace then collected round an immense bonfire, where

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where an effigy, representing the honourable informer who has carried on the prosecution, and is now bitterly lamenting the miscarriage of his own malevolence, was attempted to be conveyed to the fire; but the detestation such a character must be always held in, would not permit it to reach the flames entire; it was torn piece-meal, and thrown about.

“The populace then retired to the public houses, and passed the remainder of the evening in that harmony and joy which the triumph of innocence must ever occasion in Englishmen’s hearts.

“P. S. We are given to understand that application will immediately be made to the high sheriff, to convene a general meeting of the county, for the purpose of instructing our representatives to support any bill that may be brought into parliament declaratory of the general rights of juries.”

6. Came on to be tried, in the court of King’s Bench at Westminster, before the right honourable the earl of Mansfield, and a special jury of the county of Middlesex, a cause brought by David Wilmot, esq. one of the justices of the said county, against the printer of a morning paper, when the jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 100*l.* damages.

8. On casting up the scrutiny at the East India house in Leadenhall-street, for the election of a director in the room of Charles Boddam, esq. deceased, (exclusive of five double ballots, which were of course thrown out as illegal) the numbers stood—

For James Moffatt, esq. 373

Thomas Pattle, jun. esq. 285

Majority 88

— A verdict was given in favour of Messrs. Adam, in a cause which

came on to be tried at Guildhall, before the lord chief baron and a most respectable jury of merchants of London.

As this cause may be considered as the foundation of another remarkable trial, which has attracted the attention of the public and which has been so much litigated in the county of Kent, between lord Mahon and Messrs. Adam, it may not perhaps be unacceptable to our readers to lay before them a short state of the question. This cause was an issue directed by the lord chancellor to be tried at common law, to determine, “whether the works executed by Messrs. Adam, the assignees of Liardet’s patent stucco, was done with materials made agreeable to the explanation of the specification of the patent, and not contrary to any directions that Liardet the inventor, gave for the manner of doing the work, and whether such works failed;” and it was further directed, “that Messrs. Adam should be plaintiffs, and Liardet defendant; and that they should give two months notice previous to the trial of the instances they meant to produce, of work executed at different houses.” Agreeable to this direction, five instances were given, and in the course of the trial, the most complete and conclusive evidence was produced by Messrs. Adam, proving that the composition or stucco, was made up by Liardet’s own directions, and agreeable to a table which he himself had dictated, and that it was chiefly made under his own immediate inspection, with the full quantities of every ingredient; that the materials were the best of their kinds, and purchased at the best prices, and that the stucco thus prepared was, in one instance, carried by Liardet himself, and laid on by a plaisterer whom he instructed, and who laid it on un-

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der his immediate inspection. That this plaisterer instructed others, and was foreman at the several works in question, all of which the inventor Liardet had occasionally visited during the execution of the work.

The failure of the stucco, on every one of those instances, was clearly proved, and no attempt made to contradict the fact. The jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict for the plaintiff.

The counsel for Messrs. Adam were Mr. Erskine, Mr. Pigot, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Adam.—For Mr. Liardet, Sir Thomas Davenport, Mr. Chambie, and Mr. Taylor: Attorney for the plaintiff, Mr. Wood, of Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street; for the defendant, Mr. Moulfdale, Brick-court, Temple.

10. At twelve o'clock, the trial of Robert Joseph M'Kenzie, captain of an independent company on the African service, for the murder of Kenneth Murray M'Kenzie, one of the soldiers under his command, at the fort of Morce, upon the coast of Africa, on the 4th of August, 1782, came on before Mr. Justice Willes, baron Hotham, and other commissioners, appointed by virtue of an act of the 33d of Henry VIII.

The attorney-general opened the transaction in a very candid manner, and called John Jones, who gave a very long, clear, and pointed evidence; but as some objections were made to his testimony, and Mr. Justice Willes omitted it in summing up the case, we shall proceed with the examination of

John Mortimer, a private belonging to captain M'Kenzie's company; of which the following is the substance: the witness knew the deceased at Fort Morce, five miles from Cape Coast; he was a prisoner at large in the fort (having twice deserted); the deceased had previ-

ously acted as adjutant; the witness had heard there had been a quarrel between him and captain M'Kenzie. On a Saturday morning, he was suffered by the centinel to escape: he heard the prisoner say, Go, fetch that old rascal Brooks; I will flog him to death. Serjeant Andrews, himself, and two other soldiers, were sent in search of him: they went no farther than a mile or two beyond Cape Coast, fearing they might be taken prisoners; could not find the deceased; when they returned, and reported it to the prisoner, who immediately said, he must be in the Black Town. He immediately ordered two six pounders to be loaded, and fired upon the town; after the firing, the black inhabitants, some of them, run out of town, others came to the back of the fort, to know the reason of this sudden alarm.—Alderman Watson. Were they loaded with shot? Yes; he saw the mark left in one of the houses. Next morning, at five o'clock, heard a great noise; and, looking over the wall, saw the deceased, with at least 3000 blacks, coming to the fort. This was of a Sunday morning. The deceased was brought into the fort, and the prisoner bid serjeant Copeland to tell the deceased he had not an hour to live.

The prisoner ordered two sponges and a worm to be lashed to the embrasures, and ordered a gun to be hauled in. As they could not get ropes, they cut the halyards of the colours into three pieces. Copeland was directed to fetch Murray M'Kenzie from the blacks; as he was coming, he said, Am I to be shot, let me be shot like a man, and not like a dog. He then put on his grenadier's coat. He was brought to the battlements, and desired to speak to the captain, who would not hear a

word, but said, the deceased was a traitor to his king and country. The prisoner bid the soldiers do their duty; they brought the deceased to the gun, tied his hands with one piece of the rope, and his two legs, with the other two pieces, to the gun; his hands were then stretched out across the sponge and worm. The captain ordered the soldiers to fetch a cap; but there being none, the captain went and fetched his own. Whilst they were putting it on, the deceased said to serjeant Copeland, For God's sake, beg for a half of an hour to say my prayers. It was refused; but a little time was given, when they read part of the funeral service and the Lord's prayer. Plunkett, a soldier, was directed to stand to the gun with a lighted stick. The deceased then said, "Oh, tyrant, tyrant! you are going to have your will of me, which you have wanted many a long day." The cap was then pulled over his eyes, when he said, "For God's sake, have mercy upon me; good bye to you all, comrades, and God bless you all." He added, "Remember my last syllable; I went down to the black fellow at the gate, to get a little brandy; I drank it, went down to the garden to take a walk, having been so long confined; I sat down and fell fast asleep; when I woke, at dusk, and was coming to the fort, the blacks surrounded me, confined me all night, and surrendered me. I had not the least intent to desert, no more than I have to eat or drink this moment." The prisoner waved his hand as a signal, Plunkett touched the gun with the lighted stick, and the deceased was blown over the wall. The men picked up his remains; the head and shoulders, with the heart, &c. and buried them. This being the whole purport of the evidence,

corroborated by all the witnesses for the prosecution, it is needless to report the other parts delivered by Cooper, Brookes, and serjeant Copeland.

After the evidence was gone through, (in the course of which the prisoner, captain M'Kenzie made many very pertinent and sensible remarks) he was called upon for his defence, which partly arose out of the evidence for the prosecution. It was couched in this way; that the deceased had been a felon convict taken in the African corps, that he had deserted twice, and was plotting the death of the captain, his commander, and to surrender the fort to the Dutch. The convicts in the party under his command, were in the proportion of sixteen convicts to five volunteers.

It was very fully proved that there was a strong idea of a conspiracy, and that the deceased had been heard to declare to the other convicts, Now is the time, let us do him out and out. The captain had likewise said, a day or two after the execution, My lads, if I had not done as I did, we should all have been destroyed ere this.

Mr. Daniel Monro's testimony went further; he said that Cooper told him, about four months after the affair, (the witness sitting upon the identical gun) that the deceased had said in his hearing, in company with other convict soldiers, Damn him, I have a pistol; and if that won't do, answered serjeant Andrews, I have a sword. Monro swore that Cooper asserted to him, that he informed the prisoner of his danger. But Cooper being confronted with Monro, he denied the assertion.—General Townsend and captain Lane, gave the prisoner a good character.

Judge Willes summed up the evidence,

dence, and observed the prisoner was not justified by the martial law. He should have tried him by a court martial, at least called upon him for a defence, particularly as it was proved there were places of safety, both at Fort Moree and Cape Coast, where the prisoner might have been secured. But as to the justification of the act being necessary for self-preservation, that he left with the jury.

The trial lasted from ten in the forenoon until six in the evening, when the jury, after being out above two hours, returned their verdict Guilty, but with recommendations to his majesty's mercy. He received sentence to be executed on Monday next; but it is said is respited for a week.

Captain M'Kenzie was lieutenant of an independent company in the island of Guernsey in the year 1778, and, on the French fleet appearing off that coast, in the course of the summer, behaved with such uncommon activity, and shewed such a laudable attention to the defence of that important place, that, previous to his embarking for England, he received the thanks of the principal inhabitants on the public parade, and many other tokens of their friendship and esteem.

The above unfortunate gentleman is a native of the Highlands, and has been in the military line from twelve years of age. His character was that of a martinet, (a rigid disciplinarian) too obstinate in his determination, but vigilant, active, and undaunted.

Captain M'Kenzie was dressed, on Friday, in a full suit of black; his hair powdered, and *a la grenadier*. He is a well made, tall man, much pitted with the small-pox, and about thirty years of age.

The unfortunate Kenneth M'Ken-

zie, alias Jefferson, for whose murder captain M'Kenzie was convicted, had been bred a drummer in the third regiment of foot guards, but falling in, about twelve years since, with a gang of shop-lifters, he was no less than three times capitally convicted at the Old Bailey; twice for stealing diamonds, and once for horse-stealing; but always found friends to obtain a mitigation of his sentence for transportation.

The sheriffs have laid claim to eleven thousand pounds worth of gold dust, which captain M'Kenzie brought with him from the coast of Africa, and which does not appear to have been transferred previous to his conviction; a circumstance rather extraordinary, considering the long time of his confinement.

The sheriffs also mean to contend for the 2000*l.* fine which Mr. Atkinson, the corn-contractor, is sentenced to pay.

11. At eleven o'clock came on, before lord chief baron Skynner and a special jury, at Guildhall, the new trial directed by the court of Exchequer, in an action of damages brought by captain Sutton, of the *Isis*, against commodore Johnstone, who commanded a fleet bound to the East Indies. The latter had put the former under arrest at Port Praya, alledging that the captain had not done his duty in the action, which took place with Monsieur Suffrein's squadron in that port. The new trial was granted at the instance of the commodore, to relieve himself from a former verdict obtained by the captain on the same action, for five thousand pounds. There being a greater number of witnesses than were, perhaps, ever examined in any cause, the trial lasted all the day on Saturday, the whole night, and yesterday until two o'clock, when the jury gave a ver-

dict, in favour of captain Sutton, for six thousand pounds.—There never was an instance, in this kingdom, before this, of a trial for damages that occupied the attention of a court for twenty-six hours without intermission.

— Thomas Wood and George Brown, were severally indicted for having stopped sir Thomas Davenport and his lady on the Harrow road, between Acton and Willefden, on Monday the eleventh day of October last, at a quarter past five, and robbed them of their watches and money. The prisoners pleaded Not guilty, and put themselves on God and their country. Sir Thomas Davenport was the first witness examined, and after relating the particulars of the robbery, deposed, that on the eleventh of November, exactly a month subsequent to the fact, he saw the prisoners on horseback in St. Martin's-lane; that he immediately recognised their persons; was persuaded they were the men who had robbed him and lady Davenport, and traced them to a house kept by Brown's mother in Chapel-street, near Great Ormond-street. That Brown was sent for to the office in Bow-street; that he readily told who was the person that had ridden up St. Martin's-lane with him, and that Wood was then sent for and taken into custody; and after two examinations, both of them were fully committed, Sir Thomas and his coachman and footman, being bound over to prosecute and give evidence. Upon his cross-examination, he said, he felt the fullest conviction in his own mind that the prisoners were the men who robbed him; that he took such particular notice of Wood, while the fact was committing, that he should have known him any where. This evidence was corroborated by the

testimony of the coachman and footman, and strengthened by the additional circumstance of one of them swearing to the person of Brown and to the horse of Wood. A fourth witness was also called to prove that he saw them on the road on the day of the robbery. The defence stated by the prisoners counsel was an *alibi* on the part of each of them; in support of which a variety of witnesses of unimpeachable character and integrity, were examined; and it was proved by them, beyond all question, that Wood was at his own house (the Assembly-House at Kentish Town) the whole of Monday the 11th of October; and that Brown was at his mother's in Chapel-street, from four in the afternoon on that day, till he went to bed in the evening. Many persons of great credit, and of respectable situations in life, were also called to their characters, who spoke in the highest terms of both the one and the other. In fine, so satisfied were the court and jury of the prisoners innocence, that both concurred in declaring it was unnecessary for the judge to sum up the evidence, and, therefore, without a moment's hesitation, the jury pronounced the prisoners, Not guilty. The counsel for Sir Thomas Davenport, were Mr. Sylvester and Mr. Shepherd; counsel for the prisoners, Mr. Garrow. We cannot make a better comment on this extraordinary trial, than by saying, in the words of Mr. Baron Hotham, "We hope it will tend to convince the world of the extreme fallibility of personal evidence." Sir Thomas Davenport, his coachman and footman, the learned judge farther observed, he was satisfied, had given their evidence fairly and conscientiously, firmly believing that the prisoners were the men who had robbed sir Thomas, but

but after what had been proved in court, there could not remain a moment's doubt of their innocence.

16. Came on, before baron Hotham and the recorder, the trial of Lewis Henry Scipio Duroure, esq. (commonly known by the distinction of count Duroure) for wilfully, maliciously, and feloniously, shooting with a loaded pistol at Tuxley Sandon, esq. at the Royal Hotel, Long-acre, which, by the statute of 9th Geo. II. commonly called the black act, is made a capital offence. Mr. Chetwood, counsel for the prosecution, opened the case in a very candid manner, wherein he stated the intimacy that subsisted between the count and the prosecutor, the elopement of the prosecutor's wife with the count to Portsmouth, and the other circumstances lately stated; and called

Mary Jones, a servant at the hotel. The witness saw the prisoner in company with Mrs. Sandon, at the hotel on the 4th of October last. Mr. Sandon, the husband, was previously in the house; the prisoner and the lady went up stairs. The witness answered the bell; when she entered the room, the lady had pistols, one in each hand; witness heard her declare, that "she would kill the first person that attempted to come in. She would sooner die than go with him." The lady was dressed in men's cloaths. Cross-examined by Mr. Erskine—"Do you recollect if the count had any pistols?" No; the witness did not recollect that he had. "By whom is the Royal Hotel kept?" Answer, "By James Sundy and John Brewer." Mr. Erskine addressed the court, and pointed out a defect in the indictment, the shooting being stated to be done in the house of John Sundy and James Brewer. Baron Hotham informed the jury

that the prosecutor was by no means obliged to describe the householder where the fact was committed; yet having done so, they were, in the strictness of legal proceedings, obliged to prove every part of the indictment, and the misnomer was fatal. The count was, therefore, acquitted, and he bowed respectfully and retired.

Count Duroure was dressed in a suit of black, appears to be about 28 years of age, and has very much the countenance of a foreigner, with prominent lips, flat nose, &c. &c.

19. This morning, at ten o'clock, a duel was fought near the stand on Epsom Downs, by Mr. H. D. jun. banker, of Charing Cross, and captain Batterby, of the 29th regiment; the former attended by general Garth, the latter by lieutenant Bourke, of the 28th regiment. When they came to the ground, it was agreed on, between the seconds, that the principals should stand at ten yards distance. Mr. D. fired the first shot, but without effect; after which capt. Batterby discharged his pistol, the contents of which entered at Mr. D.'s elbow, and lodged in the wrist, from which it was immediately extracted by Mr. Kennedy, surgeon, of Great Queen-street, who attended on the part of captain Batterby. Mr. J. Hunter came as surgeon to Mr. D. but did not arrive till after the operation was performed by Mr. Kennedy.

The following letters will explain the nature of this transaction.

LETTER I.

For the MORNING POST.

IT is with the utmost pain that I take up my pen thus publicly to relate a transaction which lately happened; and as I shall confine myself

to facts, the public will make such comments on the business as they think fit.

Mrs. L. a lady, whose husband is in a disagreeable situation, having a horse to dispose of, employs a person of the name of John Emerson, a stable-keeper, in the business, and who accordingly applies to Henry Drummond, junior, esq. of Charing Cross, who agreed to give forty guineas for him, provided he liked him on trial; and if he should be maimed or blemished, the same should be paid. Mr. D. keeps the horse two days, hunts him, and returns him lame, with five guineas for the use of him.

Mrs. L. astonished at such behaviour, wrote to Mr. D. by Emerson, who returns her note unread, on being informed whom it came from: thus situated was the affair when I was made acquainted with the circumstances; but, supposing Mr. Drummond, coolly considering matters, would not refuse reasonable conditions to a female already much embarrassed, I applied to him first in person, and afterwards by letter, but Mr. D. peremptorily refuses, on which I wrote him the following letter;

“ Sir,

“ I am sorry to be necessitated to address you a third time upon the same subject; I hope you will do me the justice to believe, that as it is impossible I could, before this instance, have known any harm of you, so it is also incredible that I can have the smallest enmity to you. The affair that leads me now to address you being come to a point, you have only to chuse whether you will pay the forty guineas, and make a written apology to Mrs. L. or have the affair put in the public prints.

“ I shall hope for your answer

by four o'clock to-morrow in the afternoon.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ JAMES BATTERSBY.”

Free Masons Tavern,

Saturday evening.

“ P. S. I have a farther claim on you for your expression to me, Sir, terming my letter an extraordinary one. An answer having come with Mr. Drummond's positive refusal, I have to remark, that when young gentlemen act improperly, and instead of behaving with spirit, consult papa, such conduct renders them too contemptible for even personal chastisement.”

I sent this by my servant, who returned with a verbal message, that the note required no answer. I had nothing now left but to publish the whole transaction, which is most reluctantly done by

JAMES BATTERSBY,

Capt. 29th reg.

Free Masons Tavern,

Dec. 17, 1784.

LETTER II.

To the Editor of the MORNING
Post.

Sir,

In answer to my publication in Saturday's Morning Post, I received the following letter from Mr. Henry Drummond, junior.

Cocoa Tree Coffee-house, Pall
Mall, Dec. 18, 1784.

“ Sir,

“ In a letter for the Morning Post of this morning, signed James Battersby, capt. 29th regiment, dated 17th December, from the Free-Mason's Tavern, having in the post-

script

script these words: "That an answer having come with Mr. D.'s positive refusal, I have to remark, that, when young gentlemen act improperly, and instead of behaving with spirit, consult papa, such conduct renders them too contemptible for even personal chastisement." Now, sir, if you dare avow yourself the author of the above, you will not fail to meet me this evening at three o'clock, attended by a friend, at the Ring in Hyde-Park, or any other place you shall appoint.

I am, sir, &c.

HENRY DRUMMOND, jun."

In consequence of the above, we met at Epsom, and conciliatory measures having failed, hostilities commenced. As the public, perhaps, may think my conduct in this business wanton, I therefore think it necessary to state, that having known Mrs. L. from her youth, I was led to look upon her as my sister: her sorrows naturally became my own.

Beauty in distress claims sympathy from every heart, (and is, I believe, one of the most powerful incitements that ever actuated a human breast not dead to sensibility) how then could I see this excellent creature in tears without seeking to know the cause, and endeavouring to do her justice?

It gives me pleasure to assert, that Mr. Drummond's conduct on the ground was cool, spirited, determined, and gentlemanlike; sufficiently so, to do away any ideas to his prejudice, respecting the former part of his conduct.

Thus, from the petulant duplicity of a stable-keeper, an amiable young gentleman, the hopes of a

respectable family, had nearly been lost to society!

JAMES BATTERSBY,
Capt. 29th reg.
Free-Mason's Tavern,
Sunday, 19th Dec. 1784.

20. The remains of the much lamented Dr. Samuel Johnson were interred in Westminster-abbey. The procession, consisting of a hearse and six with the corpse, and ten mourning coaches and four, set out from Bolt-court, Fleetstreet, a few minutes after twelve o'clock, being followed by several gentlemen's carriages, most of the company in which, were in mourning. At one o'clock the corpse arrived at the abbey, where it was met by Dr. Taylor (who read the funeral service) and several prebends, and conducted to the Poet's-Corner, and laid close to the remains of David Garrick, esq. The principal mourners on this solemn occasion were sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Edmund Burke, sir John Hawkins, Mr. Colman, and the deceased's faithful black servant. There were present besides, doctor Horsley, general Paoli, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Malone, rev. Mr. Strahan, Mr. Hoole, Mr. Nichols, and other distinguished persons. A great concourse of people were assembled, who behaved with a degree of decency suitable to the solemn occasion.

— The report was made to his majesty by Mr. Recorder of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, viz.

George Owen, for forging and publishing, as true, a certain order to the assay-master of the Goldsmith's company, for the delivery of certain silver goods, left for the assaying and marking, with intent to defraud.

Wil-

William Ryan, for feloniously personating and assuming the name and character of the brother of John Harrison, late a seamen on board his majesty's ship *Isis*, and administering to a will, as his heir and representative, with intent to defraud the lawful heirs or representatives of the said John Harrison.

James alias Joseph Treble, and George Hands, for feloniously assaulting Edward Rutter on the highway in the parish of Greenford, and robbing him of 5s. and a silver watch.

Charles Hughes, for privately stealing in the shop of John Williamson, in Holborn, a pair of spun silk stockings, value 5s. and upwards.

William Coombes and Thomas King, for feloniously being at large in this kingdom before the expiration of the several terms for which they were ordered to be transported.

Elizabeth Leonard, for feloniously assaulting Hannah Boardman (being then in the custody of the keeper of New Prison for an assault) putting her in fear, and taking from her person 4s. 6d. the property of Samuel Boardman.

Thomas Freeman, for forging a promissory note for the payment of 15l. as the note of D. Bowles for Croft and Co. to Mr Thomas Wilson, with intent to defraud Lawrence Pearson.

William Morrow alias Murry, for stealing a large sum of money, the property of Mess. Drummond and Co.

Robert Artz, and Thomas Gore, for privately stealing in the shop of Hyam Hart, in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, a diamond ring, two enamelled rings, a locket, &c.

Henry Moore and Richard Dodd, for feloniously assaulting John Cotton, esq. on the highway near Poplar, and robbing him of a silk purse with two gold slides, two guineas, and a half crown piece.

When William Coombes, George Owen, James alias Joseph Treble, Richard Dodd, Henry Moore, George Hands, and William Ryan, were ordered for execution on Wednesday next.

28. J. Mackintosh, jun. esq. shot himself in his lodgings at one of the hotels in Covent-Garden. He was a young man of character and distinction, lately returned from the East-Indies, where he had acquired a genteel competency; but from the extravagancies of youth, had expended his fortune, and found himself in very embarrassed circumstances. He had ruminated on his fate with the greatest deliberation for several days, and had conciliated his mind to that awful and horrible destiny, to which his proud spirit and precipitation hurried him. Having written several letters to his friends, and one to a pastry-cook under the Piazzas, to whom he was indebted about 2l. and whom he ordered to call on a certain gentleman on Thursday next for payment, mentioning at the same time, that *the pistol was at his head*, he, with the greatest composure, seized the fatal instrument, and put a period to his existence. He was a young gentleman of about nineteen years, upwards of six feet high, and of a handsome and agreeable aspect.

29. The following six malefactors were executed before Newgate; William Ryan, for personating the brother of John Harrison, late of his majesty's ship *Isis*, and administering to a counterfeit will, with intent

intent to defraud said Harrison; James alias Joseph Treble, and George Hands, for robbing Edward Rutter on the highway of a watch and five shillings; William Coombes, for being at large before the expiration of the time for which he had been transported; Henry Moore and Richard Dodd, for assaulting John Cotton, near Poplar, and robbing him of a silk purse, two guineas, and half a crown.—The convicts came upon the scaffold soon after day-light, and after the usual time employed in devotion, during which they manifested every appearance of sincere repentance, the platform dropped, about twenty minutes after eight o'clock, and launched them into eternity. Moore and Dodd died with hands closely clasped together, and they did not separate till some time after their bodies were quite motionless. Tuesday morning at seven o'clock a respite was delivered to the keeper of Newgate for George Owen, who was ordered to be executed with the abovementioned sufferers, in pursuance of his sentence, for forging and publishing an order for the delivery of some silver work, the property of a tradesman who had sent it to be assayed and marked.

When the respite for George Owen, sent from lord Sydney's office yesterday morning, arrived at Newgate, the unhappy young man was haltered, and preparing for execution. The moment he received the welcome tidings, he dropt upon his knees, and with great fervency returned thanks to the Almighty for his goodness. May so proper an impression have its due effect!

The unhappy wretches executed yesterday, were attended by Mr. Midford Young, the under sheriff, and the proper officers.

BIRTHS in the Year 1784.

December 24. 1783. Her serene highness the princess of Wirtemberg, of a princess.

February 2. The right hon. the countess of Westmoreland, of a son.

4. The right hon. lady Algernon Percy, of two sons.

12. The right hon. lady viscountess Maitland, of a son.

14. The right hon. lady Louisa Macdonald, of a son.

March 23. The right hon. lady St. John, of a son and heir.

May 2. Her royal highness princess Sophia Frederica, consort to prince Frederic of Denmark, of a daughter.

7. The lady of Philip Yorke, esq. of a son and heir.

June 13. The right hon. lady viscountess Chewton, of a son and heir.

July 15. The right hon. the countess Traquair, of a son.

21. Lady Francis Alicia Benyon, of a son.

August 6. Viscountess Stormont, of a son.

10. Lady of his grace the lord archbishop of Cashel, of a son.

— Countess of Leicester, of a daughter.

24. Lady of the right hon. William Eden of a daughter.

— Lady Page, of a daughter.

September 2. Duchess of Beaufort, of a son.

13. Hereditary princess of Baden, of a prince.

Oct. 9. Lady of the hon. Francis Talbot, brother to the earl of Shrewsbury, of a daughter.

14. The princess of Asturias, of a son.

— Lady of lord George Cavendish, of a son.

16. Right

16. Right hon. lady Deerhurst, of a son and heir.

22. Archduchess of Milan, of a princess.

28. Lady of the grand signor, of a princess.

Nov. 22. Lady viscountess Galway, of a daughter.

7. Lady of the hon. John Byng, of a son.

29. Lady Lewisham, of a son.

Dec. 2. Right hon. lady Frances Morgan, of a daughter.

Lately, the grand duchess of Russia, of a princess.

14. Queen of Naples, of a princess.

MARRIAGES in the Year 1784.

January 9. Col. Thomas Dundas, of Fingask, to lady Elizabeth Eleonora Home, eldest daughter of the earl of Home.

Feb. 5. The hon. and rev. Edward Venables Vernon, to lady Anne Leveson Gower.

26. John Boyd, esq. son of sir John Boyd, bart. to Miss Harley, daughter to the right hon. Thomas Harley.

April 13. The right hon. lord Napier, to Miss Clavering, eldest daughter of sir Thomas Clavering, bart.

May 5. A private soldier in his Majesty's royal regiment of horseguards, to lady Ligonier, the divorced wife of lord Ligonier.

——— Byron, esq. to the hon. Miss Talbot, niece to the earl of Shrewsbury.

7. The right hon. lord Clive, to the right hon. lady Henrietta Herbert, sister to the earl of Powis.

14. Captain Hervey, of the royal navy, to the right hon. lady Louisa Nugent, daughter to earl Nugent, of the kingdom of Ireland.

June 9. The right hon. lord Saltoun, to Miss Frazer, daughter to Simon Frazer, esq.

18. The right hon. lord Landaff, to lady Catherine Skeffington, sister to the earl of Massarene.

28. The hon. George Ferdinand Fitzroy, eldest son of lord Southampton, to Miss Keppel, daughter to the late bishop of Exeter.

29. The right hon. lord viscount Falmouth, to Miss Crewe, daughter of John Crewe, esq. of Boleworth-Castle, in Cheshire.

July 14. ——— Cumberland, esq. to Miss Hobart, daughter of the hon. Mr. Hobart.

21. The right hon. William Wyndham, brother to the earl of Egremont, to Miss Harford, natural daughter of lord Baltimore, and late Mrs. Morris.

25. Gabriel Piozzi, esq. to Mrs. Thrale, relict of the late Henry Thrale, esq.

31. James Trail, esq. to the right hon. lady Janet Sinclair, sister to the earl of Caithness.

August 6. Thomas Ord, esq. to Mrs. Broderick, widow of Edward Broderick, esq.

11. Right hon. lord Balgonie, eldest son of the earl of Leven and Melville, to Miss Thornton, daughter of John Thornton, esq. of Clapham.

17. The hon. admiral Digby, to Mrs. Jauncy, eldest daughter of Andrew Elliot, esq. late governor of New York.

21. The hon. ——— Cranfield Berkeley, one of the representatives in parliament for the county of Gloucester, to the hon. Miss Charlotte Lenox, daughter of lord George Lenox, brother to the duke of Richmond.

28. Lord St. Asaph, son to the earl of Ashburnham, to the hon. Miss

Miss Thynne, third daughter of lord viscount Weymouth.

Sept. 9. Richard Pepper Arden, esq. his majesty's attorney-general, to Miss Wilbraham Bootle, eldest daughter of Richard Wilbraham Bootle, esq.

23. Montagu Wilson, esq. to Miss Hobart, eldest daughter of the hon. Henry Hobart, brother to the earl of Buckingham.

28. Prince Charles of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, second brother to her majesty, to princess Charlotte, of Hesse-Cassel.

Oct. 4. Honourable capt. Douglas, of the first regiment of foot-guards, to Miss Lascelles.

Nov. 10. Richard Langley, esq. to Miss Dorothy Willoughby, a daughter of the right hon. Henry lord Middleton.

16. Earl of Euston, eldest son of the duke of Grafton, to lady Horatia Waldegrave, second daughter of the duchess of Gloucester, and sister to the present countess of Waldegrave.

18. Reginald Pole Carew, esq. to Miss Jemima Yorke, only daughter of the hon. John Yorke.

24. Major Charles Boyd, nephew to the earl of Errol, to Miss Halliburton.

25. Christopher Barnard, esq. to Miss Fanny Clarges, niece to lord viscount Barrington.

29. Thomas Bovet, esq. to the hon. Miss Seymour, daughter of the right hon. and rev. lord Francis Seymour, and niece to the duke of Somerset.

rences for 1783, this princess was said by mistake to be daughter to the most Christian king.]

Lately, the right hon. John earl and baron of Wandesford in Ireland, baron of Castlecomer, and a baronet. The title is extinct.

— In the 70th year of her age, her royal highness Frederica Louisa, margravine dowager of Brandenburg Anspach, mother to the reigning margrave, and sister to the king of Prussia.

Jan. 8. The hon. John Damer, only brother to Joseph lord Milton.

9. In the 58th year of his age, sir George Savile, baronet, descended from the Saviles, marquises of Halifax. The title is extinct.

10. The hon. Letitia Sandys, daughter to Samuel, first lord Sandys

11. The right hon. sir Edward Walpole, second son of Robert first earl of Orford, knight of the Bath, and a privy counsellor in Ireland. He was, first, secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland; then joint secretary to the treasury; and, lastly, clerk of the pells in his majesty's exchequer. Sir Edward was never married, but has left three illegitimate daughters, 1. The relict of bishop Keppel; 2. Maria, married, first, to James, earl Waldegrave, and, secondly, to his royal highness the duke of Gloucester; 3. The countess of Dyfart.

15. In the 80th year of her age, the right hon. the countess dowager of Home, relict of William earl of Home.

23. At Florence, in the 61st year of his age, Charles Edward Louis Stewart, eldest son of James Francis Edward Stewart, the only surviving son of king James II. He died without issue, and has left behind him an only brother, Henry Benedict, born Feb. 23, 1725, bishop

DEATHS in the Year 1784.

Dec. 5, 1783. In the eighth year of her age, her royal highness mademoiselle of France, daughter of the count d'Artois. [In our Occur-

shop of Corinth, and cardinal of York.

26. In the 30th year of her age, the right hon. Amelia, baroness Coniers, only surviving child of the late earl of Holderness. She was first married to Francis Godolphin Osborne, marquis of Carmarthen, by whom she had two sons and a daughter; and being divorced, she married, secondly, the hon. capt. Byron, only son of admiral Byron. She is succeeded in her title by George William Frederic Osborne, her eldest son by the marquis of Carmarthen.

30. The right hon. Henry Liddel, lord Ravensworth. He has left issue one daughter, married, first, to the duke of Grafton; and, being divorced, she married, secondly, to the earl of Upper Ossory.

Lately, at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, the right hon. lord Charles Grevile Montague, son to the late and brother to the present duke of Manchester.

Feb. 13. In the 71st year of his age, the rev. Jeremiah Milles, D. D. dean of Exeter, and president of the society of antiquaries.

19. In the 83d year of his age, the rev. Thomas Morel, D. D. F. R. and A. S. S. rector of Buckland, in Hertfordshire, and secretary to the society of antiquaries. He was the editor of Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary.

21. Sir Robert Harland, baronet, admiral of the Blue.

25. The right hon. Caroline, baroness Forrester, of the kingdom of Scotland, relict of the late George Cockburne, esq. comptroller of the navy. She is succeeded in her title by her only daughter Anne Mary Cockburne.

March 6. The right hon. sir Thomas Sewel, knight, master of

the rolls, and member of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

8. The right hon. Catharine, countess dowager of Litchfield, relict of Robert, last earl of Litchfield.

15. The rev. Thomas Franklin, D. D. rector of Brasted, in Kent, and chaplain in ordinary to his majesty. He had formerly been fellow of Trinity college in Cambridge, and Greek professor in that university. He was the author of translations of Phalaris, Sophocles and Lucian, and some tragedies.

April 2. The right hon. lady Anne Purves, sister to Hugh, earl of Marchmont.

3. The right hon. Cadwallader Davis, lord Blayney, of the kingdom of Ireland. The title is extinct.

— The right hon. John, lord Annaly, of the kingdom of Ireland, lord chief justice of the court of King's Bench, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy counsellors in that kingdom.

4. Mrs. Wilkes, wife of John Wilkes, esq. alderman of Farringdon Ward without, chamberlain of the city of London, and member of parliament for the county of Middlesex.

10. In the 77th year of her age, the right hon. Elizabeth, countess of Mansfield, daughter to Daniel, sixth earl of Winchelsea.

14. The right hon. James, lord Rollo, of the kingdom of Scotland.

15. The rev. Thomas Wilson, D. D. prebendary of Westminster, and rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. He was the only surviving son of Dr. Thomas Wilson, lord bishop of Sodor and Man.

— In the 76th year of his age, his serene highness Maximilian Frederic, count of Konigsfegg Rothen-

thenfells, archbifhop and elector of Cologne, and bifhop of Munfter.

16. On board the Sandwich packet, in his paffage from Nevis, Richard Oliver, efq. formerly an alderman, and member of parliament for the city of London.

21. The princefs of Tour and Taxis, confort of the prince of Oettinguen.

26. Prince Francis Adolphus, of Anhalt Bemburg Schambourg.

27. The right hon. David Dalrymple.

28. The right hon. the countefs of Waldegrave, fifter to earl Gower.

30. The prince bifhop of Liege.

May 2. The honourable Mifs Burrel, only daughter of fir Peter Burrel and lady Willoughby of Erefby.

Lately, the right hon. the countefs of Kingfton, lady to the prefent earl, and mother to lord Kingsborough.

24. Catharine dowager lady vifcountefs Netterville, mother to the prefent lord vifcount Netterville.

June 3. The right hon. Wilhelmina Catharina dowager lady King, daughter of John Troy, efq. of Brabant.

4. Hon. Mrs. Needham, fifter to the prefent lord vifcount Kilmorey.

8. The right hon. the countefs dowager of Effex, mother of the prefent earl of Effex, and youngft daughter of the fecond duke of Bedford.

11. Right hon. Catharine, countefs dowager of Egmont, fifter to the earl of Northampton. The Irish barony of Arden, enjoyed by her ladyfhip in her own right, defcends to her eldeft fon, the hon. George Perceval, now lord Arden.

15. Sir Barnard Turner, knight, alderman of Cordwainers' Ward, and one of the representatives in parliament for the borough of Southwark.

17. The hon. David Stuart, fon

of the late, and brother to the prefent earl of Moray.

— Sir George Vandeput, fo noted for his oppofition in 1749, to the prefent earl Gower, as a candidate for Weftminfter.

28. The right hon. the countefs dowager Harrington.

Lately, hon. Redmond Morres, brother to the late lord Mountmorres, and member of parliament for the city of Dublin.

July 9. Matthew Buckle, efq. admiral of the blue.

14. Mrs. Mary Dodd, relict of the late unfortunate Dr. Dodd.

18. Lord Guernfey, only fon of the earl of Aylesford.

24. The hon. Mrs. Walpole, wife to the hon. Robert Walpole, his majefty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of Portugal.

Aug. 3. In the 82d year of her age, the hon. Mrs. Dawney, relict of the hon. and rev. Godfrey Dawney.

Lately, prince Frederic, eldeft fon of the hereditary prince of Hefle.

— His ferene highnefs prince Charles Auguftus Frederic, only fon of the duke of Deuxponts.

10. In the 71ft year of his age, Allan Ramfay, efq. principal portrait-painter to their majefties.

Sept. 2. Lady Campbell, relict of lord William Campbell.

5. Mifs Linley, daughter of Mr. Linley, manager of Drury-lane theatre.

6. George Alexander Stevens, author of the celebrated lecture on heads.

9. Hon. J. Smith Barry, uncle to the earl of Barrymore.

17. John earl Tylney, of the kingdom of Ireland. The title is extinct.

29. Lady Catharine Gordon, eldeft

eldest daughter of the earl of Aberdeen.

Lately honourable Mr. Legge, a younger son of the earl of Dartmouth.

Oct. 9. Lady Anne Acton, lady of sir Richard Acton, and daughter of the earl of Stamford.

15. The right hon. John, earl of Waldegrave, viscount Chewton, master of the horse to her majesty, col. of the Coldstream regiment of foot-guards, governor of Plymouth, a general of his majesty's forces, and lord lieutenant of the county of Essex.

27. The right hon. countess dowager Delawar.

28. Princess Juliana Maria, daughter of prince Frederic, brother to his Danish majesty.

Lately, the right hon. sir Henry Aylmer, baron of Balrath.

— John King, the companion and friend of the celebrated captain Cook.

Nov. 6. Richard Oswald, esq. lately his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at Paris, to settle a treaty of peace with the commissioners of the United States of America.

11. The infant don Carlos, eldest son of the prince of Asturias.

12. The hon. Miss Louisa Chetwynd, daughter of lord viscount Chetwynd.

15. Anne, countess of Donald.

21. The most noble Catherine, duchess of Norfolk, consort to the present duke.

— Sir Thomas Frankland, bart. admiral of the white.

25. The right hon. Anne, countess of Drogheda.

Lately, the lady of lord Massey.

— The marchioness of Accorambani, sister to sir William Murray.

Dec. 6. In the 84th year of her

age, Mrs. Hare, relict of the late bishop of Chichester.

13. In the 76th year of his age, Dr. Samuel Johnson.

29. In the 89th year of his age, the right hon. sir Thomas Parker, formerly lord chief baron of his majesty's court of Exchequer.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year 1784.*

Dec. 20. 1783. Everard Fawcener, esq. to be one of his majesty's commissioners for the stamp-duties.

26. The right hon. James Grenville, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

30. Thomas Pitt, esq. the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Camelford, baron of Boconnoc, in the county of Cornwall.

31. Heneage, earl of Aylesford, Thomas, lord Walsingham, and the right hon. William Wyndham Greville, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

— Thomas, earl of Clarendon, to be chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster.

Lately, William Mitford, esq. to be a chief clerk of the board of treasury, *vice* F. Reynolds, esq.

— Rev. Isaac Milner, M. A. F. R. S. elected Jacksonian professor, in the university of Cambridge.

— Rev. Herbert Randolph, L. L. B. to be a prebendary of Sarum.

— Rev. Thomas Drake, B. D. to be chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury.

Jan. 1. Philip, earl of Chesterfield, to be his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the king of Spain.

2. Arthur Stanhope, esq. to be his

his majesty's secretary of embassy to the king of Spain.

— Heneage earl of Aylesford, to be captain of the yeomen of his majesty's guard.

— George lord de Ferrars, to be captain of his majesty's band of gentlemen pensioners.

— John earl of Galloway, to be one of the gentlemen of his majesty's bed-chamber.

6. Charles earl of Tankerville, and Henry Frederic lord Carteret, to the office of post-master general.

— The right hon. Sir George Yonge, bart. to be his majesty's secretary at war.

7. Philip earl of Chesterfield, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

9. Lieutenant-colonel Henry Augustus Montagu Cosby, to the honour of knighthood.

13. The right hon. Thomas Kelly, to be one of the justices of the court of Common Pleas in the kingdom of Ireland, *vice* Godfrey Pitt, esq. deceased.

— Sir Samuel Bradstreet, bart. Alexander Crookshank, esq. and Peter Metge, esq. to be justices of the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and a baron of the court of Exchequer in the kingdom of Ireland, respectively, in addition to the number of justices heretofore appointed for the said courts.

16. Barnard Turner, esq. alderman and one of the sheriffs of the city of London, to the honour of knighthood.

17. Samuel Estwick, esq. to be secretary and register to the royal hospital at Chelsea.

20. George Augustus Selwyn, esq. to the office of surveyor of his majesty's castles, honours, lands, and woods, in England. [These two articles were improperly inserted in

the promotions of the preceding year.]

31. Hugh duke of Northumberland, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Lovaine, baron of Alnwick in the county of Northumberland, during his natural life, with remainder to his second son, lord Algernon Percy.

— The right hon. Henry Frederic Carteret, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Carteret of Hawnes in the county of Bedford, with remainder to the second and other sons of lord viscount Weymouth.

— Edward Eliot, esq. to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Eliot of St. Germain's in the county of Cornwall.

— Richard Gamon, esq. to be one of his majesty's commissioners for the management of the duties on salt.

— Thomas Astle, esq. to the office of keeper of the rolls and records of the court of chancery in the tower of London.

Lately, the right hon. Isaac Barré, to be clerk of the pells in the court of exchequer.

— Reverend Thomas Taylor, LL.B. elected professor of civil law in Gresham college.

Feb. 9. Lord George Henry Lennox, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

10. The earl of Effingham, to the office of master and worker of his majesty's mint.

— Lord George Henry Lennox, to be constable of the tower of London and his majesty's lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the tower hamlets.

— The honourable John Thomas

mas Townshend, to be one of his majesty's under secretaries of state for the home department.

— Sir Edmund Affleck, bart. to be rear admiral of the blue.

11. Charles duke of Rutland, to be lieutenant-general and general-governor of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland.

13. The prince of Wales has been pleased to make the following appointments in his royal highness's household, viz.

Colonel Hulse, to be comptroller of the household.

Colonel Stevens and lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, to be grooms of the bed-chamber.

Major Churchil and the honourable captain Ludlow, to be equerries.

21. The reverend William Buller, D. D. to the dignity of dean of the cathedral church of Exeter, *vice* Dr Jeremiah Milles.

— The reverend George Pretyman, M. A. to the dignity of a prebendary of the collegiate church of Westminster, *vice* the reverend William Stockwood.

— The reverend Edward Wilson, M. A. to the dignity of a prebendary of his majesty's free chapel of Windsor, *vice* Dr. William Buller.

— Lieutenant-general William Augustus Pitt, to be commander in chief of his majesty's land forces in Ireland.

23. Benjamin Thompson, esq. colonel of his majesty's regiment of American dragoons, and James Parrey, esq. sheriff of the county of Bucks, to the honour of knighthood.

24. Richard earl of Mornington, and Thomas Orde, esq. to be of his majesty's most honourable privy-council for the kingdom of Ireland.

— Thomas Orde, esq. appointed by the lord lieutenant of Ireland to be his chief secretary.

28. Richard earl of Shannon, George viscount Mount Edgcumbe, and Thomas lord Walsingham, to the office of vice-treasurer of the kingdom of Ireland.

— David Reid, esq. to be one of his majesty's commissioners for the receipt and management of the customs and other duties in Scotland.

March 5. Joshua John lord Carysfort, invested a knight of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick.

8. William Frazer, Stephen Cottrel, and Evan Nepean, esquires, to be commissioners for executing the office of keeper of the privy seal.

— John Edenfor Heathcote, esq. sheriff of the county of Stafford, to the honour of knighthood.

16. James Stanley, esq. barrister at law, to be steward and one of the judges of his majesty's palace court of Westminster.

— George earl of Orford to the office of ranger and keeper of St. James's Park.

20. Anthony Merry, esq. to be his majesty's consul at Malaga.

27. Ralph Heathcote, esq. his majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the elector of Cologne, to be also his minister plenipotentiary to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

— The reverend Claudius Cricke, A. B. nominated by the duchess dowager of Athol to be bishop of the isle of Man and Sodor, *vice* Dr. George Mason, and confirmed by his majesty.

— Robert lord viscount Galway, to be comptroller of his majesty's household.

— The right honourable William Wyndham Grenville and Constantine John lord Mulgrave, to the office

office of receiver and paymaster-general of his majesty's forces.)

—. Lloyd Kenyon, esq. to the office of master or keeper of the rolls or records in chancery, *vice* Sir Thomas Sewel.

28. Richard Hopkins, esq. to be one of his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of high admiral, *vice* John Modyford Heywood, esq.

29. The hon. Richard Howard, appointed by the queen to be secretary and comptroller of her majesty's household.

30. Richard Pepper Arden, esq. to be his majesty's attorney general, *vice* Lloyd Kenyon, esq.

—. Richard Pepper Arden, esq. to the several offices of chief justice of the counties of Denbigh and Montgomery, and justice of the counties of Chester and Flint, *vice* Lloyd Kenyon, esq.

—. The hon. James Luttrell, to the office of master surveyor of his majesty's ordnance.

April 2. Lloyd Kenyon, esq. to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

3. Sir Richard Reynel, bart. to be one of his majesty's commissioners for the management of the duties on salt.

7. Archibald Macdonald, esq. to be his majesty's solicitor general, *vice* Richard Pepper Arden.

10. The reverend Folliot Herbert Walker Cornewal, M. A. to the dignity of a prebendary of his majesty's free chapel of Windsor, *vice* Dr. Thomas Hurdis.

14. Henry Thomas Gott, of Newlands in the county of Buckingham, to the honour of knighthood.

16. Robert lord viscount Galway, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

23. Constantine John lord Mul-

grave, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

26. The right honourable John Foster, to the office of chancellor of the exchequer of the kingdom of Ireland.

27. The reverend William Cleaver, to the dignity of a prebendary of his majesty's collegiate church of Westminster, *vice* doctor Thomas Wilfon.

—. Isaac Heard, esq. to be garter principal king of arms, *vice* Ralph Bigland, esq.

28. Daniel Hailes, esq. to be his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, in the absence of the duke of Dorset.

30. The honourable lieutenant-colonel Henry Fitzroy Stanhope, appointed by the prince of Wales to be a groom of his royal highness's bed-chamber.

May 11. George lord Abergavenny, to the dignities of viscount and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of viscount Nevil of Birling in the county of Kent, and earl of Abergavenny in the county of Monmouth.

—. George lord de Ferrars, to the dignity of an earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of earl of the county of Leicester.

—. Henry lord Pager, to the dignity of an earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of earl of Uxbridge in the county of Middlesex.

—. Sir James Lowther, baronet, to the dignities of baron, viscount, and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Lowther, of Lowther in the county of Westmoreland, baron of Kendal in the said county, and baron of Burgh in the county of Cumberland, viscount Lonsdale and viscount Lowther, and earl of Lonsdale.

—. Thomas lord viscount Bulkeley,

ley, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Bulkeley baron of Beaumaris in the county of Anglesea.

— Sir Thomas Egerton, baronet, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Grey de Wilton in the county of Hereford.

— Sir Charles Cocks, baronet, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Sommers, baron of Evesham in the county of Worcester.

— John Parker, esq. to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Boringdon, of Boringdon in the county of Devon.

— Noel Hill, esq. to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Berwick of Attingham in the county of Salop.

— James Dutton, esq. to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Sherborne, baron of Sherborne in the county of Gloucester.

— David earl of Leven, to be his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

— The rev. William Cecil Pery, D.D. to the bishopric of Limeric in the kingdom of Ireland, *vice* Dr. William Gore.

— The rev. Christopher Butson, M.A. to the dignity of dean of the cathedral church of Waterford, *vice* the rev. Cutts Harman.

— The right hon. John Scot, to be his majesty's chief justice of the court of King's Bench in the kingdom of Ireland.

— The right hon. John Scot, to

the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the title of baron Earlsfort, of Liffon-earl in the county of Tipperary.

13. Lieutenant-colonel Charles Rooke, appointed by the queen to be one of the gentlemen ushers quarter-waiters to her majesty, *vice* Henry Reveley, esq.

18. Henry Reveley, esq. to be one of the commissioners for his majesty's revenue of excise, *vice* Charles Garth, esq.

20. George Harrison, esq. to the office of Norroy king of arms, and principal herald of the northern parts of England.

— The rev. Philip Williams, A.B. to be chaplain to the honourable the House of Commons, *vice* Folliot Herbert Walker Cornewal.

28. Charles Booth, esq. high-sheriff of the county of Kent, to the honour of knighthood.

June 2. Commodore Richard King, to the honour of knighthood.

5. Francis Townsend, esq. to be Windsor herald of arms, *vice* George Harrison, esq.

8. Anthony Botet, esq. to the office of constable of the castle of Castlemain in the county of Kerry.

12. William Hanbury, esq. to be his majesty's agent and consul in the circle of Lower Saxony and the free cities of Bremen and Lubec.

19. George lord viscount St. Asaph, appointed by the prince of Wales to be one of the gentlemen of his royal highness's bed-chamber.

29. Alexander Gordon, of Rockville, esq. to be one of the lords of his majesty's court of session for the kingdom of Scotland, *vice* David Dalrymple, of West hall, esq.

30. John Barton, esq. appointed by the duke of Montagu to be one of

of the purveyors and granitors of the royal stables, *vice* George Swinney, esq.

July 3. Sir James Harris, K. B. to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General of the United Provinces.

—. Alexander duke of Gordon, to the dignities of baron and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Gordon of Huntley in the county of Gloucester, and earl of Norwich in the county of Norfolk.

—. John lord Talbot, to the dignities of viscount and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of viscount of Ingestrie in the county of Stafford, and earl Talbot of Hensol in the county of Glamorgan.

—. Richard lord Grosvenor, to the dignities of viscount and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of viscount Belgrave in the county palatine of Chester, and earl Grosvenor.

—. Edward lord Beaulieu, to the dignity of an earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of earl Beaulieu of Beaulieu in the county of Southampton.

—. The rev. Hugh Blair, D. D. and William Greenfield, to be joint professors of rhetoric and belles lettres in the university of Edinburgh.

6. Charles Logie, esq. to be his majesty's consul and agent-general at Algiers.

—. Francis Fownes Luttrell, esq. to be one of his majesty's commissioners of taxes, *vice* Alexander Topham, esq.

10. George Mordon, esq. to be his majesty's consul in the islands of Majorca and Minorca.

17. The right hon. sir John Bla-

quiere, K. B. and Robert Warren, of Crookstown in the county of Cork, esq. to the dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Ireland.

19. James lord viscount Clifden, and William Brabazon Ponsonby, esq. to be his majesty's post-masters general of the kingdom of Ireland.

—. John Lees, esq. to be secretary; Lodge Morris, esq. to be treasurer, or receiver-general; John Armit, esq. to be accomptant-general; William Fortescue, esq. to be resident surveyor; and Robert Shaw, esq. to be comptroller of the sorting office in his majesty's general post office in the kingdom of Ireland.

24. The right hon. Lloyd Kenyon, to the dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great-Britain.

28. The hon. William Wesley Pole, appointed by the lord lieutenant of Ireland to be governor of the Queen's county.

—. Colonel Thomas Carleton, to be captain-general and governor in chief of the province of New Brunswick.

31. William M'Connell, esq. to be commissary of Wigtown, *vice* John M'Culloch, esq.

August 2. Sir John Griffin Griffin, K. B. called up, by writ of summons, to the house of peers, by the title of lord Howard of Walden.

7. Countess of Harcourt, appointed by the queen to be one of the ladies of her majesty's bed-chamber, *vice* duchess of Argyle.

11. Francis Willes, esq. to the honour of knighthood.

14. Patrick Wilson, A. M. and F. R. S. of Edinburgh, to be assistant to doctor Alexander Wilson, professor of practical astronomy, and observer in Glasgow college, and

and to the reversion of the said office.

20. James earl of Courtown, to be treasurer of his majesty's household, and of his majesty's most honourable privy council,

21. Robert Waller, esq. to be one of the grooms of his majesty's bed-chamber, *vice* major general St. John.

— Major general Adeane, to be one of the grooms of his majesty's bed-chamber.

— Hon. Keith Stewart, to be receiver-general of his majesty's land rents and casualties in Scotland.

September 3. Sir James Harris, K. B. to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— Thomas lord Sydney, the right hon. William Pitt, the right hon. Henry Dundas, Thomas lord Walsingham, the right hon. William Wyndham Grenville, and Constantine John lord Mulgrave, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be his majesty's commissioners for the affairs of India.

— George Crauford, esq. to be commissary, to treat with the commissaries of the most Christian king, pursuant to the late treaty of peace.

— Henry Hew Dalrymple, esq. to be secretary.

18. Joseph Frederic Wallet Desbarres, esq. to be governor of the island of Cape Breton.

October 1. Augustus Rogers, esq. to be secretary to his majesty's board of ordnance, *vice* John Boddington, esq.

27. His royal highness prince Frederic bishop of Osnabruck, to be colonel of the Coldstream regiment of foot guards, *vice* general John earl of Waldegrave, and to be a lieutenant-general in the army.

November 4. George earl Waldegrave, to be master of the horse to her majesty, *vice* late earl Waldegrave.

13. The rev. William Preston, A. M. to the bishoprics of Killala and Achonry, *vice* Dr. William Cecil Pery.

— John lord Howard de Walden, to be lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Essex, *vice* John earl Waldegrave.

16. Charles earl Cornwallis, to be constable of the tower of London, *vice* lord George Henry Lennox.

17. George lord Herbert, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

20. George lord Herbert, to be vice chamberlain of his majesty's household, *vice* George lord viscount Chewton, now earl Waldegrave.

24. Granville earl Gower, to be keeper of the privy seal.

27. Prince Frederic bishop of Osnabruck, to the dignities of a duke of the kingdom of Great Britain, and an earl of the kingdom of Ireland, by the titles of duke of York and of Albany in the kingdom of Great Britain, and earl of Ulster in the kingdom of Ireland.

30. George Grenville Nugent Temple, earl Temple, to the dignity of a marquis of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of marquis of Buckingham in the county of Buckingham.

— William earl of Shelburne in the kingdom of Ireland, and lord Wycombe, baron of Chipping Wycombe in the kingdom of Great Britain, and K. G. to the dignities of a viscount, earl, and marquis of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the titles of viscount Calne and Causton in the county of Wilts,
earl

earl Wycombe of Chipping Wycombe in the county of Buckingham, and marquis of Lansdown in the county of Somerset.

December 1. Charles lord Camden, to be president of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

18. Vere Hunt, jun. esq. and Joseph Hoare, esq. to the dignity of baronets of the kingdom of Ireland.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council for the year 1784. viz.

Berkshire—Charles Dalbiac, of Hungerford Park, esq.

Bucks—Richard Scrimshire, of Amerham, esq.

Cumberland—John Christian, of Unerig, esq.

Cheshire—Thomas Willis, of Sweetenham, esq.

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire—Thomas Shephard, of March, esq.

Cornwall—Joseph Beauchamp, of Pengreep, esq.

Devonshire—Thomas Lane, of Cofleet, esq.

Dorsetshire—Isaac Sage, of Thornhill, esq.

Derbyshire—John Radford, of Smalley, esq.

Essex—Robert Preston, of Woodford, esq.

Gloucestershire—Giles Greenaway, of Barrington, esq.

Hertfordshire—John Thomas Ellis, of Widfall Hall, esq.

Herefordshire—James Walwyn, of Longworth, esq.

Kent—Charles Booth, of Steed-hill, esq.

Leicestershire—Charles Grave Hudson, of Wanlip, esq.

Lincolnshire—George William Johnson, of Witham on the Hill, esq.

Monmouthshire—Christoph. Chambré, of Llangfoist, esq.

Northumberland—Sir Fran. Blake, of Fowbray, bart.

Northamptonshire—Richard Kirby, of Floore, esq.

Norfolk—Sir Thomas Durrant, of Scottow, bart.

Nottinghamshire—Pendock Neale, of Tollerton, esq.

Oxfordshire—Arthur Annesley, of Bletchington, esq.

Rutlandshire—John Hawkins, of Brooke, esq.

Shropshire—William Child, of Kinlett, esq.

Somersetshire—Andrew Guy, of Enmore, esq.

Staffordshire—John Edenfor Heathcote, of Longton, esq.

Suffolk—John Wenyewe, of Brettenham, esq.

Southampton—Sir John Carter, of Portsmouth, knt.

Surrey—William Aldersey, of Stoke, near Guildford, esq.

Sussex—Thomas Dennett, of Ashhurst, esq.

Warwickshire—Joseph Boulton, of Baxterley, esq.

Worcestershire—Thomas Bund, of Wick, esq.

Wiltshire—William Chafin Grove, of Zeals, esq.

Yorkshire—Wm. Danby, of Swinton, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon—Edmund Williams, of Ty-mawr, esq.

Carmarthen—Robert Banks Hodgkinson, of Edwinsford, esq.

Cardigan—William Williams, of Cardigan, esq.

Glamorgan—John Richards, of E-nerglyn, esq.

Pembroke—John Protheroe, of E-germont, esq.

Radnor—Bushe Shelley, of Michaelchurch, esq.

Montgomeryshire—Bell Lloyd, of Bodfach, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesey—Thomas Ashton Smith, of Trefarthyn, esq.

Carnarvon — Robert Wynne, of Llanerch, esq.

Denbigh—John Ellis, of Eyton, esq.

Flint—Thomas Patton, of Flint, esq.

Merioneth—David Roberts, of Blaenyyddol, esq.

February 13, 1784.

His Majesty in Council was pleased to appoint the following sheriffs, viz.

Bedfordshire—William Goldsmith, of Streatly, esq.

Warwickshire—Francis Burdett, of Bramcote, esq. in the room of Joseph Boulbee, of Baxterley, esq.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

*House of Commons, Jovis 27^o Die Novembris, 1783.
List of the Minority and Majority on the Second Reading of the Bill for vesting
the Affairs of the East India Company in the Hands of certain Commissioners,
for the Benefit of the Proprietors and the Public, brought into the House by
the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, Member for Westminster, Secre-
tary of State for Foreign Affairs; and seconded by the Right Honourable
Lord North, Member for Banbury, and Secretary of State for the Home
Department.*

Against the Bill.

WAKE, fir W. }
Whitbread, Sam. } Bedford

Bedfordshire.

Neville, R. Aldworth }
Powney, Pen. Portlock } Reading
Aubrey, John } Windsor
Archdeckne, Chaloner } Wallingford

Buckinghamshire.

Grenville, hon. W. W. }
Grenville, James } Buckingham
Mahon, lord } Wycomb
Ord, Thomas } Aylesbury
Clayton, William } Marlow

Wendover

Drake, William }
Drake, William, jun. } Amersham
Yorke, Philip }

Cambridgeshire.

University
Cambridge

Cheshire.

Bootle, Rich. Wilbrah. }
Grosvenor, Thomas } Chester

Cornwall.

Jervis, fir John }
Perceval, hon. C. G. } Launceston

Johnstone, George }
Gascoyne, Bamber } Leskeard
Lestwithiel
Truro

For the Bill.

{ St. John, St. Andrew
Upper Ossory, earl of

{ Hartley, Winch. Henry
Elwes, John

{ Grenville, hon. Tho.
Verney, earl

Bacon, Anthony

{ Smith, Richard
Smith, John Mansfell

Townshend, hon. John
Mansfield, James
Crewe, John

Salt, Samuel
Malden, viscount

Against

Against the Bill.

Hyde, lord
 Jenkinson, right hon. C.
 Cocks, T. Somers
 M'Pherson, James
 Pardoe, John
 Dawes, John
 Praed, William
 Smith, Abel
 Lowther, sir James
 Lowther, William
 Lowther, John
 Garforth, John Baynes
 Rolle, John
 Palk, sir Robert
 Boone, Charles
 Brett, Charles
 Baring, John
 Scott, Thomas
 Sykes, sir Francis
 Boyd, John

Bodmyn
 Boffiney
 Helston
 Saltash
 Westfloo
 } Camelford
 Penryn
 Tregony
 } St. Ives
 St. Germain's
 St. Michael
 Newport
Cumberland.
 Carlisle
 } Cockermouth
Derbyshire.
 Derby
Devonshire.
 } Ashburton
 Dartmouth
 Okehampton
 Honiton
 Plymouth
 Beeralston
 Plympton
 Totness
 Barnstaple
 Tavistock
 Exeter
Dorsetshire.
 Dorchester
 Lyme
 Weymouth, &c.
 Bridport
 Shaftesbury
 Wareham

For the Bill.

{ Hunt, George
 { Masterman, William
 { Luttrell, hon. H. Lawes
 { Luttrell, hon. John
 Cooper, sir Grey
 Basset, sir Francis
 Stephenson, John
 Long, Dudley
 { Hale, Francis
 { Hanger, hon. William
 Maitland, viscount
 Fletcher, sir Henry
 Surrey, earl
 { Curzon, hon. Nath.
 { Cavendish, lord George
 { Coke, Edward
 { Cavendish, lord G. H. A.
 Minchin, Humphry
 Wilkinson, Jacob
 Darby, George
 Cox, Lawrence
 { Payne, sir Raph
 { Stuart, hon. James
 { Brown, Lancelot
 { Clerke, sir Philip Jen.
 Basse, Francis
 Rigby, right hon. Rich.
 Bampfylde, sir C. W.
 { Damer, hon. George
 { Ewer, William
 Fane, hon. Henry
 { Steward, Gabriel
 { Ellis, right hon. Welb.
 Beckford, Richard
 Mortimer, H. W.

Against

Against the Bill.

For the Bill.

Bankes, Henry	}	Corfe Castle	
Bond, John		Durham	
Tempest, John		<i>Ebor.</i>	
Duncombe, Henry		Aldborough	Mellish, Charles
		Beverly	Anderfon, Evelyn
Pennyman, fir James		Boroughbridge	{ Ambler, Charles
		Heydon	{ Eyre, Anthony
		Knarefborough	Chaytor, William
		Malton	{ Duncannon, viscount
Peirfe, Henry		Northallerton	{ Hare, James
Graham, lord		Richmond	Burke, right hon. Edm.
Robinfon, hon. Fred.		Rippon	Fitzwilliam, hon. G.
		Thirfk	{ Gascoigne, fir Tho. bart.
Galway, lord		York	{ Thompson, Beilby
Wilberforce, William		Hull	Cavendish, lord John
		<i>Effex.</i>	
Smyth, fir Robert		Colchefter	
		Harwich	{ North, hon. G. A.
		<i>Glouceftershire.</i>	{ Robinson, John
Martin, James		Tewkefbury	Dutton, James
Apfley, lord		Cirencefter	
		Gloucefter	{ Barrow, fir Charles
		<i>Herefordfbire.</i>	{ Webb, John
Harley, right hon. Tho.		Hereford	Scudamore, John
Symons, fir Richard		Leominfter	Knight, Rich. Payne
Scott, John		Weobly	
		<i>Hertfordfbire.</i>	Plumer, William
Dimfdale, baron		Hertford	Baker, William
		<i>Huntingdonfbire.</i>	{ Hinchinbroke, viscount
		Huntingdon	{ Ludlow, earl
			Pallifer, fir Hugh
Honywood, Filmer	}	<i>Kent.</i>	
Marfham, hon. Cha,			
		Rochefter	{ Gregory, Robert
		Queenborough	{ Hatton, George Finch
		Maidftone	{ Frederick, fir Charles
			{ Rawlinfon, fir Walter
Gipps, George	}	Canterbury	Taylor, Clement
Robinfon, Charles		<i>Lancafbire.</i>	
		Lancafter	Stanley, Thomas
			{ Braddyll, Wilfon
			{ Rawlinfon, Abraham

Against

Against the Bill.

	Preston
Gascoyne, Bamber, jun.	Liverpool
	Wigan
	Clitheroe
Pochin, William	Newton
	<i>Leicestershire.</i>
	Leicester
	<i>Lincolnshire.</i>
Howard, fir George	Stamford
Sutton, George	Grantham
	Boston
	Grimsbj
	Lincoln
Wilkes, John	<i>Middlesex.</i>
Lewes, fir Watkin	London
Wray, fir Cecil	Westminster
	<i>Norfolk.</i>
	Yarmouth
Hopkins, Richard	Thetford
Mackreth, Robert	Castlerising
Knightley, Lucy	} <i>Northamptonshire.</i>
Powys, Thomas	
Phipps, James	
	Peterborough
	Brackley
	Northampton
	Higham Ferrers
	<i>Northumberland.</i>
	Morpeth
	Berwick
	<i>Nottinghamshire.</i>
	Retford
Sutton, John	Newark
Smith, Robert	Nottingham
	<i>Oxon.</i>
	Oxford
	University
	Woodstock
	Banbury
	<i>Rutlandshire.</i>
Brudenell, Geo. Brid.	} <i>Salop.</i>
Hill, fir Richard	
Noel, Hill	

For the Bill.

{	Burgoyne, right hon. J.
	Houghton, fir Henry
	Rawlinson, Henry
{	Cotes, John
	Walpole, hon. Horatio
{	Lee, John
	Lister, Thomas
	Davenport, fir Thomas
	Grey, hon. Booth
	Thorold, fir John
	Cust. Fra. Cockayne
	Burrell, fir Peter
	Eyre, Francis
{	Vyner, Robert
	Cawthorne, J. Fenton
	Byng, George
{	Newnham, Nathaniel
	Sawbridge, John
	Fox, hon. Cha. James
	Coke, Tho. Will.
{	Townshend, rt. hon. C.
	Walpole, hon. Rich.
	Erskine, fir James
	Benyon, Richard
	Caswell, Timothy
{	Lucan, viscount
	Rodney, hon. George
	Montagu, right hon. F.
{	Delme, Peter
	Storer, Anthony
	Vaughan, hon. John
	Bentinck, lord Ed. Ch.
	Amcotts, Wharton
	Clinton, fir Henry
	Coke, Dan. Parker
	Spencer, lord Charles
	Spencer, lord Robert
	Dolben, fir William
	Eden, right hon. Will.
	North, lord

Against the Bill.

For the Bill.

Leighton, fir Charlt.
Pulteney, William

} Shrewsbury

Wenlock

Ludlow

Bridgenorth

Bishops Castle

Somersetshire.

Ilchester

} Milbourn Port

Wells

Bridgewater

Bath

Minehead

Taunton

Bristol

Hampshire.

Portsmouth

Newport

Yarmouth

} Newton

Lymington

Christchurch

Andover

Whitchurch

Petersfield

Southampton

Staffordshire.

Stafford

Tamworth

Newcastle

Litchfield

Suffolk.

Dunwich

Orford

Aldeburgh

Sudbury

Eye

Bury

Surrey.

Gatton

} Bridgeman, fir Henry
Forrester, George

} Clive, lord

} Davies, Somersfet

Pigot, Hugh

} Clive, William

} Strachey, Henry

Cust, Peregrine

Poulett, hon. Anne
Moysey, Abel

Halliday, John
Daubeney, George
Jervois, Jerv. Clerke
Erskine, hon. Tho.
St. John, John
Morant, Edward

Burrard, Harry
Frederick, fir John

Middleton, viscount
Jolliffe, William
Jolliffe, Tho. Samuel
Sloane, Hans
Lewisham, viscount
Monckton, hon. Ed.
Courtenay, John

Anson, George
Bunbury, fir Th. Ch.

} Beauchamp, viscount
Conway, hon. R. S.
Crespigny, Ph. Ch.
Fonnereau, Martin
Marriott, fir James

} Conway, H. S.
Davers, fir Cha.
Clayton, fir Robert
Lloyd, Maurice

Against

Smith, Samuel, jun.
Muncaster, lord
Townson, John
Tudway, Clement

Pratt, hon. John Jeff.
Beaufoy, Henry
Hammet, Benjamin

Thistlethwaite, Rob.

Arden, Pepper
Barrington, John

Griffin, fir John Griffin
Selwyn, William

M'Donald, Arch.
Gilbert, Thomas
Rous, fir John
Barne, Barne

Philipson, Richard

Mawbey, fir Joseph

Against the Bill.
Norton, hon. Edward

Thornton, Henry
Lenox, lord George

Herbert, Hen. Arth.
Medley, George
Kemp, Thomas
Steel, Thomas
Shuckburgh, fir G. A. W.

Fleming, fir M. Le
Lowther, James
Pitt, William

Bouverie, hon. W. H.

Townsend, James

Kenyon, Lloyd
Wraxall, Nat. W.
Pitt, Thomas
Burton, Francis
Gardiner, fir G. W.
Estwick, Samuel

Selwyn, Geo. Aug.

Haflemere
Bletchingley
Guildford
Southwark
Suffex.
Horsham
Bramber
Midhurst

} East Grinstead
Lewes
Chichester
Warwickshire.

Warwick

Coventry

} *Westmoreland.*
Appleby

Wilts.

Salisbury
Chippenham
Calne
Cricklade
Malmesbury

} Hindon
Old Sarum
Heytesbury

} Westbury
Wooton Bassett
Luggershall

Downton

Worcestershire.

Evesham

Droitwich
Worcester

Cinque Ports.

Hastings

Sandwich

For the Bill.

{ Kenrick, John
{ Nichols, John
Onslow, George
Hotham, fir Richard

Osborne, fir George
{ Stanhope, hon. H.
{ Gough, fir Henry
Gideon, fir Sampson

Pelham, hon. Henry
Wyndham, hon. P. C.

{ Greville, hon. Ch.
{ Ladbroke, Robert
{ Sheffield, lord
{ Conway, W. S.

{ Goddard, Amb.
{ Penruddock, Ch.
Hussey, William
Fludyer, George

St. John, hon. G. R.
Calvert, John, jun.

St. John, Henry
Melbourne, lord visc.
{ Conway, hon. H. S.
{ Shafto, Robert
Foley, hon. Edward
{ Rouse, C. W. B.
{ Rushout, fir John
Winnington, Edward
Rous, Thomas Bates

{ Ord, John
{ Palmerston, viscount
{ Stephens, Philip
{ Sutton, fir Richard

Against

Against the Bill.

Jackson, Richard

Dover
Romney
Rye*Wales.*

Bulkeley, lord

Anglesea
Brecon
Cardiff
Montgomeryshire
Montgomery
Haverfordwest
Pembrokeshire
Pembroke
Radnorshire
Radnor*Scotland.*

Ferguson, sir Adam

Aberbrothock, &c.
Ayrshire
Argyleshire
Berwickshire
Crail, &c.
Culrofs, &c.
Dumbarton, &c.
Dumfries, &c.
Edinburghshire
Fifehire
Haddingtonshire
Invernesshire
Irvine, &c.
Kinrosshire
Linlithgowshire
Cromartyshire
Orkney & Zetland-
landshire
Perthshire
Roxburghshire
Selkirk, &c.
Stirlingshire
Stranrawer, &c.
Wick, &c.

Dundas, Henry

Dalrymple, Hugh

For the Bill.

Henniker, sir John
Dering, sir Edward
Dickenson, William
Onslow, ThomasGould, sir Charles
Mackworth, sir Herbert
Owen, William
Keene, Whitshed
Kensington, lord
Owen, sir Hugh
Owen, Hugh
Johnes, Thomas
Lewis, Edward

Drummond, Adam

Campbell, lord Fr.
Scott, Hugh
Anstruther, John
Campbell, James
Craufurd, John
Herries, sir Robert

Skene, Robert

Frazer, hon. Arch.
Edmondstone, sir Arch.
Graham, George
Cunyngham, sir W.
Ross, George

Dundas, Charles

Murray, hon. James
Elliott, sir Gilbert
Cockburne, sir James
Dundas, sir Thomas
Adam, William
Ross, Charles

T E L L E R S.

Elliot, Ed. J.
Yonge, sir Geo.St. Germain's
Honiton
Tavistock
StaffordFitzpatrick, rt. hon. R.
Sheridan, R. B.

List of the Majority and Minority in the House of Lords upon the Bill for vesting the Affairs of the East India Company in the Hands of certain Commissioners, presented at the Bar of that House by the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, Secretary of State.

Monday, December 15.

HOUSE of LORDS on the India Bill, it was moved to adjourn.

<i>Contents.</i>	Viscounts	Northumberland	Cassilis
Archbishops of	Weymouth	Marq. of Lothian	Lauderdale
Canterbury	Sackville	Earls of	Dartmouth
York	Bishops of	Pembroke	Buckinghamshire
Dukes of	Salisbury	Stanhope	Fitzwilliam
Rutland	Rocheſter	Waldegrave	Powis
Brandon	Worceſter	Darlington	Egremont
Chandos	Cheſter	Hillsborough	Ilcheſter
Dorſet	Exeter	Viscounts	Spencer
Bridgwater	Lincoln	Wentworth	Mansfield
Earls of	Litchfield and	Courtenay	Viscounts
Salisbury	Coventry	Bishops of	Hereford
Denbigh	Lords	London	Townſhend
Wincheſtea	Abergavenny	Durham	Stormont
Cheſterfield	De Ferrars	Bangor	Maynard
Effex	Percy	Lords	Hampden
Doncaſter	Paget	Say and Sele	Keppel
Abingdon	St. John	Middleton	Bishops of
Coventry	Osborne	Forteſcue	Wincheſter
Galloway	Romney	Hawke	18 Peterborough
Aberdeen	King		Oxford
Dunmore	Talbot	<i>Not Contents.</i>	St. David's
Marchmont	Chedworth	Prince of Wales	Glouceſter,
Ferrers	Vere	Dukes of	Bristol
Tankerville	Grantham	Devonſhire	Lords
Aylesford	Scarſdale	Portland	Audley
Harborough	Bolton	Manchester	Craven
Maccleſfield	Beaulieu	Earls of	Boyle
Effingham	Camden	Derby	Cadogan
Brooke	Amherſt	Suffolk	Monſon
Gower	Thurlow	Westmoreland	Montford
Temple	Brudenell	Peterborough	Sandys
Harcourt	Walsingham	Stamford	Ponſonby
Cornwallis	Grantley	Sandwich	Walpole
Delawar	Rawdon	Carlisle	Sondes
Radnor	Sydney	Plymouth	Pelham
Chatham	<i>By Proxy.</i>	Scarborough	Vernon
Bathurſt	Dukes of	Jerſey	Cardiff
Aileſbury	Leeds	Cholmondeley	Brownlow
Clarendon	Queensberry	Glencairn	Harrowby

Foley

bley	Gordon	Harrington	Norwich
oughborough	Athol	Guildford	Lords
age	57 Earls of	Hardwickè	Willoughby
agot	— Exeter	Fauconberg	Teynham
By Proxy.	Oxford	Northington	Onilow
Dukes of	Eglinton	Visc. Leinster	Rivers
olton	Roseberry	Bishops of	Bagot 22
arlborough	Suffex	Carlisle	

Wednesday, December 17:

“ That the said Bill be rejected.”

Contents.	Lords	Not Contents:	Visc. Montagu
s before 69	Grosvenor	As before 57	Lord Stawell
Deduct	Milton	— Deduct	4
ishop of Ro-	7	Prince of Wales	—
chester	—	Earls of	57
—	75	Egremont	
68		Mansfield	
Add	Proxies.	Visc. Stormont	Proxies.
Duke of Ancaſter	As before 18	4	As before 22
Earls of	Add	—	Deduct
bercorn	Earl of Oxford	53	Earls of
Mansfield	Lord Dacre	Add	Oxford
Viscounts	2	Earls of	Hardwicke
stormont	—	Huntingdon	Lord Rivers 3
lowe	20	Hertford	19

Narrative of the Proceedings of the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of Middleſex, in the Queſtion of an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty on the Change in Adminiſtration.

Monday, January 19; and the following days, the ſubſequent advertisement appeared in moſt of the public papers :

No. I.

To the Freeholders of the County of Middleſex:

Gentlemen;

In conſequence of a requiſition made to us, and ſigned by many reſpectable freeholders of the county of Middleſex, “ to call a meeting of the freeholders on Wednesday or 1784.

Thursday next; to conſider of an humble addreſs to the crown on the critical ſituation of the public affairs of this country;” we do appoint ſuch a meeting to be held at the Shepherd and Shepherdſes, near the City Road, on Wednesday next, the 21ſt inſtant, at twelve o’clock at noon:

BARNARD TURNER,
THOMAS SKINNER,
Sheriffs.

London, Jan. 1784.

No. II.

Wednesday, Jan. 21, a numerous body of freeholders were convened at the Shepherd and Shepherdſes in the City-Road. A little before

fore one the sheriffs came into the room, when there was a loud cry of "Chair, Chair." Mr. Byng first addressed the freeholders, saying, that in one point he differed in opinion from his worthy colleague; for he did not conceive that he could discharge his duty as a member of parliament, if he acted in conformity to the instructions of his constituents, when those instructions contradicted the dictates of his own mind; but he ever had and ever should consider himself responsible for his parliamentary conduct, whereas, according to the principle professed by his colleague, he (Mr. Wilkes) threw off all responsibility from himself, leaving his constituents to bear the weight of any censure that might be due to the representative. He conceived that sufficient notice had not been given for the sense of the county to be collected; and added, if ever he acted, or ever should act, inconsistent with the duties of his public station, he should submit to dismissal with all the deference and respect due to the opinions of his worthy constituents, to promote whose individual and common advantage was the first object of his wishes.

Mr. Byng was followed by Mr. Wilkes. In one point he disagreed with his worthy colleague; for he felt himself bound implicitly to obey the instructions of his constituents; it being expressed in the writ for summoning parliaments, that the king requests the opinions of "his people;" and by whatever means were in his power he should on all occasions endeavour to collect the sentiments of his constituents, which he would support without regard to the suggestions of his own mind. The meeting had been called for the purpose of agreeing to an address

to his majesty on the present arduous state of public affairs.—What that address should contain, he would not presume to hint at; but if agreed to, he should consider it as his indispensable duty to present it to the king.

Mr. Townsend thought the freeholders had been hastily convened, and on account of the great number present, proposed an adjournment to some open place: this was over-ruled, and after a deal of noise and confusion the two sheriffs were nominated to take the chair.—Mr. sheriff Skinner thought he had not been treated delicately; a requisition for the meeting was sent to him between eleven and twelve on Saturday night, to be inserted in four *morning* papers of Monday and Tuesday. He thought himself bound to conform, but conceiving the notice not sufficient, he ordered insertion in all the *evening* papers; and instead of four, in the rest of the morning papers; but whether proper notice had or had not been given, he would discharge his duty impartially.

The question being loudly called for, Mr. Robinson moved, that a committee be appointed to prepare an address to his majesty. Upon which the recorder of the city came on the table, and said, that though a committee had been moved for, to prepare an address, it had not been decided that any address was necessary; and after being repeatedly called upon for that purpose, he moved, that an address should be presented on the present arduous and critical state of public affairs.

Mr. Skinner observed, that it became the parties who had signed the requisition to the sheriffs, to stand forth, and avow their reasons for convening the freeholders; in consequence of which the names of the ten persons, who had affixed their

their signatures, were desired to be called over. Two lists of committees for preparing the address, were now presented to the sheriffs, that they might take the sense of the assembly, as to which should be adopted. One was formed by the friends of Mr. Byng, and consisted of Mr. recorder of London, Mr. Briton of Enfield, and three other gentlemen. The other consisted of gentlemen, whose political opinions were of a different stamp, and whose address would have been of a tendency similar to that of the city of London. The sheriffs now put the question for the former address, and declared the shew of hands to be in its favour. It is as follows :

“ We, your majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects, freeholders of the county of Middlesex, assure your majesty of our most cordial attachment to your person and government, and our reverence for the constitution as established at the glorious revolution.

“ We cannot reflect on the very peculiar situation of the country, at the present moment, and the melancholy state of the national debt, without representing the necessity that appears for the most diligent and active endeavours of those whom your majesty shall think proper to entrust with the conduct of the public affairs, to relieve the one and to restore the other ; but we must despair of seeing their utmost exertions attended with the least success, unless they are assisted and promoted by the co-operation of your parliament.

“ Therefore considering it as the best pledge we can give of our affection and loyalty to your majesty, we most humbly implore your majesty to appoint such an administration as may possess the confidence of your parliament and the public ; that by the means of their united

efforts, such measures may be pursued as may tend effectually to establish the glory and happiness of your majesty’s reign, and permanently secure the true interests of all your dominions.”

No. III.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the county of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

It having been signified to us in writing by upwards of one hundred respectable freeholders, that “ the room in which the late county meeting was held was not sufficiently large to admit the great number of freeholders who came there to give their voice:”

We therefore, in compliance with the request now made to us, do appoint a general meeting of the freeholders of this county, to be held on Thursday next, the 19th instant, at twelve o’clock at noon precisely, at the New County-hall at Clerkenwell-Green.

We are, Gentlemen,

Your most humble servants,

BARNARD TURNER, }
THOMAS SKINNER, } Sheriffs.

Sheriff’s-Office, Middlesex,

Feb. 13, 1784.

No. IV.

At a meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, held on Thursday the 19th of February, 1784, at the Mermaid, at Hackney, by repeated public advertisements from the sheriffs, an address was read and proposed by Mr. Horne Tooke, which being seconded, the question was put thereupon, and carried in the negative.

A motion was then made, and seconded, to adjourn, which, upon a division, was negatived.

Mr. Mainwaring then proposed and read an address to his majesty,

which being seconded, passed in the affirmative, by a considerable majority.

A motion was then made, and seconded, that this address be fairly transcribed, signed by the sheriffs, and delivered by them to the members for the county, to be presented to his majesty, which was carried in the affirmative by a great majority.

The meeting then came to the following resolutions:

Resolved, by a very considerable majority, That the endeavours of the late ministers, and their adherents, to impede the business of the nation for some weeks past, appears to have been founded on private, interested and factious motives, and not in public principles.

Resolved, by a very considerable majority, That his majesty in his wisdom and justice, having been pleased to remove his late ministers, the attempt to constrain him to restore them to office, is an encroachment on the just and legal prerogative of the crown, and appears to be contrary to the unanimous sense of the whole kingdom.

Resolved, by a very great majority, That the representatives of this county in parliament be instructed strenuously to oppose every encroachment on the just and fair prerogatives of the crown, no less than the inalienable rights and liberties of the people, to preserve the equal balance of power, so wisely established by the constitution, among the three branches of the legislature, and to carry on with immediate and unremitted diligence and dispatch, the great national business now depending in parliament, particularly that of the supplies, so essentially necessary to the support of all government, and the preservation of public credit.

Resolved, unanimously, That we will unremittingly persevere in

our exertions to procure an effectual and substantial reform of parliament, in order that the commons house of parliament may have a common interest with, and may speak the voice of the people.

Resolved, by a very great majority, That the thanks of this meeting be given to John Wilkes, esq. for his manly and uniform conduct in parliament, and in particular in his opposition to the East-India Reform Bill, and also to the Receipt Act, and that he be requested to use his utmost endeavours for a more equal representation of the people, and for shortening the duration of parliaments.

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of the meeting be given to the sheriffs, for their fair and impartial conduct in this meeting.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be inserted in the public papers, signed by the sheriffs.

BARNARD TURNER,
THOMAS SKINNER.

Narrative of the Proceedings of the Inhabitants of the City of Westminster, in the Question of an Address to be presented to his Majesty on the Change in Administration.

On Monday, Feb. 7, an address was presented to the king, purporting to be the address of the dean, steward, burgesses, &c. of Westminster, and thanking his majesty for the removal of his late ministers. This address was signed by 2834 persons. It was animadverted on in the following advertisement.

No. I.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the electors of Westminster, assembled at the Shakespeare tavern, Covent-Garden, on Thursday, Feb. 5, 1784.

THOMAS BYRON, esq. in the chair.

The following resolutions were proposed and passed unanimously:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that any address, assuming signatures without the express consent of the parties, or obtained by private solicitation, without public notice, is contrary to the usual open and constitutional mode of addressing the crown, and an imposition on the country.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the parliamentary conduct of the right hon. Charles James Fox has been consonant to the practice and principles as established at the glorious revolution, and such as to entitle him to the continuance and perfect esteem and confidence of his constituents.

THOMAS BYRON, Chairman.

This advertisement was immediately followed up by an invitation of the electors of Westminster to a general meeting in Westminster-hall, on Tuesday, Feb. 10. The subsequent advertisement appeared by way of rejoinder.

No. II.

Feb. 7.

To the worthy and independent Electors of the City and Liberties of Westminster.

The friends of Public Liberty are earnestly requested to come forward on Tuesday next, and by attending the general meeting in Westminster-hall, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, prevent any improper advantage being taken by a desperate and degraded faction, and like men who are determined to support their own independence, resist an address expressly contradictory to their own free sentiments and the general voice of the inhabitants of Westminster.

No. III.

General Meeting of the Electors of Westminster.

The fittings of the courts of justice having made it necessary to postpone the meeting of the electors of Westminster, as originally proposed for to-morrow, the 10th instant, notice is hereby given, that the said meeting will be held on Saturday next, the 14th instant, (being the first day on which the hall will be disengaged) when the independent electors are requested to attend, in order to consider of an humble address to his majesty on the present critical situation of public affairs.

Feb. 9,
1784.

THOMAS BYRON,
Chairman.

No. IV.

Monday, Feb. 9, 1784.

To the worthy and independant Electors of Westminster,

Gentlemen,

The moment the resolves of the meeting at the Shakspeare, on Thursday night last, were made known, many electors of Westminster who had taken an active part in the late address to his majesty, determined to attend the meeting called for to-morrow in Westminster-hall, in order to avow and justify every step they had taken in that business.

In consequence of a mistake being discovered, the chairman of the Shakspeare meeting has revoked the invitation for to-morrow, intending to fix on some other place, or to put it off to a later day.

This, it is trusted, will not prevent the electors of Westminster from meeting in the Court of Requests, Westminster-hall, to-morrow, the 10th instant, by half after eleven, in order publicly and temperately to consider of measures

proper to be taken in the present unhappy situation of affairs.

Many Electors of Westminster.

No. V.

To the worthy Electors of the City of Westminster.

As it appears to be the determination of the friends to the general meeting of the electors of Westminster, to be held fairly and openly in Westminster-hall, on Saturday next, at twelve o'clock, to take no notice of the scurrilous and inflammatory hand-bills, circulated by the supporters of the late address from the high steward and court of burgeses, an impartial elector desires only to draw the attention of the candid and independent inhabitants of this city to the different conduct of the two parties. By one side, a general and public meeting, agreeable to the usage and practice in this city, is appealed to, and the first day on which Westminster-hall can be had (the only proper place for such a meeting) is fixed on. By the other side, a new and extraordinary device is practised, of privately voting an address from the high steward of Westminster, the dean, and a certain court of burgeses, who, or what they are, no man knows! On one side again we hear of no violence in the proceeding, but on the contrary, a decent and respectful advertisement, 'calling impartially on all the electors, is put forth, and every thing is done, at the meeting where it originates, to discourage tumult, and to protect from insult those who differ in opinion from that meeting. On the other side, a partial and anonymous meeting is attempted to be obtained by a trick in the Court of Requests; the most abusive and inflammatory hand-bills are sent about, and the declared object is, that a smuggled

address, obtained by private management, shall be supported by direct and open tumult. It would be an affront to the good sense of the electors of Westminster, to ask which party proceeds in the fairest manner, or on which side there seems a consciousness of a rotten cause?

An Impartial Elector.

Feb. 10, 1784.

It is almost unnecessary to caution the friends to Mr. Fox, or those who desire a fair general meeting in Westminster-hall, not to attend an anonymous call in the Court of Requests this day, addressed only to the supporters of the late address.

On Tuesday, Feb. 10, a considerable number of persons being assembled in the Court of Requests, sir Cecil Wray was placed in the chair, and commenced the business with a declaration of his conduct in parliament, and hoped it had merited their approbation; this declaration was received with the greatest applause, and every testimony that was due to the exemplary conduct of their worthy representative.

Lord Mahon opened the business with an able speech, in which he entered largely into the merits of the present administration, discussed the conduct of the late ministers with regard to the receipt-tax and the East-India bill; his lordship declared he had been uniformly against the American war, and joined in the opposition which had been successful against lord North's administration; his lordship said, he could not conceive the propriety or consistency of voting a minister out one day and joining with him the next, and reprobated the coalition in the severest manner,

mer, which was received with general approbation; he then recommended it to the people to agree to an address, precisely in the same form with that which had been presented to his majesty, and signed by 2834 persons; that the common cause of this country was involved in the support of the present administration, and hoped it would meet with general approbation. He was seconded by sir Robert Smyth, bart.

Lord Mountmorres spoke for a considerable time with great energy, and was heard with the greatest attention. His lordship declared that the people of Ireland had but one voice; and that was, to support the father of his people in the maintenance of his just prerogatives against the invaders of the British constitution.

Sir Cecil Wray then read the address, and upon a small clamour arising from those who were just come into the court of Requests, he very justly observed, that he hoped, if any diversity of opinion prevailed, that they would conduct themselves with temper and propriety, without warmth or insult; that that language was only becoming the Shakspeare.

The address was approved of with a very few dissentient voices.

Lord Mahon then moved five resolutions: approving the conduct of sir Cecil Wray; appointing him to present the address; adding certain names to the Westminster committee; and recommending a parliamentary reform.

The last resolution moved by lord Mahon was to desire the early attendance of the electors in Westminster-hall, on Saturday next.

(No. VI.)

At a very numerous and most respectable public meeting of the

electors of the city and liberties of Westminster, holden (in pursuance of a public advertisement) this 10th day of February, 1784, in the court of Requests in Westminster-hall,

Sir CECIL WRAY, bart. in the chair.

1st. Resolved, (with less than ten dissentients) That the following address to his majesty (moved by lord viscount Mahon, and seconded by sir Robert Smyth, bart.) be approved of by this meeting:

“To the king’s most excellent majesty.

“The humble address of the electors of the city and liberties of Westminster.

“Most gracious sovereign,

“We your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the electors of the city and liberties of Westminster, beg leave to approach your throne with the most zealous assurances of loyalty to your person, family, and government.

“It was with the utmost concern that we beheld an attempt made by your majesty’s late ministers, to deprive a great commercial company of their chartered rights by the bill brought into parliament, which, had it passed into a law, would have been a dangerous precedent, and created a new executive power unknown to the constitution of this country.

“We most sincerely thank your majesty for the dismissal of those ministers from their employments, and assure your majesty, that we have great confidence in the principles of the present administration, and that whilst they pursue measures conducive to the honour of the crown and the true interests of their country, they may safely rely on the support of the people.”

(I 4)

2d. Re-

2d. Resolved, (with less than ten dissentients,) That the cordial thanks of this meeting be given to sir Cecil Wray, bart. our worthy representative, for his steady, uniform, upright and patriotic conduct in parliament, and that he be requested to present the address of the electors of Westminster to his majesty.

3d. Resolved, (with less than ten dissentients), That the Westminster committee be continued, and have full power to make all regulations relative to the same; and that the following persons be added to the committee.

(The names of one hundred persons were then read, and unanimously approved of.)

4th. Resolved, (unanimously,) That we will unremittingly persevere in our exertions to procure an effectual and substantial reform of parliament, in order that the commons house of parliament may have a common interest with, and may speak the voice of the people.

5th. Resolved (unanimously), That this meeting be adjourned to Westminster-hall, to Saturday morning next.

CECIL WRAY, Chairman.

No. VII.

To the Independent Electors of Westminster.

The very numerous and respectable public meeting, held on Tuesday last, at the Court of Requests, having come to several important resolutions (which have since appeared in the public papers) and having adjourned to Saturday next (to-morrow) the 14th day of February instant, to meet in Westminster-hall:

The electors are earnestly requested to attend at Westminster-hall, early in the forenoon, to-mor-

row, in order to support the true and genuine sense of the people, expressed in those proceedings with firmness and moderation.

As your worthy representative, sir Cecil Wray, was called to the chair in the court of Requests, would it not be right and proper to call him again to the chair in Westminster-hall?

Feb. 13.

Early on Saturday morning, an immense number of electors assembled in Westminster-hall, pursuant to notice given in the public prints. By twelve o'clock the hall was nearly full, and it is supposed ten thousand persons were present. Mr. Fox then made his appearance, accompanied by the duke of Bedford, earl Fitzwilliam, lord Malden, lord Ludlow, Mr. Crewe, Mr. Lister, general Burgoyne, Mr. Fitzpatrick, Mr. Byng, Mr. Burke, the hon. Mr. St. John, captain Byron, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. House, &c. &c. &c. Mr. Fox at his entrance was received with the loudest applause. Sir Cecil Wray next appeared, attended by lord Mahon, lord Mountmorres, Dr. Jebb, &c. &c. and was saluted with loud and repeated acclamations. After some time, Mr. Fox appeared in the front of the hustings, supported on one side by Mr. Byng, the member for Middlesex, on the other, by Mr. Byron, who had called the meeting. Repeated bursts of applause, and the shew of hats, seemed for a time to promise a little order, as the adversaries of Mr. Fox were evidently dispirited and sinking; when lord Mahon, forcing his way to the high railing that surrounds the court of Common-Pleas, and standing on the top of them waved his hat with the most violent gesticulations. This operated as a signal to his adherents. A set of ill-looking fellows

fellows rushed on to the hustings, tore it up with their hands, and with every act of violence and outrage, raised such a clamour and uproar, as rendered it impossible for Mr. Fox to be heard. One of them flung at the head of Mr. Fox a ball, whose villainous ingredients may be easily inferred, from the effects it produced upon every individual, within the reach of its noxious influence. The friends of Mr. Fox, plainly perceiving that he would not be heard, and well knowing that in the war of tumult, lungs, not reason, must prevail, called upon sir Cecil Wray to divide the assembly, as the only possible means to ascertain the numbers, beyond the power of cavil or imposition. This proposal was consented to, and Mr. Fox adjourned to Palace-yard, followed by a considerable number of electors, and leaving the possession of the hall to the friends of administration.

Mr. Fox took the opportunity of addressing the numerous and respectable body of his constituents, who had accompanied him from the hall, and were assembled in Old Palace-yard, from a window in the King's-Arms. He was heard with the most respectful attention, attended with repeated marks of applause and approbation. After which the horses were taken from his chariot, which was drawn by the people from the King's-Arms to Devonshire-house, attended by multitudes of people of all ranks. In passing through Pall-Mall, they stopped a few minutes opposite to Carlton-house, where they rent the air with repeated acclamations.

The procession was graced by the appearance of many ladies at the windows in all the streets, through which they passed, who waved their

handkerchiefs in token of approbation.

No. VIII.

General meeting of the electors of Westminster.

Feb. 14, 1784.

At a most numerous meeting of the electors of Westminster, held this day in Westminster-hall, the right hon. Charles James Fox having been called to the chair,

The following resolution and address were carried upon a shew of hands, by a majority of at least Six to One.

Resolved, That this meeting will unremittingly persevere in all legal and constitutional endeavours to obtain a more adequate representation of the people in the commons house of parliament, which important branch of the legislature the people must ever regard as the natural guardian of their unalienable rights, and the independence of which is absolutely essential to the preservation of the constitution, as established by the glorious revolution.

Resolved, That the following address be presented to his majesty by the hon. Mr. Fox.

We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the electors of the city of Westminster, whose names are hereunto subscribed, beg leave to approach your throne with the most unfeigned attachment to your sacred person, and to the interest of your royal family.

To assure your majesty, that we will use our utmost endeavours to promote that unanimity so essential to the public welfare in the present critical situation of affairs.

And as we have always regarded the commons house of parliament, as the natural guardian of our unalienable rights, we humbly hope
that

that whatever ministers your majesty may, in your wisdom, call to the high posts of government, will hold the sense of that house in the same respect as their predecessors in office have done from the æra of the glorious revolution, to the present period.

That your majesty may long reign in the hearts of a happy and united people, is the prayer of your faithful subjects.

Resolved, that this meeting do now adjourn.

C. J. Fox, Chairman.

No. IX.

WESTMINSTER MEETING.

Feb. 14, 1784.

At a very numerous and most respectable meeting of the electors of Westminster, held this day in Westminster-hall, the hustings that had been ill erected by the friends of Mr. Fox, near the steps of the court of Common-Pleas, broke down, which prevented the chair being taken so soon as otherwise it would have been.

Lord Mahon was then carried in triumph to the opposite side of the hall, on the shoulders of the electors, where his lordship moved the following resolution: which being printed in very large capitals, on a wide sheet of parchment, was held up by him, and was distinctly seen from every part of the hall. The resolution was as follows, and, being seconded, was carried by a prodigious majority, viz.

Resolved, That this meeting do adopt all the proceedings of the public meeting held at the Court of Requests, on Tuesday last.

Lord Mahon was then carried (as above) to the steps leading to the court of Chancery and King's-bench, where the said Resolution was again moved by his lordship,

seconded and carried by a still more considerable majority.

Sir Cecil Wray was then called to the chair at the last mentioned place, and the following resolutions were then moved, seconded, and all carried, with very few dissentients. The second, third, and fourth resolutions, were moved by Dr. Jebb, and seconded by lord Mountmorres.

Resolved, firstly, That this meeting do approve of and confirm the address to his majesty, which was agreed upon in the Court of Requests, Westminster-hall, on Tuesday last.

Secondly, That the coalition formed between the right honourable Charles James Fox, and the right hon. lord North, was injurious to the cause of freedom and of public virtue, and that the conduct of the consequent administration was highly detrimental to the interests of Great Britain and Ireland.

Thirdly, That it is essential to the cause of public freedom, that all ranks and orders of men, should unite and associate in favour of a substantial reform in the representation of the commons, and that this, or any administration, will deserve the support and confidence of the country, in proportion to the zeal with which they shall bring forward, and endeavour to carry into effect, that salutary measure.

Fourthly, That the parliamentary conduct of sir Cecil Wray, bart. has ever been honourable to himself, as well as beneficial to his country—that he is entitled to the warmest gratitude of his constituents, and in the highest degree deserving of their future confidence and support.

Fifthly. (On the motion of the right hon. lord Ongley, which

was seconded by the right hon. lord Mountmorres) it was unanimously resolved,

That those men who shall, at this period, endeavour to obstruct the necessary business of the nation, ought to be considered as enemies to their country.

Sixthly, Resolved, (with very few dissentients) That the thanks of this meeting be given to lord Mahon, lord Mountmorres, and Dr. Jebb.

Seventhly, Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the gentlemen who compose the committee, for conducting the business of the address of thanks to his majesty for dismissing his late unpopular ministers.

CECIL WRAY, Chairman.

No. X.

King's-Arms Tavern, Palace-yard.

Feb. 18, 1784.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the Westminster committee, summoned by public advertisement in all the papers.

JOHN BRETT, esq. in the chair.

Resolved, That the address intitled, "An address of the high steward, dean, and court of burghesses, and other householders of the city of Westminster," was surreptitiously obtained, and was a measure contrary to the usual, open, and fair mode of proceeding in this city.

Resolved, That the advertisement, calling a general meeting on Saturday the 14th instant, in consequence of the previous meeting at the Shakspeare, and signed with the chairman's name, gave timely and sufficient notice to the electors of this city that such general meeting would be held on that day, and was a manly and becoming proceed-

ing, and agreeable to the usage in such cases of this city.

Resolved, That the proceedings of a meeting, held in the interval in the Court of Requests, on Tuesday the 10th instant, called by anonymous hand-bills and advertisements, desiring at first the attendance only of those who had signed, or who approved, the address of the high-steward, dean, and court of burghesses, and persevered in by advertisements still anonymous, after Saturday the 10th instant (being the first day on which the hall was disengaged) had been publicly notified for the general meeting, were altogether partial and irregular, and that the resolutions of such a meeting cannot with decency be pretended to have spoken the sense of the electors of Westminster.

Resolved, That the said meeting in the court of Requests, even if it had been fairly and impartially called, being in consequence of a summons for electors only, and this committee being constituted by the inhabitants at large of the city and liberties of Westminster, the extravagant vote passed at that meeting, for adding one hundred members to this committee, cannot, but be considered as an artifice which would have been unworthy a fair assembly, and was also a direct and violent infringement of the rights of a respectable part of the constituents of this committee, and that this committee do accordingly treat the attempt with becoming indignation, and direct their secretary not to admit the name of any one of those hundred persons so appointed, upon the books of this committee.

Resolved, That the subsequent conduct of the abettors of the said meeting and address, by persever-

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ing in anonymous advertisements and scurrilous hand-bills, to appoint an earlier hour for taking the chair, by naming a chairman previous to the meeting, and by other inflammatory proceedings, did manifestly tend to call for and promise a spirit of tumult and confusion, when the meeting should take place; and that as such was their preceding conduct, so this committee have abundant evidence that, during the meeting, there was every appearance of a premeditated plan of riot and violence.

This committee farther receiving, with the most serious concern, information of many acts of great outrage and violence committed, and endeavoured to be committed at the general meeting, and more particularly of a most atrocious attempt, unprecedented in the annals of this country, and abhorrent to the nature of Englishmen, and which might have had the most fatal consequences, do resolve, That a select committee of nine members be appointed to examine fully into the same, and to lay before this committee the result of their enquiries with as much expedition as possible.

Resolved, That the following members are chosen as the select committee, viz.

Earl of Surrey,
Right hon. Rich. Fitzpatrick,
Sir Godfrey Webster, bart.
Thomas Byron, esq.
R. B. Sheridan, esq.
Dudley Long, esq.
A. Wallinger, esq.
R. Hollingworth, esq.
A. Shove, esq.

Resolved, That this committee do adjourn to Friday next, at twelve o'clock at noon, to receive the report of the select committee, and on other special affairs.

JOHN BRETT, Chairman.

No. XI.

TO THE PUBLIC.
King's Arms Tavern, Palace-yard,
Westminster.

Feb. 17, 1784.

The committee appointed to conduct the business of the address of thanks to his majesty for dismissing his late ministers, having seen in the public prints an advertisement, signed C. J. Fox, stating, that at the general meeting of the electors of Westminster, held in Westminster-hall on Saturday last, the resolution and address therein inserted, were carried by a majority of at least Six to One;

This committee think proper to apprise the public, that several members of the said committee do positively assert, (and are ready, when properly called upon, to attest) that they were close to the hustings the whole time Mr. Fox was in the hall, and that so great was the noise and tumult during that period in that part of the hall, that they were not able to hear any thing that fell either from Mr. Fox, or from any of his friends.

The public will therefore judge, whether it were possible for so many thousand electors, as were there assembled, to have assented to, or dissented from, propositions then and there asserted to have been made; from the utter impossibility of hearing or understanding the purport of them.

JOHN CHURCHILL, Chairman.

No. XII.

King's-Arms Tavern, Palace-yard.

Feb. 20, 1784.

At a numerous and most respectable adjourned meeting of the Westminster Committee of Association.

JOHN BRETT, esq. in the chair.

The report of the select committee was received and read.

Report

Report of the select committee appointed to examine into the acts of outrage and violence committed at the general meeting held in Westminster hall, on Saturday the 14th instant.

Upon a serious and full enquiry into the circumstance attending the outrages committed, and the tumults attempted to be raised at the general meeting, held on Saturday the 14th instant, at Westminster-hall, your select committee find it substantiated by the most indisputable testimony, that there were several bands of ruffians dispersed through the hall, who your committee have reason to believe, were neither electors or inhabitants of Westminster, and who acted evidently upon a concerted plan, and whose outrages were such, as to endanger even the lives of persons whom your committee have examined.

Upon the subject which your committee are more particularly directed to examine into, they find upon a full investigation and examination of evidence, that after Mr. Fox had been some time in the front of the hustings, and while he was addressing the electors (his principal opponents being at a considerable distance) a canvas bag was thrown at him.

It appears by the manner in which this was done, and from the singular construction of the bag, that the intention must have been that the contents should discharge themselves in the face of Mr. Fox.

Your committee find, that though the execution of this failed in part, yet Mr. Fox, and many persons whom your committee have carefully examined, were instantly and violently afflicted by a noisome powder and vapour which issued from the bag.

That an attempt was immediately made by some ruffians to recover the bag: but that it was detained by the exertions of persons whom your committee have examined, and that afterwards being produced at Devonshire-house in the presence of a great number of persons, your committee have the testimony of gentlemen, who were immediately, upon smelling the powder at a distance, seized with violent coughing and sickness, and that some of those gentlemen were affected thereby for the remaining part of the evening.

That upon this it was determined to have the contents examined by some eminent chemist; whose opinion your committee subjoins.

Your committee have also the affidavits of persons, to substantiate the identity of the bag and contents delivered to Mr. Stock.

Your select committee have also the most respectable authorities, which render it unquestionable, that euphorbium is a drug of so poisonous and subtle a nature, that a very small quantity reaching the stomach of any person, might produce the most fatal consequences.

(Signed) Godfrey Webster,
Thomas Byron,
R. Hollingworth,
R. Fitzpatrick,
Dudley Long,
J. A. Wallinger,
R. B. Sheridan,
A. H. Shove.

The testimony of Mr. Stock referred to by the above report.

“ Having examined very carefully the contents of the bag brought to me by Mr. Robinson and another gentleman, I find it to contain capsicum and euphorbium. The euphorbium is extremely well disguised, being in powder, and therefore I am led to judge it to be
that,

that, more from its great activity than from its visible appearance; I examined it with great caution, and indeed apprehension, because I have been frequently affected by it; yet, with all my caution of stopping my nose and mouth, I felt its effects. My servants who were in the place, or accidentally passing, were instantly seized with heat in the nose and throat, and violent coughing. A person coming into the warehouse from the air was affected by it immediately. The quality of both these ingredients, more particularly euphorbium, is extremely noxious and dangerous when applied so as to be taken into the eyes, nose, and mouth; it occasions violent and extreme inflammation, discharge of watery humour from the eyes and nose, and violent and intolerable heat in the throat; it will occasion ulcerations in the throat; indeed, when violent inflammation is excited in any part, there is no saying where such symptoms may end, nor is there any reason why it may not produce effects that will put an end to life.

“WM. STOCK, Ludgate-hill.”

For the further satisfaction of some members of this committee, who are opposers of the address and proceedings signed by Mr. Fox, the chairman of the select committee offered to enter into the detail of the evidence upon which the select committee had founded their report; and at the desire of those gentlemen, a respectable witness, who had not attended the select committee, was called in and examined by this committee. The following resolutions were then unanimously agreed to:

Resolved unanimously, That this committee, conceiving a just indignation at the enormity of the proceedings stated in their report

of their select committee, do continue the appointment of the said select committee, and earnestly request them to pursue the most effectual methods for the discovery of the authors and instruments of the tumults and acts of outrage stated in their report; and more especially to use their utmost endeavours to detect the contrivers and perpetrators of that atrocious attempt, which disgraces humanity and the manners of a free people.

Resolved, That, for the furtherance of this object, immediate application be made to the magistrates of Westminster; and this committee do hereby offer a reward of two hundred guineas, to any person or persons, who shall discover the parties concerned in preparing the said bag and ingredients, or in throwing the same, knowing the contents thereof; which sum is placed in the hands of Mess. Drummond and Co. bankers, Charing-cross, to be paid on conviction of any of the offenders.

This business being settled, it was moved, that, whereas an advertisement has appeared in several of the public papers, signed John Churchill, purporting that the tumult near the hustings, in Westminster-hall, on Saturday the 14th instant, was such as to prevent the persons nearest the hustings from hearing what fell either from Mr. Fox, or any of his friends:

And resolved, (with one dissentient) that it appears to this committee, that no person, or number of persons, assembled near the hustings, for the purpose of interrupting the proceedings of the meeting, by tumult and clamour, have any right to impeach the validity of such proceedings, under pretence that the propositions could not be distinctly heard, when the several questions were regularly put by the chair.

chairman of the meeting, and decided, according to the usual mode, by a shew of hands; and that the insinuation contained in the above-mentioned advertisement can only be considered as an attempt from the minority who dissented from the proceedings agreed to on the 14th of February, to convey an unfounded imputation upon the candour, fairness, and impartiality, which characterized the conduct of the chairman, as well as of the majority of electors assembled on that day.

Adjourned to Friday the 27th of February, inst. at twelve o'clock at noon.

JOHN BRETT, chairman.

Narrative of the Proceedings of the Members of the House of Commons, who met at the St. Albans Tavern, for the Purpose of promoting an Union of Parties.

No. I.

A meeting of such members of the house of commons as wish to promote an union of parties, is earnestly requested at the St. Albans Tavern, this day, the 26th instant, at twelve o'clock precisely.

No. II.

Monday, Jan. 26, there was a meeting of the country gentlemen at the St. Albans Tavern. They were fifty-five in number, and, in point of property and consideration in the country, truly respectable. The hon. Mr. Grosvenor, as having stood forward in the house to erect the standard of union, was voted into the chair. The meeting then came to a resolution, declaring that they would support the party who should, in the present distracted moment, manifest a disposition to

union; and they appointed a committee of delegates to wait on the principal persons, and endeavour, by mediation and treaty, to bring about the desirable union. Accordingly the committee repaired to St. James's, as Mr. Pitt could only be seen there, and they had a conference with him of three quarters of an hour; the result of which we do not know, farther than that he gave them the most explicit assurance that parliament should not be dissolved with his consent.

No. III.

Authentic Account of the Proceedings of the Gentlemen, Members of the House of Commons, who assembled at the St. Albans Tavern on Monday, Tuesday, and Yesterday, with a View to conciliate Differences, and to forward an Union of the contending Parties in Parliament.

On Monday, the 26th instant, a meeting was held at the St. Albans Tavern, for the purpose of recommending an union of parties, when an address was agreed to and signed by fifty-three members of the house of commons, and presented by a committee to the duke of Portland and the right hon. William Pitt. The committee were, the hon. Mr. Grosvenor, the hon. Charles Marham, sir William Lemon, and Mr. Powys. The purport of the address having already appeared in print, it is unnecessary to repeat it. To which the following answers were returned:

The duke of Portland returned for answer:

“That he should think himself happy in obeying the commands of so respectable a meeting; but the greatest difficulty to him, and he imagines still greater to Mr. Pitt, is Mr. Pitt's being in office.”

Mr.

Mr. Pitt's answer was :

“ That he will be very ready to pay attention to the commands of so respectable a meeting, and co-operate with their wishes, to form a stronger and more extended administration, if the same can be done with principle and honour.”

On Tuesday the 27th, the gentlemen met at the said tavern, when there appeared to be seventy members, and the above answers being read, they came to the following resolutions :

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to his grace the duke of Portland, and the right hon. William Pitt, for the attention they have respectively declared themselves ready to pay to the requisitions presented to them in our names.

Resolved, secondly, That, in anxious expectation of a cordial co-operation of great and respectable characters acting on the same public principles, we beg leave to express our most earnest wish, that some explanation may be had between the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt on any difficulty in that way of confidential intercourse.

Resolved, thirdly, That we do not presume to point out the mode in which such mutual explanation may be obtained, studiously avoiding any interference on our part, which may impede or counteract whatever steps are taken towards that communication which it is our object to effect.

Resolved, fourthly, That the chairman be desired to communicate the resolutions to his grace of Portland and Mr. Pitt.

The resolutions being communicated to Mr. Pitt, he returned the following answer :

“ Mr. Pitt having received from so respectable a meeting an intima-

tion of their wishes, that some explanation may be had between the duke of Portland and himself, on any difficulties in the way of confidential intercourse, beg to assure Mr. Grosvenor (the chairman) that there are no difficulties on his part in the way of an immediate intercourse with the duke of Portland on the subject of an union, consistent with honour and principle, which he agrees with the gentlemen of the meeting in thinking of the greatest importance in the present state of the country. If, on his grace's part, there are any objections to such intercourse, Mr. Pitt wishes to have them stated, and will immediately give a direct answer with regard to them.”

The duke of Portland returned the following answer (addressed to the chairman) :

Devon-house, Thursday,
Jan. 29, 1784.

Sir,

As you have so very obligingly communicated to me the assurances you have received from Mr. Pitt, “ that there are no difficulties on his part in the way of an immediate intercourse between him and me, on the subject of an union of parties, and that he is ready to give an immediate and direct answer to any objections which I may have to such intercourse,” my sincere inclination to concur in the wishes of the very respectable meeting, of which you so worthily fill the chair; and my anxious desire to see such an administration formed upon a solid and secure basis, as may restore harmony to this distracted empire, and may be entitled to the confidence and support of every true friend of his country, make it necessary for me to trouble you with a repetition of the reasons

reasons which I assigned to you and other gentlemen who delivered me the representation and requisition of your meeting of the 26th of January, for declining an immediate interview with Mr. Pitt, on the present arduous situation of public affairs.

I had the honour of stating to you, I did not think it possible that such a meeting would tend to forward the desirable end we all wish, as long as Mr. Pitt remained in his ministerial capacity, notwithstanding the resolution of the house of commons of the 16th instant. Under these circumstances the embarrassment seems mutual, and difficult to get over; but if any expedient be devised for removing it, I shall be extremely ready to comply with Mr. Pitt, and to contribute every faculty in my power to promote the object of our joint wishes.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect,

Your most obedient

(Signed)

PORTLAND.

Tho. Grosvenor, esq.
chairman.

Thursday the 29th. The gentlemen met, and there being above eighty members present, they came to the following resolution:

Resolved, That the chairman be requested to return our thanks to the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, for the additional favour they have now given of their attention to our wishes.

To express our cordial satisfaction to find they agree in opinion with this meeting, that an union is of the highest importance, and is the object of their joint wishes.

To intimate to them, that after these declarations, we are the more strongly confirmed in our hope and

1784.

expectation, that by the intervention of mutual friends, some expedient may be advised, which may tend to remove the difficulty which is stated to be the most material obstacle to a communication between them, on the subject of a cordial and permanent union.

(Signed)

T. GROSVENOR,
chairman.

The members then adjourned to Monday next.

[It is but fairness to add, that the duke of Portland had seen Mr. Pitt's answer, but Mr. Pitt has not yet seen the duke's.]

No. IV.

St. Albans Tavern, Saturday,
Jan. 31, 1784.

At a meeting held by the gentlemen, members of the house of commons, who assembled from time to time, with a view to conciliate differences, and to forward an union of the contending parties in parliament, the following answers were received and read:

Mr. Pitt has already had the honour of stating to Mr. Grosvenor, that there are no difficulties on his part in the way of an immediate intercourse for the purpose of effecting an union consistent with honour and principle. With regard to the embarrassment stated by the duke of Portland in his grace's letter, referred to in the resolutions of the meeting, arising from Mr. Pitt's remaining in his ministerial capacity, it is an embarrassment which Mr. Pitt cannot remove, by resignation, in order to negotiate. In these circumstances, Mr. Pitt has it not in his power to suggest any expedient, but is very desirous of learning whether the duke of Portland can propose any thing which his grace considers as such; and he begs at the same

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time

time to add, that his present ministerial capacity is no obstacle to his discussing every point that relates to the desirable object in question, as freely and openly as he could do in any other situation.

Berkeley-square,
31st Jan. 1784.

Devon-house, Sat.
31st Jan. 1784.

Sir,

I am extremely sorry that Mr. Pitt appears so positively to decline suggesting any expedient, on his part, to remove the difficulties which obstruct the confidence you desire. I believe you will agree, that the continuance of the present ministry and the honour of the house of commons are not very easily reconcileable.

It was the sense of those difficulties, and my earnest desire of complying with the opinions of gentlemen, whose sentiments claim my highest respect, that induced me to suggest the possibility of an expedient which you will easily discern would not depend upon me. The recollection of similar events in two successive years led me to flatter myself that there was a middle way between the actual resignation of ministers and the neglect of what appeared on the journals of the house of commons. I hoped that Mr. Pitt would have adverted to those events, and I trust they will yet have due weight with him; I shall most certainly rejoice in any proposition that can promise to lay a basis for the tranquillity and settlement which are the objects of our common wishes.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) PORTLAND.

Tho. Grosvenor, esq.
chairman.

The meeting, after dining together, adjourned to Monday, the second of February, at eleven o'clock. The chair to be taken precisely at twelve.

The following Members of the House of Commons, with others, whose names we have not been able to ascertain, attended the meetings lately held at the St. Albans Tavern, with a view to effect an Union of Parties, and thus lay the ground for a stable and permanent Administration.

THOMAS GROSVENOR, esq.
chairman.

Francis Annesley, esq.
John Barrington, esq.
Hon. George Berkeley
Richard Wilbraham Bootle, esq.
Hon. William Bouverie
Tho. Berney Bramston, esq.
Viscount Bulkeley
John Buller, jun. esq.
Sir George Cornwall
Sir Rob. Salusbury Cotton
John Dawes, esq.
Baron Dimsdale
William Drake, jun. esq.
The hon. George Keith Elphinstone
Earl Euston
William Ewer, esq.
Hon. Archibald Frazer
Thomas Gilbert, esq.
Ambrose Goddard, esq.
George Graham, esq.
Sir Harry Gough
Benjamin Hammett, esq.
Hon. Thomas Harley
E. Hervey, esq.
Sir Harry Houghton
Arthur Holdsworth, esq.
Filmer Honeywood, esq.
Sir Richard Hotham
Sir George Howard
William Hussey, esq.
Benjamin Keene, esq.
Thomas Kemp, esq.
Richard Payne Knight, esq.

Sir

Sir Robert Lawley
 Sir William Lemon
 Sir James Tylney Long
 Hon. James Luttrell
 Hon. general Luttrell
 William Lygon, esq.
 Sir Horace Mann
 Hon. Charles Marham
 Sir Joseph Mawbey
 Sir Roger Mostyn
 John Parry, esq.
 Henry Peirse, esq.
 William Pochin, esq.
 Thomas Powys, esq.
 William Praed, esq.
 John Purling, esq.
 Sir Walter Rawlinson
 Abraham Rawlinson
 Henry Rawlinson
 Sir Matthew White Ridley
 John Rolle, esq.
 Cha. W. Boughton Rouse, esq.
 Thomas Scott, esq.
 Sir George Shuckburgh
 Humphry Sibthorpe, esq.
 John Sinclair, esq.
 Sir Thomas George Skipwith
 William Charles Sloper, esq.
 Robert Smith, esq.
 Sir Robert Smith
 John Smyth, esq.
 Walter Spencer Stanhope, esq.
 Thomas Stanley, esq.
 John Strutt, esq.
 Hon. John Sutton
 Clement Taylor, esq.
 John Tempest, esq.
 Rob. Thistlethwayte, esq.
 Beilby Thompson, esq.
 Sir John Trevelyan
 Thomas Whitmore, esq.
 Sir John Borlase Warren
 John Wilmot, esq.
 Glynn Wynn, esq.

No. V.

St. Albans Tavern, Monday, February 2, 1784.

At a meeting of the gentlemen, members of the house of commons,

who assembled from time to time, with a view to conciliate differences, and to forward an union of the contending parties in parliament, the following letters were read :

Feb. 1, 1784,
Berkeley-square.

Mr. Pitt being sincerely desirous that there should not continue any obstacle in the way of such an intercourse as has been wished for, regrets that it is not in his power to suggest expedients to remove the difficulty felt by the duke of Portland. He does not understand precisely what is the middle way which his grace seems to allude to; the events in the two years to which his grace refers, appear to Mr. Pitt to have been only modes of resignation, and such a measure, in order to enter into a negociation, is what the present ministry, as has been already declared, cannot agree to; whenever any expedient is directly stated, Mr. Pitt will be happy to give every explanation upon it.

Devon-house, Monday
morn. 2d Feb. 1784.

Sir,

I very sincerely regret that the expedient to which I referred, should be thought unapplicable to the difficulties I had stated. I certainly suggested it as a mode of resignation, but as a mode of resignation the least embarrassing to government in the ordinary functions of office, and at the same time as a proof of a disposition to consult the honour of the house of commons, as it stands pledged by the resolution of the 16th of January. This last is a preliminary, which, as a friend to the spirit of the constitution, I must think myself bound invariably to require.

With respect to myself, I am
(K 2) willing

willing to hope that I have not been mistaken in the conception I formed of your wishes, by supposing that it was with Mr. Pitt that you were desirous I should have a liberal and unreserved intercourse, and not with the head of an administration, to which I was merely to bring an accession of strength. But Mr. Pitt's message places him in another character; and your own good sense will readily suggest to you, that it was impossible for me to suppose that your expectations extended to a confidential conference with him as the representative of the present administration.

If I had done this, I must have fallen in your esteem, (which, I assure you, is a very serious object to me) as I should have shewn myself insensible of what is due to the house of commons.

I have unreservedly submitted to you my ideas of the extent of your expectations. In conformity with those expectations, (Mr. Pitt having uniformly declined to suggest any expedient on his part) I took the liberty of suggesting an expedient, which I thought might put us into a situation, in which the intercourse you wished might take place with propriety.

I shall be happy to find that my propositions have met with your approbation; but in every point I hope that my anxiety to merit the partiality you have shewn me, will entitle me to its continuance.

I have the honour to be,

With great regard and esteem,
Sir,

Your most faithful, and

Obedient servant,

(Signed)

PORTLAND.

T. Grosvenor, esq.

The meeting adjourned to this day.

No. VI.

St. Albans Tavern.

At the meeting of the gentlemen, members of the house of commons, held at the St. Albans Tavern this day, the following resolution was unanimously come to:

“That whatever may be the issue of the present contest between the two parties in the house of commons, we will steadily persevere in our endeavours to effect the object of this meeting, which has been unanimously approved and adopted by the house of commons, namely, the procuring a firm, efficient, extended, united administration, intitled to the confidence of the people, and such as may have a tendency to remove the unfortunate divisions and distractions of this country.”

Adjourned to Monday, twelve o'clock.

Feb. 4, 1784.

No. VII.

Monday, Feb. 9, at twelve o'clock, there was another meeting of the independent members of the house of commons, at the St. Albans Tavern; Mr. Grosvenor, member for the city of Chester, in the chair. The gentlemen of the committee, after the minutes of the several former meetings were read, made report of another conference held with Mr. Pitt on the subject of an union of parties; but as the duke of Portland refuses to treat while Mr. Pitt continues in office, the negotiation is suspended. The present state of parties in the nation was then very generally canvassed, and it was resolved that the present meeting should continue to be held once a week, at least, during the sitting of parliament, in order to

watch

watch any period that may present, of forwarding such an union as seems to be absolutely necessary at this particular juncture, and to recommend it in their places in parliament. As the house of commons met at two o'clock, they broke up soon, and went down to Westminster to attend parliamentary business. There were about fifty members present, including the chairman and gentlemen of the committee.

No. VIII.

St. Albans Tavern, February 13,
1784.

At a meeting of members of the house of commons, desirous of promoting an union of parties; the hon. Charles Marsham in the chair, (in the absence of T. Grosvenor, esq. confined by illness) the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

1. To represent to the right hon. William Pitt, and to the right hon. Charles James Fox, the satisfaction we have received from the manly, candid, and explicit avowal they have respectively made of their public views; and to intimate to them, that in consequence of this mutual explanation, we entertain a most assured hope, that such an administration as the house of commons has unanimously declared to be requisite, may be obtained by an union consistent with principle and honour.

2. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the right hon. Frederick lord North, for the public and voluntary declaration he has made of his sincere and earnest desire to promote, as far as depends on him, a cordial and permanent union.

C. MARSHAM, chairman.

No. IX.

Feb. 18.

It is with no small degree of confidence that we assure the public of his majesty's disposition to comply with the wishes of the house of commons in bringing about an union of parties: to this end on Sunday last his majesty sent for his grace of Portland to meet Mr. Pitt, in the hope of settling an administration to the satisfaction of the house of commons at least, if not to the nation at large. In answer to the message, his grace expressed a readiness to attend his majesty at all times, but declined a meeting with Mr. Pitt. And thus the matter stands at present.

No. X.

March 1, there was another meeting of the country gentlemen at the St. Albans Tavern, when the hon. Charles Marsham and Mr. Powys stated to the company the circumstances of the negotiation, which they had conducted for some days past, and which had unhappily concluded with as little success as the former endeavours of that body. They said, that when the duke of Portland delivered his final answer, that he could not meet Mr. Pitt, until he had shewn a disposition to comply with the wishes of the house of commons, either by an actual or virtual resignation; and Mr. Pitt had peremptorily declared, that he would do neither the one nor the other as a preliminary to negotiation; it was thought that an expedient might be found to clear the ground, and bring them to an interview, without any concession of principle, but only a concession of mode. With this view it was, that a message was sent from his majesty to the duke of Portland, intimating, "his majesty's earnest desire

define, that his grace should have a personal conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of forming a new administration on a wide basis, and on fair and equal terms." This message was considered by the duke of Portland as a removal of the previous obstacle, since, though it was not a declaration on the part of Mr. Pitt, it was tantamount to a virtual resignation. The preliminaries of the conference were next to be considered, and here an objection presented itself which called for the explanation of a term in the message. His grace could have no objection to the word fair—it was a general term, and he and Mr. Pitt might, in framing the arrangements, mutually discuss what they considered to be fair; but the other term in the message, the word equal, was a more specific and limited term; it might be construed variously, and his grace thought it necessary, as a preliminary to negotiation, that Mr. Pitt should explain precisely what he meant by the word equal. In an answer to this, Mr. Pitt said, in a message, that there was no occasion, in his mind, of entering into an explanation of the term, as it could be best explained in a personal conference. The duke of Portland replied to the negociators, that it was impossible for him to agree to any personal conference on a preliminary message, the terms of which the author refused to explain. Mr. Pitt persevered in his resolution not to explain the word; and here the negotiation broke off. On this statement of the case, Mr. Marsham and Mr. Powys delivered their sentiments, and a resolution was prepared and adopted by the meeting to the following effect.

"This meeting having heard with infinite concern, that an inter-

view between the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt is prevented by a doubt respecting a single word, are unanimously of opinion, that it would be no dishonourable step in either of the gentlemen to give way, and might be highly advantageous to the public welfare."

As the Westminster election has been one of the most important events of the present year, and, indeed, one of the most extraordinary fruits of our constitutional freedom, it has been thought a matter of some curiosity to preserve some of the most important papers that appeared in the course of it.

No. I.

To the Worthy and Independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster.

Gentlemen,

His majesty's ministers having thought fit, in contradiction to their own declarations, in defiance of the sense of the house of commons, and without any public pretence whatever, to subject the nation to all the inconveniencies which must infallibly attend a dissolution of parliament at the present moment, I humbly beg leave, once more, to solicit the favour of your votes and interest, to represent this great and respectable city.

To secure to the people of this country the weight which belongs to them in the scale of the constitution, has ever been the principle of my political conduct.

Conscious that in every situation, (whether in or out of office) I have invariably adhered to this system, I cannot but flatter myself that you will again give your sanction to those principles which first recommended me to your notice, and

which

which induced you, at two subsequent periods, to honour me with your suffrages.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most devoted and grateful

Humble servant,

C. J. Fox.

St. James's-street,

March 24.

No. II.

To the Worthy and Independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster.

Gentlemen,

When the popular delusion in favour of the present ministry was supposed to be most prevalent, I was confident that the good sense and steadiness of the electors of Westminster would be proof against every art and every temptation.

The unparalleled success which I have experienced upon my canvas, fully justifies this confidence, and I have the greatest reason to expect that your partiality towards me will appear to have increased in proportion to the persecution of my enemies.

As I have ever stood forth, and am always resolved to continue firm in the cause of the people, so it is not to be wondered at that I should at all times be the object of the enmity of that pernicious faction whose principles are as adverse to the constitution as the dark and secret manner in which they have endeavoured to enforce them.

It would have been my most earnest wish to have paid my respects in person to every individual elector, if the extent of the city had not made it impossible.

The very flattering reception I have met with among those whom I have had the opportunity of seeing,

cannot but add to my regret upon this account.

My public conduct is too well known to you to make any professions necessary; upon that ground I first experienced your partiality, upon that alone I can expect to retain it.

To you who have approved it, I need say no more; and I will not be guilty of the unbecoming flattery to those who have differed from me, as to pretend that I shall in any degree deviate from that line of political conduct which first recommended me to your notice.

Upon these tried principles, I once more beg leave to solicit your votes, interest, and poll, at the ensuing election; and I do assure you that no expressions can do justice to the sentiments of gratitude and esteem with which

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient and

Devoted servant,

C. J. Fox.

St. James's-street,

March 31, 1784.

No. III.

The following Note was sent to the High Bailiff of Westminster.

Shakspeare Tavern, Friday evening, April 2.

Mr. Fox's committee most earnestly request the high-bailiff of Westminster, to exert the powers vested in him by law, for the preservation of the peace, and of the freedom of election during the poll, in order to prevent a repetition of the outrages of this day, so disgraceful to the police, and so dangerous to the safety of the peaceable electors of this city.

To the High-Bailiff of Westminster.

(K 4)

No. IV.

No. IV.

April 2.

Mr. Fox's committee, in justice to the independent electors of Westminster, who were so shamefully prevented this day from coming up to the hustings to poll in his favour, by a gang of sailors, headed by naval officers, and carrying his majesty's colours, think it incumbent on them to declare that they have taken such precautions as they are assured will prevent similar outrages on this occasion, and enable the peaceable electors of the said city to give their suffrages without further molestation.

No. V.

Shakspeare, April 4, 1784.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION,

The committee for conducting the election of Mr. Fox have received information that a great number of lodgers and others, not legally qualified to vote have polled for lord Hood and sir Cecil Wray.

The committee request the most immediate communication of them, and of all other events that tend to contaminate the freedom and fairness of the election.

As the measures taken by this committee to restore peace and good order, have been found perfectly effectual, they earnestly request the friends of Mr. Fox to vote as early as possible to-morrow, when, without doubt, the issue of the poll will be as flattering to their old and true favourite as the arts practised last Saturday, in bringing up all the servants and dependants of the king's household—all the soldiers and serjeants of the guard—all the people of the queen's band of music, and many other descriptions of

persons, trained to obey the word of command, seem to have given a temporary triumph to his enemies.

By order of the committee,

J. R. COCKER, secretary.

No. VI.

WOOD'S HOTEL, April 4.

The committee for conducting the election of lord Hood and sir Cecil Wray, present their compliments to such of the worthy independent electors of Westminster that were prevented from giving their suffrages on the first and second days of the poll, (by the violent outrages of a desperate banditti of Irish chairmen and pick-pockets) and respectfully acquaint them that, through the great vigilance of the high-bailiff, the avenues leading to the hustings are now sufficiently protected by the peace-officers, that they may give their votes with ease and safety to themselves; and that your early attendance for that purpose is most humbly solicited.

The false and insidious charge made by our opponents against the friends of our two worthy candidates, of having been disturbers of the peace, in preventing the electors from approaching the hustings, cannot be more evinced than by the great majority gained by you on Saturday, solely owing to the good order then kept; and this committee most ardently solicit every aid of their good friends in this noble struggle, to support such peace and good order, as much in respect to those of the opposite party, as to any other; for on this, and this alone, depends the success of your worthy candidates, and in the end, cannot fail to produce them a very great majority.

No. VII.

No. VII.

April 6.

PLAIN RELATION OF FACTS.

The assertions of Mr. John Churchill and his committee must undoubtedly obtain due credit with every honest elector of Westminster. On the second day of the election, it is universally known, that the friends of Mr. Fox were driven from the hustings, and besieged in the Shakspeare by a gang of sailors; two of whom, being afterwards questioned, confessed that they received daily for their services five shillings a-piece. On Monday, at the close of the poll, the same gang, armed with bludgeons, were seen to come down King-street, and knock down several unarmed persons, who had Fox ribbands in their hats. The populace, however, at length made head against them, and severely retaliated upon them the outrages of that and the preceding days. Tuesday the same gang began similar riots in the morning. A gentleman was pursued by them into the house of Mr. Blackmore, tailor, in Henrietta-street, where they took from him the ribband in his hat. One of them was, however, secured by the peace-officers attending about the hustings. In the afternoon, long before any tumult in Covent-garden, two parties of sailors, armed with bludgeons, ran along the Strand up Southampton-street, to the conviction of many hundreds of peaceable spectators, with an evident purpose of making a riot. In conclusion, however, it appears that they were again worsted. This is a plain recital of known facts. How then can Mr. John Churchill and his committee, in their advertisements of yesterday morning, dare

to charge the late disorders on the friends of Mr. Fox?

No. VIII.

To the Worthy Electors of the City and Liberties of Westminster.

Gentlemen,

The advantage obtained by my opponents upon the poll (though by no means decisive) is such as to render your utmost exertions necessary.

Your interests, in this contest, are much more deeply engaged than mine. If the cause of the independent electors should, in this instance, be overborne, it is next to impossible that any man should again venture to stand for this city in opposition to the nomination of the court.

The question now is not, Who shall be elected? But who shall elect? It is not between Sir Cecil Wray and me, but between the influence of the court and the rights of the independent electors.

The number of unpolled votes is yet so great that there is little doubt of your success, if proper exertions are made. Nothing shall be wanting on my part; I will spare no pains: I will submit to every inconvenience, rather than be accessory in delivering you over to that state of subjection from which you so honourably rescued yourselves at the last general election.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and

Faithful humble servant,

C. J. Fox.

St. James's-street, Tuesday,
April 6.

No. IX.

No. IX.

April 6.

To the truly independent Electors
of Westminster.

A cause supported by the influence of a court and the union of two great and powerful noblemen, is necessarily capable of more sudden exertion than an opposition resting solely on the separate efforts of many free and independent individuals. To this circumstance, Sir Cecil Wray is wholly indebted for his temporary majorities. But the tide is now turned. Yesterday you gained an advantage, however small, yet sufficient to animate you to further endeavours. If you have still the spirit which you shewed in your first election of Mr. Fox, it is undoubtedly yet in your power to ensure success.

The guards, perhaps, have ever been, in some degree, employed to turn the scale of a contest in favour of a court candidate. But hitherto decency, at least, was preserved on similar occasions. You well know, that they were never before marched to the hustings in such bodies; I may say, in companies and regiments. If you have the independency of Englishmen, or the common feelings of men, suffer not such a daring attack on the freedom of elections; or will you wait, till you see the whole corps in regimentals, with fixed bayonets, drawn up in Covent-garden? That only will remain, if you acquiesce in the present insult.

No. X.

April 10.

Ireland's, Bow-street.
Select Committee.

False Votes for Hood and Wray.

The select committee think it

their duty to inform the friends of Mr. Fox, that they have already received the most indisputable testimony of above two hundred false votes polled for Lord Hood and Sir Cecil Wray, and they have every reason to be convinced that Mr. Fox has, at this moment, a majority of legal votes upon the poll.

An authenticated state of some of the extraordinary cases of flagrant imposition practised upon this occasion, is preparing to be laid before the public immediately.

R. MORRELL, sec.

No. XI.

Westminster Election.

A Caution.

Whereas authentic information has been received that numbers of persons, who are neither electors nor inhabitants of Westminster, have had the audacity to vote for Mr. Fox; and whereas it appears evident that particularly on Tuesday and Wednesday the majority of those who voted for Mr. Fox were lodgers, and persons residing out of the city and liberties of Westminster, (many of whom are known to be weavers in Spitalfields, and to have received money for their votes), This is to give notice, that whoever shall appear to have been guilty of perjury or misdemeanor, by receiving money for his vote, or by falsely declaring himself to be a house-keeper, the names of such persons will be published, and they will be prosecuted to the utmost rigour of the law.

Wood's Hotel,

April 16, 1784.

No. XII.

The Freedom of Election violated.

Whereas a most daring and outrageous

rageous attack was this day committed, towards the close of the poll, on the peace-officers, several of whom were dangerously wounded by persons armed with cleavers, bludgeons, and other offensive weapons. Whoever will give information of any of the above offenders, so that they may be brought to punishment, shall, on their conviction, receive twenty pounds, to be paid by me,

J. P. ATKINSON,

Secretary to the sub-committee for conducting the election of lord Hood and sir Cecil Wray.

Wood's Hotel,
April 17, 1784.

No. XIII.

Wood's Hotel, April 20, 1784.
Westminster Election.

The committee for conducting the election of lord Hood and sir Cecil Wray think proper, from motives of humanity, to give notice to those poor unfortunate men who are liable to be seduced, that every one who accepts money to vote is liable to a penalty of 500*l.* that every one who takes a false oath on the poll is liable to be transported for seven years; and that the members of the committee are determined, as a duty they owe to the public, to prosecute every one who receives or gives a bribe or promise, or even lays a wager, or gives more for any thing, under pretence of purchase, than it is really worth, those being devices contrary to the statutes against bribery and corruption.

N. B. Even the person who gives the bribe may be a witness against the man who has been bribed.

No. XIV.

Ireland's, Bow-street,
April 21, 1784.

Select Committee.

Subornation of Perjury!

Among the many base and contemptible arts practised by the opponents of Mr. Fox, and detected by this committee, it is not without concern they inform the public that a new instance of the miserable depravity of the court-party, and one of the very blackest dye, is now come well authenticated to their hands. Two unfortunate wretches have confessed, that they have actually received a sum of money to swear that they were bribed to poll for Mr. Fox! The friends to justice may rest assured, that proper legal steps are now taking to bring the matter home to the unprincipled managers in this dark and detestable transaction, who, in the eye of reason, are undoubtedly more guilty than their deluded instruments, who have now a proper sense of the iniquitous snare they were drawn into.

By order of the committee,

R. MORRELL, secretary.

No. XV.

St. James's-street, April 26, 1784.
To the worthy and independent
Electors of the City and Liberties
of Westminster.

Gentlemen,

The present state of the poll exhibits a glorious example of what may be expected from the perseverance of independent men in the cause of liberty and the constitution.

I beg leave most earnestly to solicit the continuance of your gene-

rous exertions in my favour. The importance of every individual vote is now sufficiently evident; and the number of electors who have assured me that they would come forward whenever it should appear that their vote might probably be decisive, leaves me no doubt of success.

The unprecedented exertions which the servants of the crown have thought themselves at liberty to make against me, as well by an indecent prostitution of the most sacred names, as by every other species of unconstitutional influence, have produced the effects naturally to be expected from such proceedings, by raising the spirit and awakening the indignation of every honest and independent elector.

My public life is too well known to you to make any professions necessary. Those principles which brought about the glorious revolution, which seated his majesty's illustrious family upon the throne, and which have preserved the liberty of this constitution, have ever been the inviolable rule of my political conduct.

Upon these grounds I again presume to request your support; and if I should be happy enough to be re-elected representative of this great and respectable city, you may depend upon finding in me a steady supporter of the whig cause, a determined enemy to that secret influence by which the present administration was created, and an unalterable friend to the rights of the people.

I am, with every sentiment of gratitude and respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant;

C. J. Fox.

No. XVI.

Shakspeare Tavern,

Monday evening, May 10, 1784.

Lord Robert Spencer in the Chair.

At a meeting of the committee for conducting Mr. Fox's election, held to take into consideration the circumstances of the riot which happened at the close of this morning's poll, and has been continued through the whole of the day.

Resolved unanimously, That there appears to be the strongest grounds to believe that the whole has arisen from a most profligate and iniquitous conspiracy on the part of the opponents of Mr. Fox, to endeavour to break the peace of the election, and to overawe the independent citizens, by the most flagrant unconstitutional means, which the despair of a corrupt and unprincipled party could suggest.

Resolved, That the introduction of the military, after every appearance of riot had ceased in the morning; their seizing persons peaceably remaining on the spot, retaining them under a military guard, refusing the admission of any evidence in their behalf, and assaulting with fixed bayonets, a party of gentlemen who came by appointment with the magistrates to offer bail for them, are acts which, if countenanced, violate not only the freedom of election, but every principle of liberty in the country.

Resolved, That the beginning of the riot is solely to be attributed to the extraordinary act of magisterial power exercised this morning, in bringing to the hustings a body of ruffians within the polling rail, under pretence of their being new-made constables, though the peaceable conduct of the poll, for many days

days past, has proved that no such force was necessary for any good purpose.

Resolved, That a committee be immediately appointed to enquire into the whole of this atrocious and extraordinary transaction, by which the freedom of election has been audaciously violated, and the most sacred rights of Englishmen tyrannically trampled under foot.

Copy of a Circular Letter, sent by the direction of the Lord Lieutenant of the County to the different acting Justices.

“ Sir,

“ Having received a letter from the duke of Northumberland, custos rotulorum of the county of Middlesex and city and liberty of Westminster, of which the following is a copy—

“ Northumberland House,
May 8, 1784.

“ Sir,

“ I think it necessary that a meeting of all the acting magistrates of the city and liberty of Westminster should be held forthwith, to consider such measures as may be proper and adviseable to be adopted for the preservation of peace and good order within the said city and liberty on the close of the poll, which it is expected will soon take place. I must therefore desire you will call such meeting on Monday next, to be held at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, at the Guildhall, in King-street, Westminster, and I have no doubt you will be careful to recommend that such steps as shall then be determined on may be pursued with vigour and effect.

“ I am, with great regard, sir,

“ Your most obedient

“ Humble servant,

“ NORTHUMBERLAND.

“ William Mainwaring, esq.”

“ I take the earliest opportunity of communicating it to you, and doubt not you will pay due attention to his grace's wishes upon the matter, and that you will meet on Monday next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, at the Guildhall, Westminster, pursuant thereto.

“ I am, sir,

“ Your most obedient

“ Humble servant,

“ WILLIAM MAINWARING,

“ Chairman of the sessions.”

By order of the committee,

J. R. COCKER, sec.

No. XVII.

Shakspeare Tavern,
Wednesday night.

General Committee, May 12, 1784.

The select committee appointed to enquire into the cause of the late riot, have reported many circumstances, substantiated by the most incontrovertible evidence, by which it now indisputably appears that the late tumult, and the unfortunate consequences which followed, are to be attributed solely to the atrocious conduct of the magistrate who brought to the hustings of Covent-garden, under pretence of assisting the peace-officers on Monday last, a desperate banditti, against the opinion and remonstrances of all the other magistrates who met at the Guildhall, Westminster, on that morning. A warrant is obtained against one of the ring-leaders in the execution of this daring plan. Enquiries are making after others, and proper methods pursuing to bring the offending magistrate to justice.

Resolved, That the select committee be desired to persevere in their enquiries in this business, and that a state of the iniquitous transactions

factions already brought to light be immediately prepared for publication.

By order of the committee,
J. R. COCKER, sec.

No. XVIII.

A Murder.

Whereas, on Monday last, between the hours of three and four o'clock, a most violent assault was made in Covent-garden, at the close of the poll, on several persons, by men armed with bludgeons, cleavers, and other offensive weapons; in consequence of which, Nicholas Casson, a peace-officer, received many wounds on his head, and several other parts of his body, which occasioned his death, and the coroner's inquest have found, that the said Nicholas Casson was wilfully murdered by some person or persons unknown.

And whereas there is the strongest reason to believe that the ruffians so armed with bludgeons and cleavers, who committed this daring outrage, have been daily hired from the commencement of the election to the present period.

The committee appointed to conduct the election of lord Hood and sir Cecil Wray, thinking it a duty which they owe to the public in general, and to the electors of Westminster in particular, to bring every offender to justice, who has been concerned in this inhuman and bloody transaction, do hereby offer a reward of fifty pounds to any person or persons who shall discover the murderers, or the parties who hired or employed them. The reward to be paid on conviction, by Mr. Samuel Wood, Covent-garden Piazza.

J. P. ATKINSON, sec.

Wood's, Covent-garden,
May 12, 1784.

No. XIX.

General Committee.

Shakspeare Tavern,
May 14, 1784.

Authentic information being received that the measure of bringing a body of near two hundred armed ruffians, under pretence of assisting the Westminster peace-officers, on Monday last, and lodging them in the committee-room of lord Hood and sir Cecil Wray, in King street, from whence they issued to the place of poll, and on the close of it commenced the fatal outrages which ensued, was in no respect authorized by or concerted with the magistrates assembled that morning by the lord lieutenant, but was, on the contrary, the sole act of justice Wilmot, against the advice and remonstrances of all the said magistrates. The committee for conducting Mr. Fox's election think it incumbent on them immediately to retract any reflection which may appear to be contained in their former advertisement on this subject against the magistrates in general who formed the aforesaid meeting. And the committee further pledge themselves to prosecute to the utmost the magistrate who planned this most iniquitous business, as well as the ring-leaders, who were so audaciously active in the execution of it. It is unnecessary for this committee to request the public to suspend their opinion on this affair, till the authentic particulars are laid before them to-morrow. The falsehoods and scurrilities issued from Wood's Hotel, are so base and contemptible that they can have produced no other effect, but a general suspicion of the guilt of the party they are meant to exculpate.

By order of the committee,
J. R. COCKER, sec.
No. XX.

No. XX.

A Murder.

May 19.

Whereas a desperate banditti, hired against the will and remonstrances of all the Westminster magistrates, and armed with bludgeons, staves, and pistols, under pretence of assisting the Westminster peace officers, did, on Monday last, issue forth from Hood and Wray's committee-room, in King-street, to the place of poll at Covent-garden, and at the close thereof did violently and inhumanly assault sundry peaceable persons, and thereby raise an affray, in which Nicholas Casson lost his life.

This is to give notice, that a reward of one hundred guineas will be paid by the secretary to the committee for conducting Mr. Fox's election, to any person or persons who shall discover and apprehend, so that they may be prosecuted to conviction, any of the said daring offenders, or the party who hired, paid, or undertook to pay them.

N. B. As warrants are obtained against two of the principal ring-leaders, persons present at the actual commencement of the affray, are requested instantly to communicate any material information relative to their accomplices, or their employers, to Mr. Fox's committee at the Shakspeare.

By order of the committee,
J. R. COCKER, Sec.

No. XXI.

St. James's-street, June 10, 1784.

To the Independent Electors of the
city of Westminster.

Gentlemen,

The difficulty of alluding, with propriety, to a subject actually in discussion before the house of com-

mons, and the impossibility of wholly omitting the mention of the late return in any address to you, have been the motives which have hitherto induced me to refuse myself the satisfaction of expressing my gratitude to you, for the great honour you have done me, in electing me a fourth time to be your representative in parliament.

I do assure you, that I do not feel the obligations you have conferred upon me the less, because they have not yet had their full effect. The plan which appears to have been concerted between his majesty's ministers and the high bailiff, to deprive you of your rights, has been indeed but too successfully executed. The extreme caution with which the return appears to have been framed, in order studiously to avoid all legal examination, either in the common courts of justice, or before a committee under Mr. Grenville's act, and the art with which the ministry have contrived to revive, in this instance, the judicature of the house of commons in matters of election, are circumstances which deserve your most serious attention, and which of themselves sufficiently evince the opinion entertained of these late measures by their authors.—No other return could have answered their purpose of avoiding legal examination, and of precluding you from legal redress. If the high bailiff had returned sir Cecil Wray, a petition against such return must have been heard by a committee upon oath, and a speedy remedy must have been obtained. If a double return had been the measure, your redress would have been still more immediate;—the wisdom of our ancestors having given a just priority to such cases, upon that sacred and fundamental principle, never

never till now violated, that the first business of a house of commons upon the meeting of parliament, is to see that its numbers are complete. Even if lord Hood had been returned singly, such a return could not have been explained away, so as not to fall under the provisions of Mr. Grenville's act. To avoid therefore the possibility of your cause being referred to any other tribunal than that of the house of commons at large, a tribunal whose injustice and partiality in matters of election, have been recognized by the house itself, a mode of return was invented, for which no precedent has been found on the records of parliament; and the house of commons have determined that the high bailiff may go on with the scrutiny. Respect to the house of commons forbids me to make any other observation upon their decision, than that it must make the necessity of Mr. Grenville's act universally acknowledged.

I protest solemnly against the legality of this scrutiny; but I will shun no opportunity of vindicating the insulted character of my constituents. I therefore submit to proceed upon it, with this determination: while I am thanking you for past favours, I must earnestly solicit the continuance of your exertions in your several parishes, as well to detect the bad votes of my adversaries, as to defend such of your own, as may be unjustly attacked.

The audacious manner in which the high bailiff justified himself at the bar of the house of commons, upon those very grounds which he disclaimed with indignation in the vestry-room — the virulence and party spirit that appeared in his written defence, which his friends were yet prudent enough to prevent being submitted to the perusal of the

members; and above all, the clandestine intercourse which appears to have been carried on between him and my opponents, during the whole time of the election, and the boundless confidence which he seems to have given to all the idle tales of their agents, yield us no very flattering prospect of equity or fairness in the court before which this enquiry is to be conducted: but truth and justice, supported by perseverance and resolution, will ultimately be triumphant against the daring conspiracy which has been formed against them.

To raise tumults and riots by the means of constables, whose duty it is to preserve the peace; to make such riots the pretence for an unconstitutional introduction of the military during an election; — to attempt, by a most infamous prosecution, to take away the lives of innocent men; and finally, by an unprecedented return, to exclude this city from the benefit of Mr. Grenville's act, and to deprive you of your right of representation, so that your money may be given and granted without your consent; these are the arts by which those, who have in vain courted your favour, now hope to intimidate you into submission. I feel myself assured, they will find that it is as impossible to terrify you as to deceive, and that this respectable city will, in this season of popular delusion, stand a splendid example of steadiness and attachment to those principles, to which the king owes his crown, and Great Britain her liberty. It will be my humble task, both in and out of parliament, to second your efforts, and to do all in my power to justify the partiality you have shewn me, through such arduous trials, and with such unshaken perseverance.

I must again repeat, that no words

can

can express those sentiments of gratitude with which I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged, and

Devoted servant,

C. J. Fox.

Narrative of the Proceedings in the Scrutiny that was instituted in Behalf of Sir Cecil Wray, Bart. for the Purpose of investigating the Legality of the Votes given in the late Westminster Election.

No. I.

The following is an official Copy of the Return made by the High Bailiff of Westminster to the Sheriff of Middlesex, and by the Sheriff to the Clerk of the Crown :

Thomas Corbett, bailiff of the liberty of the dean and chapter of the collegiate church of St. Peter, at Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, doth hereby certify unto the sheriff of the said county of Middlesex, that by virtue of a certain precept, dated the 26th day of May last, and on the same day delivered to him the said bailiff, by the said sheriff for the election of two citizens to serve in the ensuing parliament for the city of Westminster, and by virtue of the writ therein recited, (proclamation of the premises in the said precept first mentioned, of the day and place as in the said precept is directed first being made) he the said bailiff did proceed to the election of two citizens to serve in the ensuing parliament for the said city of Westminster, on the first day of April now last past, on which day appeared

and were put in nomination the three candidates herein after mentioned, and a poll being demanded, he the said bailiff did forthwith proceed to take the said poll, and continued to take the same day by day, during six hours each day, viz. from nine in the forenoon to three in the afternoon, until the day of the date of these presents inclusive, on which day the said poll was finally closed, when the numbers on the said poll for the said several candidates stood as follows, viz.

For the right hon. sir Samuel Hood, baronet, baron Hood of the kingdom of Ireland -	6694
For the right hon. Charles James Fox -	6233
For sir Cecil Wray, baronet -	5998

The said bailiff further sets forth, that on the said final close of the poll, a scrutiny was duly demanded in behalf of sir Cecil Wray, which scrutiny the said bailiff has granted for the purpose of investigating the legality of the votes more accurately than could be done on the said poll; and the said scrutiny so granted is now pending and undetermined, and by reason of the premises, the said bailiff humbly conceives he cannot make any other return to the said precept than as herein-before is contained, until the said scrutiny shall be determined, which he fully intends to proceed upon with all practicable dispatch. In witness whereof, he the said Thomas Corbett, bailiff of the said liberty, hath hereunto set his hand and seal, the 17th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1784.

THO. CORBETT, bailiff.

No. II.

May 26.

The petition presented by Mr. Fox, relative to the election for Westminster, is very long, and takes notice of several transactions during the poll; it states fully the return made by the bailiff, and then observes—

That at the final close of the poll, at three o'clock in the afternoon, on the 17th day of May, a scrutiny was demanded on the part of sir Cecil Wray, which was immediately objected to by your petitioner.

That the bailiff did take upon him, contrary to the exigency of the writ, the positive injunction of the statute, and the invariable law and usage of parliament, in the most arbitrary and illegal manner, to declare that he would grant such scrutiny, to commence and be proceeded upon, after the day appointed for the day of returning the writs for summoning this parliament.

That the said bailiff in refusing to execute the said indenture tendered to him, and to return the petitioner as one of the two citizens duly elected to serve in parliament for the said city, according to the usual course of proceeding in such cases, and in the common and established form of returns, and in making such special return as aforesaid, has conducted himself in a manner equally arbitrary, illegal, unconstitutional, and unprecedented, and which, if countenanced, would not only totally subvert the ancient forms of elections of members to serve in parliament, but would defeat all the wise ends for which those forms were at first adopted, and have since hitherto invariably prevailed.

That your petitioner humbly conceives, and is advised, that the said return is highly injurious to your petitioner, is a palpable breach of

duty in the said bailiff, an open violation of the act of parliament, a wilful disobedience of the writ, and a manifest disregard of the invariable laws and usage of parliament.

It then prays the house to take the same into their immediate consideration, and to order the said bailiff forthwith to execute the said indenture of return so tendered to him, and to make a proper and perfect return, to be annexed to the said writ for Westminster, or to give him such other relief, as to the justice of that honourable house shall seem meet.

No. III.

June 11.

The following protests were this day delivered to the high-bailiff at St. Anne's vestry-room.

To Thomas Corbett, esq. High-Bailiff.

Before I go upon the business of this scrutiny, I do hereby solemnly protest against its legality, and reserve to myself the right of impeaching it hereafter either in any court of judicature, or before a committee of the house of commons under Mr. Grenville's act: and I hereby also declare, that I reserve to myself the right of suing the high-bailiff for all the expences, or the double of them, which are drawn upon me by this illegal act in the appointment of this scrutiny.

C. J. Fox.

Vestry-room, St. Anne's,
June 12, 1784.

To Thomas Corbett, esq. high bailiff of Westminster.

We whose names are subscribed, electors of Westminster, do protest against your commencing or proceeding on any scrutiny of the poll

on the late election for representatives in parliament for this city, and do reserve to ourselves the right and power to object to, and impeach all your proceedings therein, as we shall be advised.

Given under our hands, on behalf of ourselves and the other electors of this city, this 11th day of June, 1784.

JONATHAN PAGE,
JA. GILCHRIST,
JOHN DAVIS,
CHARLES PROBART,
EDWARD LANE,
THOMAS BROOKS,
WILLIAM FISHER,
WILLIAM FITCH,
THOMAS ELLIS.

June 15.

At 10 o'clock this morning the high-bailiff, his deputy, and counsel, sir Cecil Wray, lord Hood, and their counsel, and colonel Fitzpatrick, and other gentlemen, with Mr. Phillips and Mr. Garrow, as counsel on behalf of Mr. Fox, being met, the regulating articles were considered, and the following were agreed to by both parties—two counsel only to be admitted on each side—three scrutineers on each side, with liberty to change them, upon giving notice to the high bailiff.—Sir Cecil Wray to go through all his objections in one parish, first; and Mr. Fox then to go through all his in the same manner, and then the books of that parish to be shut.—One clear day's notice to be given of the objections to the voters.—When the scrutiny is adjourned to another parish, no retrospective view allowed respecting any voters in the former parish.

There were besides other regulations, which not being agreed to, dropped of course, such as an order to shut out the voters, except three of a side. The discussion of this

article took up a considerable time, until the high bailiff's counsel very candidly acknowledged, that he very much doubted his authority to exclude the electors, and that it would be infinitely more prudent, to admit as many as the room would conveniently hold. Two side bars were then proposed, by way of preserving a proper entrance for the officers, &c. and this proposal was acceded to. Mr. Garrow proposed, that the list should go on in rotation, and that no excuse should be made, for omitting a voter, and going to the next; he stated a number of inconveniencies, which had accrued from the admission of this practice, even in a small degree in the city, and after having committed his proposal to paper, he submitted it to sir Cecil and friends, neither of whom would accede to it. They insisted, that the high bailiff's discretion must govern that point. It being now twelve o'clock, Mr. Fox arrived, and the high bailiff addressed him in a very becoming manner, stating, that whatever prejudices might have prevailed with Mr. Fox against him, or whatever resentments he might be supposed to entertain on account of the unmerited aspersions which were cast against him, yet that he was determined to administer strict and impartial justice. In fact, he had given security for such conduct, having called to his assistance an impartial and learned gentleman of the law, to whom he should refer every question of difficulty. The accommodating articles were now read, and Mr. Fox, sir Cecil Wray, and lord Hood signed them: and other trifling matters being adjusted, the court was adjourned until the next day at ten o'clock.

June 16. This morning the high bailiff and deputy, with his counsel,

(L 2)

Mr.

Mr. Hargrave, attended in the vestry-room of St. Anne, to proceed upon the scrutiny, and produced the list of rotation of the different parishes, which stood after St. Anne's, St. Margaret's, and St. John's, second; but Mr. Fox and his friends proposed drawing the parishes by lots, which being assented to, lots were accordingly drawn, and the parishes now stand in the following order: St. Martin's, St. Margaret's and St. John's, St. Clement's and St. Mary le Strand, St. Paul's, Covent-garden and St. Martin's le Grand, St. James's and St. George's.

July 20. The scrutiny in the parish of St. Anne's, Westminster closed on the part of sir Cecil Wray, bart. The number of votes objected to was seventy-one—of which twenty-three were disqualified, forty-six declared to be good, and two cases of foreigners reserved for farther consideration, were afterwards declared to be bad.—Mr. Fox's agents delivered in their lists of objections against sir Cecil's voters, and the court adjourned.

Aug. 7. At eleven o'clock the parties being assembled, and the room uncommonly crowded in anxious expectation of hearing the great question of denization argued, Mr. Philipps, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Garrow, who is returned from the circuit, suddenly retired into the church, where they staid upwards of half an hour. Upon their return, Mr. Philipps addressed the high bailiff, stating the length of time the court had sat, and the uncommon attention which had been paid to the business, together with the enormous expence incurred. Having taken these circumstances into their serious consideration, they had agreed to give up the remaining objections, several of

which he was confident of carrying, to save trouble to the voters, expence to themselves, and expedite the scrutiny, provided the high bailiff would indulge them with an adjournment for one week, previous to entering upon the parish of St. Martin. It might appear upon the face of it, he said, that a compliance with such request would tend to delay; but a moment's consideration would prove that however paradoxical, yet it was strictly complying with the directions of the house of commons, and proceeding with “the utmost practicable dispatch.” For instance, the votes which he now gave up, would certainly have taken up more time than the indulgence required: added to which the agents for the parties would have time to enquire into the several cases, and on the one hand not bring forward such as they were not well authorized by the strength of evidence to attack; and on the other not to defend such as they were convinced ought to be given up. This he said would greatly shorten the business, to the mutual ease and health of all parties. He therefore informed the court, that they had agreed to make some concessions which he specified, and which would wholly complete the lists of both parties, and give Mr. Fox a majority of one upon the scrutiny; he therefore moved the court accordingly. Mr. Morgan seconded the motion, and Mr. Garrow made a most elegant speech, wherein he pointed out the great object obtained; namely, to convince the world of the falshood of those base and injurious assertions which had been made respecting Mr. Fox's voters. He was perfectly of opinion that the adjournment would expedite the business.

The

The high bailiff said, "Disposed as I am to oblige, yet I am sorry I do not see I could be justified." The counsel enforced their arguments, and Mr. Philipps again observing upon the enormous expence to his client, added "which we can very ill afford, let the world know that." The high bailiff appealed to Mr. Hargrave, who observed that the arguments were forcible, that the court was pressed by very cogent reasons, and that he was much inclined to believe that the adjournment would eventually shorten the business; yet it was utterly out of his power to anticipate the opinion of the house. That it lay entirely with the high bailiff's discretion, which he had no doubt but the house would interpret in a liberal manner. It was at last agreed that a written request should be made and entered upon the books, which being done, the high bailiff made the adjournment, and pronounced the dissolution of the scrutiny in St. Anne's parish.

The number of votes objected to on the part of Mr. Fox were thirty-two, of which twenty-six were declared bad, five good, and one postponed. Majority in favour of Mr. Fox in St. Anne's parish one vote. Adjourned till this day se'ennight at ten in the morning at St. Martin's vestry.

The following Addresses of some of the Candidates at the late general Election were thought worthy of our Repository.

No. I.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, Free-men, and Freeholders of the City and County of Norwich.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with the wishes, which a large and respectable in-

terest has long done me the honour to entertain towards me; I stand forth as a candidate for the city of Norwich. My zeal for the constitution of this country is founded upon an impartial and serious attention to its real interests, nor would I be deterred from discharging my duty, by the opposition even of a free and enlightened people, when they act to the prejudice of their own rights. My opinions are not to be shaken by every transient blast of clamour, and as to my motives, they are such, I trust, as will not shrink from the severest scrutiny. I should indeed condemn myself as most unworthy of your choice, if the leading principles of my actions could be distorted into endless inconsistencies, by a servile accommodation to those changes, which have lately prevailed in public opinions, and public measures.

Scorning the mean arts of dissimulation, I have planted myself before the judgment of my friends, and the prejudices of my enemies, in open day. I may offend the unwary, and even the well-disposed; but I cannot deceive them; nor will I sacrifice to any selfish views that openness of dealing, which can alone secure to me the continuance of your esteem after success, or the approbation of my own heart under disappointment. The same conduct, which procures me the honour of your support, shall justify you in bestowing it.

Reports, I am aware, have gone abroad, of which, groundless and extravagant as they are, it may be necessary to take some notice. Yet I will not wrong your candour and good sense, by supposing that they are, in the slightest degree, hurtful to that cause, which is equally dear to yourselves and to

me. I feel, indeed, some sort of degradation in the very attempt to refute those dark and invidious insinuations, which have hitherto assumed no determinate form, which have been employed only on the credulity of those who know me not; and which are industriously circulated by the artifices of those, whom, because they do know me, it is more easy to convince than to silence.

If I were unable to distinguish between the comparative merits of men or measures, or unwilling to act according to my sense of those merits, I should be totally unfit for the important and honourable trust which you repose in your representatives. He that is incapable of making such distinctions cannot serve you effectually; and he, who, from whatever motives, refuses to make them, must often betray you. In the freedom with which I have ever declared my sentiments, at the hazard even of disobliging my friends, you have a pledge, surely, for the firmness with which I shall on all occasions make my own dispassionate judgment the sole and fixed rule of my conduct. What circumstances have they, who are most prodigal of their censures, ever discerned in my character or situation, which can justify them in representing me as the bigot of any system, or the slave of any party? As to popularity, I disdain to court it by a desertion of those very sentiments which first obtained for me the flattering distinction of your warm and unsolicited approbation; but I am most anxious to deserve that approbation by the faithful and diligent discharge of my duty, in protecting your most sacred rights against every man, and every set of men, who may wish to undermine and subvert them. I have the

honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, and

Faithful humble servant,

W. WINDHAM.

Norwich, March 26, 1784.

No. II.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

I was first called forth to maintain the independency of your county. Through your means I was enabled to assert it. No exertions of mine shall be wanting to preserve it. The hand of power has, on every occasion, been raised against me. It has now varied the form of its attack, but its end is the same. We have triumphed over it in a former instance, I trust we shall be equally successful in this. Conscious that my conduct has been governed by one uniform principle, that I have been actuated by no selfish views; that I have watched over your interests with unremitting attention; and that I have zealously persevered in the cause of freedom, it is with confidence that I again appeal to you for your suffrages.

I am,

With the most unfeigned gratitude,

Your faithful humble servant,

G. BYNG.

Berkeley-square, March 27.

No. III.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

Conscious of having on every occasion discharged with zeal and fidelity

fidelity the various duties of the important charge, with which I was intrusted, and reflecting with gratitude on the frequent public marks of your approbation during the late preceding parliaments, I beg to be permitted again to make you the humble tender of my services at the ensuing general election.

I always considered it as the duty of your representative in parliament to deliver there the real sense of his constituents, and, in obedience to your commands, to submit in a dutiful manner to the sovereign the sentiments of this respectable county. Such has been the invariable rule of my conduct, which I trust appears firm and consistent. I have conscientiously adhered to the solemn engagement signed by your late much-lamented member, Mr. Glynn, and myself, previous to the general election in 1774. In one momentous point, after a struggle of many years, success followed to the full extent of my warmest wishes. I glory in having obtained for you the most complete satisfaction from the late parliament. I allude to the motion in May, 1782, "for vindicating the injured rights of the freeholders of this county, and the whole body of electors in this united kingdom," and the subsequent order that all the declarations and resolutions, which militated against your rights and franchises, should be "expunged from the Journals, as being subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom." Other essential articles however of that engagement remain still to be accomplished, particularly "a more fair and equal representation of the people," and "the shortening the duration of parliaments." I pledge

myself to you that both these weighty questions shall receive a full discussion very early in the new parliament, if your favour should give me a seat in the great council of the nation.

I intreat you, gentlemen, to do me the justice to believe that I shall be extremely desirous of receiving your instructions on every event of importance respecting my parliamentary conduct, if I am so happy as to have the late honorable relation to you renewed. The powers, which I may derive from you, shall regularly be exerted in obedience to the directions of my worthy constituents. My parliamentary voice shall faithfully declare the opinion of the freeholders of Middlesex, and my vote be given in strict conformity to their instructions, by which the sense of the people will be so far ascertained with fairness and precision. It is my ambition to be acknowledged in the present age, and transmitted to the latest posterity, as a strenuous, steady, and uniform supporter of civil liberty, of the most general and liberal toleration in all matters of religious concern, of the noble franchises and rights of this free people, and the balance of power in that happy, well-poized constitution, which the immortal William established at the glorious Revolution.

In the present alarming crisis, gentlemen, I confess that I anxiously supplicate the honour of your suffrages, that I may be enabled to strengthen the hands of our present virtuous young minister in his patriotic plans to retrieve your affairs, to restore public credit, to recover the faded glory of our country. I conceive such a conduct to meet the clear, declared

opinion of a great majority of the freeholders of Middlesex. I know his ability, his unwearied attention to the public service, and his zeal to promote those objects of national magnitude, which you have at heart. He will therefore receive every support, which you may enable me to give, while he continues to possess the sanction of your esteem, and I am convinced that time, the most unerring judge, by daily bringing an additional degree of meritorious service, will confirm and increase to him the attachment of a grateful nation.

As the sheriff has advertised a general meeting of the freeholders of this county to consider of proper persons to be nominated by them to represent this county in the ensuing parliament, to be held at the Mermaid, at Hackney, on Saturday next the 3d of April, at twelve o'clock at noon, give me leave to solicit the early appearance of my friends there, and their generous protection.

The election will be at Brentford on Thursday, the 22d of April, when I hope to be again the man of your free choice, and by the continuance of that obliging partiality, which has been my distinction in life, the representative of my native county in the ensuing parliament.

I am, gentlemen,
With great regard and gratitude,
Your most faithful, and
Obedient humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

Prince's Court, Westminster,
Monday, March 29.

No. IV.

To the Livery of the City of London.
Gentlemen,

I have just learnt that I have been this day proposed, in a manner equally unexpected and flattering to me, as a candidate to represent the city of London in parliament; and that I had the honour of having my name returned on the shew of hands. It is impossible for me not to feel the warmest gratitude and satisfaction in receiving so distinguished a mark of confidence from so great and respectable a body. It is the more honourable to me, as I can attribute it only to their approbation of my public principles and conduct in the present important moment. Sensible as I am at the same time, that my engagements are not sufficiently compatible with the duties incumbent on one who has the honour of being placed in that situation, I should be wanting in respect and attention to the city of London, if I did not take the earliest opportunity of begging permission to decline the poll. Permit me to add, that I trust I shall on no occasion be found less zealous to promote the interest of the city, and, with it, those of the kingdom in general, than if I had the honour of being sent as their immediate representative.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and
Faithful humble servant,
Downing-street, W. PITT.
March 30, 1784.

No. V.

To the Worthy Electors of the Borough of Hertford.

Gentlemen,
Notwithstanding the event of the late poll, I should be unworthy

of that good opinion with which my friends have honoured me, if I did not in the most cordial manner express to them my sincere acknowledgments. It was not in their power to prevent the effect of those combined circumstances which the popular fury of the times, and the various influences operating in favour of my opponents, rendered irresistible.

By some new and courtly conception of things there are those who have persuaded themselves to declare, that length of service in parliament is an acquittal of every obligation to profess the public principles on which they act. Length of service and independence of mind are not always synonymous. And I have never thought it inconsistent with my duty, or degrading to my honour to avow mine. In doing this I refer to my uniform public conduct for sixteen years past. I have nothing to conceal, nor any bias on my mind by which I can be tempted in any instance to sacrifice objects of serious national importance to views of temporary emolument, either in possession or expectation.

The part which has been taken against me I resent not:—The support I have experienced from my old and new friends I receive with gratitude. In the choice of your present members you have acted in a manner most agreeable to your wishes, and they will have performed no more than their bounden duty, by serving you with the same disinterestedness and fidelity with which I have endeavoured to atone for many other defects.

On this and every similar occasion you will do well to consider that you are called upon to the exercise of this valuable franchise, to preserve that balance in our consti-

tution on which all our liberties depend; and bearing in your minds a late most extraordinary transaction, you will dread as the worst of evils that can befall you, every species of aristocratic influence, since a moment's reflection will convince you, that nothing less is meant by the most flattering condescensions, than to establish an interest among you for the purposes of private ambition, and you will hardly be persuaded, that those will prove the most zealous assertors of your rights and independence who have shamefully betrayed their own.

In my private situation, I shall be happy to promote the prosperity of your town; and am, with the most unfeigned regard,

Your obliged and obedient
servant,

Bayford-Bury,

W. BAKER.

April 2.

No. VI.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Permit me to express my grateful feelings for the very honourable support I experienced at my nomination at Hackney on Saturday last, and to assure you that I look forward with the utmost confidence to the day when by your generous efforts I may be again returned your representative in parliament.

Every practice of power, and every device that the most designing men can suggest, have been used against me. The papers filled with the most fallacious accounts of the transactions at the meeting.

A test was proposed, not similar to that of the city of London, but particularly marked as opposite to my known declarations, previous to your former choice of me.

To put an end to the American war, to reverse the decision which deprived you of your rights, to reduce the influence of the crown, to shorten the duration, and to reform the representation of parliaments, were all objects of your deepest concern. In principle we concurred, and without a promise of obedience I obeyed.

Relying on the proofs of your regard which I have experienced during my canvas, I refer to my past conduct, which, superior to any professions I can use, will best evince the sincerity of my principles, and that unalterable attachment with which I am,

Gentlemen,

Your much obliged and
Faithful servant,

G. BYNG.

Berkeley-square,
Apr. 4, 1784.

No. VII.

Pembroke-hall, Cambridge,
Apr. 6, 1784.

Sir,

I think it my duty to take the first moment to communicate to you, that I am returned for the university of Cambridge. I cannot sufficiently express how much I regret the impossibility of accepting the honour intended me by the corporation of Bath. I trust they will do me the justice to believe, that nothing but the particular circumstances of my connection with this place could have prevented my embracing an offer so flattering to my feelings. May I beg the favour of you to assure them, that I shall always retain a just sense of such a mark of their good opinion, and feel myself bound in the strongest

manner by attachment and gratitude to their service.

I am, with great truth,

Sir,

Your-obedient and

Faithful servant,

W. PITT.

John Leake, esq.
Bath.

No. VIII.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and
Freeholders of the County of
Norfolk.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with the opinion of many respectable friends, I retire from a contest, which is likely to disturb the peace of the county, without producing any advantage to that cause in which I am engaged. The shortness of the interval between the nomination and the day of election was thought insufficient to recover the effects of a canvas, which (it now appears) had begun, during my absence in town, was carried on without my knowledge, and owed much of its success to an artifice not the most justifiable, the pretence of a junction between my late worthy colleague and my opponent.

With gratitude I shall ever acknowledge the past favours of my constituents; nor can I reflect, without triumph, on the endeavours I have faithfully and steadily exerted to deserve the continuance of them. From whatever causes my present disappointment may have arisen on your part, it cannot, I am sure, be imputed to any want of sincerity or constancy on mine. I was called forth as your representative, in support of revolutionary principles; and where is the instance in which my most prejudiced foe can shew that I have deserted them? Upon these

princ

principles, gentlemen, I took a decided, and, after your choice of my competitor, I must add, a distinguished part in opposing the American war: I gave my vote most heartily, and most successfully, for controuling the enormous influence of the crown; and assisted in that truly constitutional measure, by which the much-abused power of voting was taken away from the immediate dependants of the crown. On the same principle, and with the same steady view to the common good, I will never give up my claim to consistency in having supported the duke of Portland in his coalition with lord North, being persuaded that such a measure, however liable to misrepresentation, was, by a change of circumstances, become indispensibly necessary. I felt it my duty to follow the example of many honest men, who, after the conclusion of the American war, having no just ground of difference, were willing to lay aside personal animosities, for the sake of pursuing measures salutary in themselves, and which nothing but their union could render practicable. But, whatever opinion you may form of my conduct, the purity of my motives stands, I trust, unimpeached. Had a regard for your interest, and for the honour of becoming your representative, held a secondary place in my wishes, there is a path in which I possibly, as well as others, might have gratified a less generous ambition, and have saved myself the disappointment which I now experience.

In stating these facts, I mean not to make an ostentatious display of services, which have no other merit than the motives that dictated them; but I do mean to convince you, that I have not betrayed the trust of which you have deprived me; and

that whatever reasons you may have for giving a preference to other men, you have no just ground of accusation against me.

While I lament the loss of your confidence, as it affects myself, I feel a more serious concern for the consequence of that loss to the Whig interest, which my family was in this county brought forward to support in the year 1768, and which now seems threatened with a total overthrow by the machinations of its enemies, and by the temporary prejudices of many of those who should be its supporters. Let me, however, do justice to those numerous and respectable friends, to whose generous exertions, in the present instance, I am so highly indebted, and whose firmness, in defence of constitutional liberty, will, I trust, on some future occasion, be more effectual.

I am, Gentlemen,

With the greatest respect,

Your most faithful, and

Obedient humble servant,

THO. WM. COKE.

Norwich, April 12.

No. IX.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

I most earnestly desire your acceptance of my best thanks for the very honourable and distinguished testimony you have given me of your approbation and good opinion, by your endeavours to restore me to that confidential trust which I lately possessed.

In a mind wholly devoted to your interests, sentiments of gratitude are not the only impressions which your great and generous exertions should produce: I am called by a sense of those

those principles which led me to engage in your service, to second your efforts, and to co-operate with you in giving them that effect, which I believe in my conscience they are justly intitled to.

It is not the cause of an individual, it is your cause, it is the cause of the real electors for which I am contending, and in which therefore I rely upon your assistance and vigilance in detecting those arts which may have been practised to overthrow it.

In the scrutiny which I have thought it my duty to demand, I had no object but the assertion and vindication of your rights, and the preservation of that great and invaluable franchise on which our liberty so entirely depends, and which it is my wish to secure against the combined attempts of power, ambition, and treachery.

I feel the importance and weight of the task I have undertaken, and am well aware of the consequences attendant upon it; but whatever may be the event of my present investigation, which my expectation of success shall not tempt me vainly or vexatiously to pursue, you may be assured that my spirit is unbroken, and that my zeal in your cause shall remain unabated; and that, whether in a public or private station, I shall equally retain the same sentiments of regard and attachment with which I now profess myself, Gentlemen,

Your most grateful, and
Faithful humble servant,
G. BYNG.

Berkeley-square,
Apr. 24, 1784.

No. X.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and
Freeholders of the County of
Middlesex.

In compliance with my engage-

ment to you at the close of the poll, and with a serious intention of prosecuting the scrutiny to effect, I have pursued every step which to me appeared conducive to the end of vindicating your rights, and of recovering that honourable situation which it has been my study to deserve by a long, disinterested, and active service.

If I was encouraged in this undertaking by the justice of our cause, and a sense of the importance of the object, I have been confirmed in it by the unremitting exertions of my friends, and the daily proofs I have received that our complaints were well founded.

The enquiry assented to in words has however been denied in fact: it would be a tedious and useless task to recite all the instances of cavil to which my opponent and his party had recourse; the new principles of evidence which his counsel were suffered to lay down, and the various scruples which the sheriffs themselves entertained, all calculated to answer the ends of those who had every thing to gain by delay, and every thing to dread from a fair and strict examination.

I have the comfort of reflecting, that no practicable means which honour, on my part, could suggest, have been left untried for giving effect to our common efforts, and though the scrutiny is at an end, those who have attended the proceeding will have the candour to acknowledge, that it was not abandoned by me whilst a rational hope remained that the judges to whom we had appealed were able to do us justice.

Happily for us the law has established a tribunal competent to decide, and to whom I shall, without delay, appeal, trusting that, by their decision, your rights will be established, and the seat I am intitled to,

to, by your free suffrages, restored.

I am, with great truth,
Your most faithful, and
Much obliged, humble servant,
G. BYNG.

Berkeley-square,
May 18, 1784.

*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of
Parliament, March 24, 1784.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,
On a full consideration of the present situation of affairs, and of the extraordinary circumstances which have produced it, I am induced to put an end to this session of parliament: I feel it a duty which I owe to the constitution and to the country, in such a situation, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of my people, by calling a new parliament.

I trust that this means will tend to obviate the mischiefs arising from the unhappy divisions and distractions which have lately subsisted; and that the various important objects which will require consideration may be afterwards proceeded upon with less interruption, and with happier effect.

I can have no other object, but to preserve the true principles of our free and happy constitution, and to employ the powers entrusted to me by law, for the only end for which they were given, to the good of my people.

Speech of his Grace the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to both Houses of Parliament, May 14, 1784.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
In addressing you for the first time in parliament at the close of

the session, I embrace with pleasure the occasion which is afforded me of returning you my affectionate acknowledgments for the cordiality of my reception, and the early assurances of your confidence. And I am at the same time highly gratified in being authorized to communicate to you the sentiments of perfect satisfaction with which his majesty approves of your exertions for the public welfare.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am happy in obeying his majesty's commands to thank you for the cheerfulness with which you have made provision for the exigencies and honour of his government. Let me assure you, on my part, that the readiness with which you have granted supplies, stimulates my utmost attention and care that they shall be managed with œconomy, and applied with prudence.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You will have much satisfaction in reflecting, that the various objects which, in consequence of the acknowledged independence of the legislature, were recommended for your deliberations at the opening of this session, have been diligently pursued and accomplished.

You have wisely given your sanction to the extraordinary expedients which it has been necessary to employ, in order to preserve the kingdom from famine. And I feel great satisfaction in the prospect, that they will be prevented for the future by the new and judicious arrangement of your corn laws, and the improved extension of your agriculture.

I see with pleasure the exertions of an humane and liberal principle, which has prompted you to give encouragement to the national industry,

dustry, by favourable regulations and well-directed bounties. I have warmly at heart the advancement of your trade, and the success of all your manufactures; and I shall not fail either to consider or to represent those instances, whereof the peculiar circumstances of the empire have hitherto prevented a full investigation, and which shall be found to require a further adjustment.

The useful regulations proposed to be introduced in the collection and management of the revenue; the security of private property, and extension of national credit, by depositing in the bank of Ireland the money of suitors in the courts of Chancery and Exchequer; the plans for improving the metropolis, calculated not more for ornament and splendor, than for health and convenience; your unanimous determination to defend the freedom of the constitution against the attacks of licentiousness; and your attention to the support of charitable institutions, are all unequivocal testimonies of your wisdom, humanity, and justice.

I have not failed to convey to our sovereign the satisfaction you have so decidedly expressed in the blessings of that happy constitution which you enjoy under his majesty's auspicious government. Sensible as you are of these eminent advantages, it can hardly be necessary for me to desire that you should be attentive to impress them on the minds of others, over whom your superiority of rank and information must and ought to give you a just and benevolent influence.

I have a sure confidence, that, during your residence in your respective counties, you will seek to direct and encourage the industry of your neighbourhood in the pursuits

best adapted to their situations, and by which the community at large may be most effectually benefited. You will point out to them the real resources of a free and fertile country, under the blessings of peace and the mild protection of the laws; and you will not suffer misapprehensions to perplex, or false informations to misguide them.

It is my happiness and pride to reflect, that our united attention has been and is directed to the same objects of maintaining and advancing the rights, the dignity, and the prosperity of Ireland, and the general interests of the empire.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Whitehall, May 15. The following intelligence from the East Indies, received by his majesty's ship *Crocodile*, has been transmitted to the right hon. lord Sydney, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

Bombay Castle, Dec. 30, 1783. His majesty's ship *Crocodile* arrived the 26th instant from Bengal and Madras. She left Bengal about the middle of November, but has brought no advice from the governor-general and council. A letter received by her from the select committee at Madras, dated the 4th instant, gives an account of the progress of Messrs. Sadlier and Staunton, and of some steps actually taken in the mutual evacuation of the conquests. The general of Tippoo Saib's army in the Carnatic was in full march to the Changamah Pass, accompanied by these gentlemen: and their arrival is mentioned by Tippoo Saib, in his letters to general Macleod, as an event that will bring with it a certainty of peace.

Some

Some boats with sepoy's having been wrecked near Cannanore, in the late bad weather upon the Malabar coast, and about 200 of them seized and detained by the Biddy, notwithstanding repeated applications made for their release, both by general Macleod and the resident of Tillicherry; and the Cannanore government being on all occasions inimical to the company, the general, immediately after the relief of Mangalore, declared his intention to take satisfaction for these injuries. In a letter received within these few days, we are advised of the place being taken, and promised further particulars in a short time; but in this letter the general mentions that the nabob Tippoo Saib had desired him to desist, and claimed the Biddy as his ally; the general, however, assures us that no bad consequences will ensue.

The separate treaty with Mhadajee Scindia is arrived. The president and select committee have just received a letter from the Peshwa, in answer to their's, wherein he expresses his full acquiescence in the treaty, and his readiness to join with the English in offensive measures against Tippoo Saib, should he fail in performing the conditions required from him.

Bombay Castle, Jan. 10, 1784.
Late last night dispatches arrived from brigadier-general Macleod, dated on board the Ranger snow, off Mangalore, the 28th and 29th ult.

In the first the general gives a particular detail of the capture of Cannanore, and in the second advises, in general terms, that the negotiations for peace were going on, and that Tippoo Saib had not refused permission to revictual Mangalore, which service the general was then performing, the boats

being in the river, and the vessels under way with the provisions for Onore.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, May 17.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have the greatest satisfaction in meeting you in parliament at this time, after recurring, in so important a moment, to the sense of my people. I have a just and confident reliance, that you are animated with the same sentiments of loyalty, and the same attachment to our excellent constitution, which I have had the happiness to see so fully manifested in every part of the kingdom. The happy effects of such a disposition will, I doubt not, appear in the temper and wisdom of your deliberations, and in the dispatch of the important objects of public business which demand your attention. It will afford me peculiar pleasure to find that the exercise of the power entrusted to me by the constitution, has been productive of consequences so beneficial to my subjects, whose interest and welfare are always nearest my heart.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the current year to be laid before you; and I trust to your zeal and affection to make such provisions for their farther supply, and for the application of the sums granted in the last parliament, as may appear to be necessary.

I sincerely lament every addition to the burthens of my people; but they will, I am persuaded, feel the necessity, after a long and expensive war, of effectually providing for the maintenance of our national faith and our public credit, so essential

fential to the power and prosperity of the state.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The alarming progress of frauds in the revenue, accompanied in so many instances with violence, will not fail, on every account, to excite your attention. I must, at the same time, recommend to your most serious consideration, to frame such commercial regulations as may appear immediately necessary in the present moment. The affairs of the East India company form an object of deliberation deeply connected with the general interests of the country. While you feel a just anxiety to provide for the good government of our possessions in that part of the world, you will, I trust, never lose sight of the effect which any measure to be adopted for that purpose may have on our own constitution, and our dearest interests at home. You will find me always desirous to concur with you in such measures as may be of lasting benefit to my people: I have no wish but to consult their prosperity by a constant attention to every object of national concern, by an uniform adherence to the true principles of our free constitution, and by supporting and maintaining, in their just balance, the rights and privileges of every branch of the legislature.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, August 20.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I cannot close this session of parliament without returning you my warmest thanks for the eminent proofs you have given of your zealous and diligent attention to the public service.

The happiest effects may be expected from the provisions which

you have made for the better government of India, and from the institution of a tribunal so peculiarly adapted to the trial of offences committed in that distant country.

I observe, with great satisfaction, the laws which you have passed for the preservation and improvement of the revenue. No exertions shall be wanting on my part to give them vigour and effect.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The zeal and liberality with which you have provided for the exigencies of the public service, and the assistance which you have given me to prevent a growing arrear in the expences of my civil list, demand my particular thanks.

I feel in common with you for the unavoidable burthens of my people.

The importance of effectually supporting our national credit, after a long and exhausting war, can alone reconcile me to so painful a necessity. I trust the same consideration will enable my faithful subjects to meet it, as they have uniformly done, with fortitude and patience.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Definitive Treaty which has been signed with the States General of the United Provinces, and the peace concluded in India, as well as the assurances which I receive from foreign powers, promise the continuance of general tranquillity.

I trust, therefore, that after so laborious a session, it will not be found necessary to call you again together at a very early period.

Many important objects with respect to our trade and commerce, which could not now be provided for,

for, will naturally require your attention after the recess; and such regulations will, I trust, be framed, after a full investigation, as shall be found best calculated to promote the wealth and prosperity of all parts of the empire.

Abstract of a Bill for vesting the Affairs of the East-India Company in the Hands of certain Commissioners for the Benefit of the Proprietors and the Public, brought into Parliament by the right hon. Charles James Fox.

Whereas great disorders have prevailed and do still increase in the management of the territorial possessions, revenues, and commerce of this kingdom in the East Indies, diminishing the prosperity of the natives, and impairing, and threatening with utter ruin, the valuable interests of this nation in that country:

That the government and management of the present directors and proprietors be suspended:

That William earl Fitzwilliam, the right hon. Frederic Montagu, George lord viscount Lewisham, the hon. George Augustus North, sir Gilbert Elliot, bart. sir Henry Fletcher, bart. and Robert Gregory, esq. be constituted directors, with the several powers of the former court of directors and general court of proprietors:

That the above directors immediately enter into possession of all lands, tenements, books, records, vessels, goods, money, and securities, in trust for the company:

That Thomas Cheap, George Cuming, Richard Hall, John Harrison, Joseph Sharp, John Michie, John Smith, George Tatem, and James Moffat, esquires, proprietors each of them of 2000 l. company's

stock at least, be assistant directors, entirely subordinate to the principal directors:

That any vacancy in the board of directors be filled by his majesty, under his sign manual, within twenty days:

That any vacancy in the board of assistant directors, be filled by the majority of proprietors, qualified as formerly, not by ballot, but in an open court:

That any five of the directors be empowered to remove any of the assistant directors, entering in their journals their reasons for the removal:

That William earl Fitzwilliam, be chairman of the board of directors, and the right hon. Frederic Montagu be deputy-chairman, with the reversion of the chair; future vacancies in these offices to be supplied by the election of the directors:

That the chairman, or in his absence the deputy-chairman, have power to summon any extraordinary meeting of the board, and to propose the business to be first considered, with the privilege of a casting voice; the majority of the directors however being at liberty to adjourn their meetings as they shall think proper:

That the directors vote openly, and in any difference of opinion, except as to the election to offices of a person not having before been in the company's service, enter upon their journals their reasons for their vote:

That no person concerned in any mercantile manner with the company,

That no person charged with corrupt practice, speculation, or oppression in India, within two years before the time of his nomination, until the directors, or three of them,

them, shall have examined into and acquitted him of the charge,

That no person who has been, or shall hereafter be, in the company's service in India, until two years from his return be elapsed;—be capable of being a director, or assistant director :

That the directors, once in every six months, lay before the general court of proprietors an exact state of their accounts :

That the directors, within twenty days after the commencement of every session of parliament, lay before the commissioners of the treasury, to be submitted to both houses of parliament, an accurate state of their accounts and establishments :

That the directors have full power to remove, or suspend, every person from any station, civil or military, in the company's service :

That every charge of peculation, usury, receipt of presents, oppression or breach of orders, transmitted to the directors, be examined by them within twenty days, and if they shall not think proper to recal, or order a prosecution against the person so charged, each director enter in their journals his reasons for declining those steps :

That the directors, before they confirm the appointment themselves, or suffer the departure from Great Britain for India of any person against whom any such charge has been made, make a full examination into the subject of the charge, and enter upon their journals their reasons for not attending to it :

That in case of any difference between the governor-general and council of Bengal, or between any of the presidents and their councils, or between the government of one settlement and the government of another, the directors enter into an examination of the difference with-

in twenty days, and within three months either come to a definitive decision, or enter upon their journals their reasons for not coming to such decision :

That in case of any question submitted to the directors by any of the presidencies in India, the directors return an answer to the question within three months, or enter upon their journals the reasons of their delay :

That, in case of any breach of treaty, injury or grievance, committed against any prince in India, complained of, or otherwise coming to the knowledge of the directors, the directors enquire into such injury as speedily as may be, begin their examination by considering the treaties or the orders of the former directors and court of proprietors, and do complete justice to such prince on every material article of complaint, and not upon the whole in gross :

That three of the directors form a board :

That the correspondence of the directors be signed by their secretary :

That the directors and assistant directors, be incapable of holding any office in the company's service, or any place of profit from the crown during pleasure :

That it be lawful for his majesty to remove any of the directors or assistant directors, upon an address from either house of parliament.

That any director hereafter to be appointed by his majesty, be not disqualified from sitting in the house of commons,

That the assistant directors receive from the company a clear yearly salary of 500 l.

That this act continue in force for four years.

Abstract of a Bill for the better Government of the Territorial Possessions and Dependencies in India, brought into Parliament by the right hon. Charles James Fox.

Whereas great disorders have prevailed in the government of the British East Indies, and the laws and lawful authority of this kingdom, have not been duly obeyed by the servants of the East India company :

That no authority is, or was intended to be granted by an act of the 13th Geo. III. [Lord North's East India Bill] or by any other act to the governor-general and council of Bengal, or any other person, exempting them from a strict obedience to the orders of the late court of directors, or the future orders of the commissioners, named instead of that court, in an act of this session of parliament :

That the orders of the late court of directors be considered as rules for the conduct of the company's servants, until notice shall be given by the commissioners of any alteration or repeal :

That the restrictions and provisions of the act 13 George III. were not intended, and are hereby expressly declared not to be confined to the forts, factories and other subordinate places in the settlement of Fort William, but extend to all ordinances issued by the governor-general and council of Fort William :

That an abstract of such ordinances be registered and affixed in the Persian and Hindostan languages, in every provincial court in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, or in the territory to which they relate :

That the powers of the governor-

general and council, or of any president and council, be incapable of being delegated, and that no proceedings in the execution of any special commission be finally approved, until a full report, accompanied with vouchers, be made to the governor-general and council, or president and council :

That all communications of any native prince or his agent, or any British resident, or subordinate settlement, or collector of revenue, shall be addressed to the governor-general and council, or president and council, and all such communications, however addressed, be laid before the council :

That the governor-general or president may adjourn the consideration of any question in the respective councils for the space of such questions not to be adjourned oftener than

That the governor-general and council, or president and council, shall not exchange any territory, or accept any acquisition :

That the governor-general and council do not invade the territory of any independent prince, until a majority in council, in minutes subscribed by each member composing the majority, shall declare that such prince is about to attack the territory of the company or their dependencies :

That the governor-general and council, or president and council, do not form any alliance for the purpose of dividing or sharing any territory :

That the governor-general and council, or president and council, do not hire out any part of the company's troops to any independent prince :

That the governor-general and council, or president and council, do

do not appoint to any office any person removed from any office for misdemeanour :

That the governor-general and council, or president and council, or any collector of revenue, or member of any subordinate settlement, do not let out to hire any farm, or other thing, to any servant of any person in the civil service of the company ; the profits of all contracts, contrary to this clause, to be recoverable from the principal :

That all monopolies in India be void :

That no debt or balance exceeding in consequence of any advance for any purchase, be recoverable after the space of and no person be imprisoned for such debt :

That, whereas by the act 13 Geo. III. it is enacted, That every illegal present be deemed to have been received for the use of the company, and whereas that provision has been attended with inconvenience ; that every such present, if the same be not corruptly given, to obtain any place or other object, to which the person giving the same shall not be entitled, be returned, and be recoverable by action :

That in case the person giving such present, or the company do not sue for the same within months, the same be recoverable by any person for his sole use and benefit :

That if any person be convicted in any of the courts in India of receiving any present contrary to the act 13 Geo. III. such person shall thereupon

That all lands and tenements, not in the actual occupation of the company, or by them farmed out,

be deemed to be the estate and inheritance of the native landholders and families, unless dispossessed by judgment of some competent court for some crime or misdemeanour, or non-payment of their rent :

That the rent paid by the landholders immediately before the year shall not be altered or increased :

That the governor-general and council may restore any landholder dispossessed of his territory ; subject nevertheless to such leases as shall have been made before the

and if the landholder shall have quitted his territory upon condition of receiving any pension, and shall prefer such pension, that the same upon no account be discontinued :

That no princes engaged to keep up a body of troops for the service of the company, or to pay any body of English troops, or to pay any tribute for the protection of the company, be molested in the enjoyment of their rights :

That all persons be amenable to the commissioners, and to all courts of justice of competent jurisdiction to try offences committed in India, for offences committed in the territories of any protected prince :

That no servant of the company or of his majesty, take upon himself to collect or farm the revenues of any protected prince :

That, if any servant of the company shall invade the territories of any independent prince, without written orders from the governor-general and council, such person upon conviction thereof be

That no protected prince have any other prince dependent upon him, any farther than such prince shall have stood bound to him before the year ; the troops of these last not to be required without

without the orders of the governor-general and council, or president and council :

That the succession of the protected princes shall not be altered or disposed of by will contrary to the laws of the country and the faith of treaties :

That the protected princes do not farm any lands of the company :

That no protected prince be permitted to reside for more than

years in any of the company's settlements, unless being expelled from his dominions :

That no servant of the company have any pecuniary transactions with any protected prince ; all such transactions to be and any person convicted of such transaction to be

That no protected prince remove, or increase the rent of any zemindar beyond what was paid in the year

That all zemindars so dispossessed shall be restored :

That the nabob of Arcot, the raja of Tanjour, or any other protected prince, do not mortgage any land to any British subject ; such mortgages to be and their produce recoverable by action :

That no money be received upon account of any debts from any protected prince, except such as were consolidated in the year

without being first examined, and appearing to the commissioners to have been contracted in some open and avowed course of trade, and not as the reward of any service, or for any other matter prohibited by law, or by the future orders of the commissioners ; the evidence in support of the debt to be entered in the journals of the commissioners :

That the disputes between the

nabob of Arcot and the raja of Tanjour, be examined and adjusted by the commissioners as soon as may be, according to the principles of the treaty 1762, the orders of the directors to George lord Pigot, and the arrangements of George lord Pigot :

That the commissioners transmit to the governor-general and council, or to the president and council of Fort St. George, or to such persons as they shall specially appoint, full orders for terminating the said disputes ; for examining the present state of the affairs, revenues and debts of the said princes, and the claims of British subjects upon them ; for making an immediate report to the commissioners ; for adopting or suggesting such means for the liquidation of the *bona fide* debts, as shall be consistent with justice to the creditors and the service of the company, and shall occasion the least inconvenience to these princes ; and for making an immediate report of their proceeding to the commissioners :

That all polygars dispossessed since the year be restored at the same rent as they were liable to pay immediately before

That, whereas disputes have arisen respecting the extent of the controlling power given by the act 13 Geo. III. to the governor-general and council over the presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen, in matters of war, peace and treaties, the said power do extend to all matters, directly or indirectly tending to the commencement of hostilities ; the governor-general and council to enter upon their minutes their reasons for treating any proceeding as contrary to this declaration ; and the presidencies, in case of any doubt, to submit to the acts of the governor-general

general and council, and to lay the case before the commissioners :

That it be lawful for the presidency of Bombay, in case of war or the danger of war, in the north-west and western coasts of India or in the territories of the Marattas, to conclude any treaty truce or alliance with any native prince ; the presidency to insert in such treaty a provision, that the same shall be null and void, unless ratified within a limited time by the governor-general and council ; to enter upon their minutes the reasons of their conduct with vouchers, to transmit to the governor-general and council, and to the commissioners ; and to obey the orders of the governor-general until they shall be altered by the commissioners :

That the presidency of Madras have the like power, in case of war or the danger of war, on the coast of Coromandel or from
to on the coast of
Malabar :

That no servant of the company, or agent of any protected prince, be capable of sitting in the house of commons ; such persons actually members of the house of commons to sit during the remainder of the present parliament :

That no person having been in the service of the company, shall be capable of sitting in the house of commons within after his return, or whilst any public prosecution is depending against him for any offences alledged to have been committed while he was in that service ; such prosecutions to be commenced within after his return, and to be determined within , unless the delay be at the request ; or through the default of the party prosecuted :

That all offences against this act may be prosecuted in the supreme court at Calcutta, in the mayor's courts, in the court of king's-bench, or in any other court, specially to be instituted for this purpose ; the powers given to the court of king's-bench by the act 13 George III. to extend to offences against this act ; and in all cases where the punishment is not herein appointed, the court is to impose, at their discretion, any fine not exceeding or imprisonment not exceeding or the incapacity of serving the company.

Abstract of a Bill for the better Government and Management of the Affairs of the East-India Company, brought into Parliament by the right hon. William Pitt, in the fourth Session of the fiftieth Parliament of Great Britain, and rejected by the House of Common .

For the better government and security of the territorial possessions of this kingdom in the East Indies :

That it be lawful for his majesty to appoint persons, being privy-counsellors, of whom the secretary of state for the home department, and the chancellor of the exchequer shall be two, to be commissioners for the affairs of India :

That of the commissioners form a board :

That the secretary of state, or in his absence the chancellor of the exchequer, or in the absence of both, the senior privy counsellor, preside at the board :

That the president have a casting vote :

That the commission of superintendence and control be during pleasure :

That

That the commissioners be not disqualified from sitting in the house of commons :

That the board be authorised to check, superintend and control the civil and military government and revenue of the company :

That a secretary to the board be appointed by the secretary of state, subject to the dismission of the board ; the secretary to minute the proceedings of the board, and to be paid such salary as his majesty shall direct :

That the commissioners in entering upon their office take and subscribe the following oath :

“ I A. B. do faithfully promise and swear, that as a commissioner or member of the board for the affairs of India, I will give my best advice and assistance for the good government of the British possessions in the East-Indies ; and will execute the several powers and trusts reposed in me, according to the best of my skill and judgment, without favour or affection, prejudice or malice to any person whatsoever.”

That the commissioners have access to all papers and muniments of the company, and that the court of directors deliver to the board copies of the proceedings of all courts of directors and courts of proprietors within days ; and copies of all dispatches received by them immediately, and copies of all orders proposed to be sent to India days before the time proposed for sending them ; the directors to pay due obedience to the orders of the board touching civil and military government and revenues :

That within days after the receipt of the copies last mentioned, the board return the same with their approbation, subscribed

by commissioners, or their reasons at large for disapproving them, together with instructions upon the subject ; the orders so approved and amended to be sent without delay :

That, in case the board send any orders, which in the opinion of the directors relate to points not connected with civil and military government and revenues, the directors to complain to his majesty in council ; the decision of his majesty in council to be final :

That, as the office of the counsellors of the presidency of Fort William become vacant, the presidency consist of a governor-general and counsellors only ; the commander in chief to have voice and precedence next after the governor-general :

That the presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay consist of a president and counsellors only ; the commander in chief to have voice and precedence next after the president :

That after the appointment of the commander in chief at Fort William, Madras and Bombay vest in his majesty :

That it be lawful for his majesty to bestow the reversion of those offices :

That the persons, upon whom such reversion shall be bestowed, have military command, next after the commander in chief, at his majesty's pleasure :

That it be lawful for his majesty to recal or vacate the appointment of the governor-general, or president, or any member of their respective councils :

That the appointment to any office by the court of directors, be subject to the approbation of his majesty ; and, in case it shall not be approved by his majesty, the

directors proceed within days to a second appointment, subject to the approbation of his majesty, and so, *toties quoties*:

That, in case the directors within days after the notification of the vacancy, or of his majesty's disapprobation, do not proceed to supply the same, it be lawful for his majesty to appoint a successor:

That any person resigning the office of governor-general, president, commander in chief, or counsellor, make his resignation by an instrument in writing under his hand and seal:

That it be not lawful for the court of proprietors to rescind, or alter any proceedings of the court of directors:

That so much of the act 21 Geo. III. or of any other act of parliament, or charter, as is repugnant to this act, be discontinued:

That this act take place in Great Britain after and in India after and continue in force for years:

That this act be deemed a public act.

Some Account of the Proceedings on the Trial of the Indictment, the King, on the Prosecution of William Jones, Gentleman, against the Reverend William Davies Shipley, Dean of St. Asaph, for a Libel, at the Assizes at Shrewsbury, August 6, 1784, before the Honourable Mr. Justice Buller.

At the great session, held at Wrexham, for the county of Denbigh, in April, 1783, a bill of indictment was found against the dean of St. Asaph, to which the defendant pleaded not guilty.

At the great session, held at Wrexham, for the county of Den-

bigh, in September, 1783, the trial was put off on the application of the prosecutor, on account of the distribution of a printed paper among the jury.

At the great session, held at Wrexham, for the county of Denbigh, in April, 1784, the prosecutor having obtained a certiorari, which was allowed by the court, removed the indictment into the court of King's Bench, when the court directed it to be tried at the next assize at Shrewsbury.

On Friday, the 6th of August, 1784, the trial came on, at the assize at Shrewsbury, before the hon. Mr. Justice Buller.

The indictment was laid for the publishing a libel, entitled, *The Principles of Government, in a Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer*. This dialogue was written by William Jones, esq. now Sir William Jones, knight, and one of the judges of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

The Jury.

John Nicholls, of Chelmarsh, esq.
William Pemberton, of Walford, esq.

Charles Walcott, of Bitterley, esq.
Francis Lloyd, of Berghill, esq.
Thomas Ottley, of Pitchford, esq.
Joshua Blakeway, of Lythwood, esq.

Richard Jones, of Riston, esq.
John Hill, of Prees, esq.
Edward Williams, of Norton, esq.
Thomas Kinnersley, of Leigh-ton, esq.

Thomas Eyton, of Wellington, esq.
John Smitheman, of Buildwas, esq.

Counsel for the Crown.

Mr. Bearcroft,
Mr. Cowper,

Mr.

Mr. Leycester,
Mr. Bower,
Mr. Manley,
Mr. Richards.

Solicitor,
Mr. William Jones, of Ruthin.

Counsel for the Defendant.
The hon. Thomas Erskine,
Mr. Corbett,
The hon. Thomas Brodrick,
Mr. Abbot.

Solicitor,
Mr. Lewis Hughes, of St. Asaph.

Extract of Mr. ERSKINE's Speech.

“ Gentlemen of the jury,**

“ The only difficulty which I feel in resisting so false and malevolent an accusation, is to be able to repress the feelings of my mind, excited by its folly and injustice, within those bounds, which leave its faculties their natural and unclouded operations; for I solemnly declare to you, that if my client had been indicted as a libeller of our holy religion, only for publishing that the world was made by its almighty Author, my astonishment could not have been greater than it is at this moment, to see this little book, which I hold in my hand, presented by a grand jury of English subjects, as a libel upon the government of England. Every sentence contained in it, if the interpretation of words is to be settled, not according to fancy, but by the common rules of language, is to be found in the brightest pages of English literature, and in the most sacred volumes of English laws: if any one sentence, from the beginning to the end of it, be seditious or libellous, the Bill of Rights (to use the language of the advertisement prefixed to it) was a seditious libel; the Revolution was a wicked rebellion; the existing government is a

traiterous conspiracy against the hereditary monarchy of England; and our gracious sovereign, whose title I am persuaded we are all of us prepared to defend with our blood, is an usurper of the crowns of these kingdoms.***

“ Gentlemen, my reverend friend stands before you under circumstances new and extraordinary, and I might add harsh and cruel! for he is not tried in the forum where he lives, according to the wise and just provisions of our ancient laws; he is not tried by the vicinage, who, from their knowledge of general character and conduct, were held by our wise and humane ancestors to be the fittest, or rather the only judges of that *malus animus* which is the essence of every crime; he is deprived of that privilege by the arts of the prosecutor, and is called before you, who live in another part of the country, and who, except by vague reputation, are utter strangers to him.

“ But the prosecution itself, abandoned by the public, and left in the hands of an obscure individual, is not less extraordinary and unjust, unless as it is a circumstance which palpably refutes the truth of the accusation; for if this little book be a libel at all, it is a libel upon the state and constitution of the nation, and not upon any person under the protection of its laws: it attacks the character of no man in this or any other country; and therefore no man is individually or personally injured or offended by it. If it contain matter dangerous or offensive, the state alone can be endangered or offended.

“ And are we then reduced to that miserable condition in this country, that, if discontent and sedition be publicly exciting amongst the people, the charge of suppressing it devolves upon Mr. Jones? My learned friend,

friend, [Mr. Bearcroft] if he would have you believe that this Dialogue is seditious and dangerous, must be driven to acknowledge, that government has grossly neglected its trust; for if, as he says, it has an evident tendency in critical times to stir up alarming commotions, and to procure a reform in the representation of the people by violence and force of arms; and if, as he likewise says, a public prosecution is a proceeding calculated to prevent these probable consequences, what excuse is he prepared to make for that government, which, when, according to the evidence of his own witness, an application was made to it for that express purpose, positively and on deliberation refused to prosecute? What will he say for one learned gentleman *, who dead is lamented, and for another †, who living is honoured by the whole profession, both of whom, on the first appearance of this Dialogue, were charged with the duty of prosecuting all offenders against the state; yet who not only read it day after day in pamphlets and news-papers, without stirring against the publishers, but who, on receiving it from the lords of the treasury by official reference, opposed a prosecution at the national expence? What will he say of the successors of these gentlemen, who hold their offices at this hour, and who have ratified the opinions of their predecessors by their own conduct? And what, lastly, will he say in vindication of majesty itself, to my knowledge not unacquainted with the subject, yet from whence no orders issued to the inferior servants of the state?

“ So that after Mr. Fitzmaurice, representing this Dialogue as big with ruin to the public, has been laughed at by the king’s ministers at

the treasury; by the king himself, of whom he had an audience; and by those appointed by his wisdom to conduct all prosecutions by the public; yet you are still called upon to believe that it is a libel dangerous and destructive; and that while the state, neglected by those who are charged with its preservation, is tottering to its centre, the falling constitution of this ancient nation is happily supported by Mr. Jones, who, like another Atlas, bears it upon his shoulders.*-*

“ Gentlemen, I now come to a point very material for your consideration; on which even my learned friend and I, who are brought here for the express purpose of disagreeing in every thing, can avow no difference of opinion; on which judges of old and of modern times, and lawyers of all interests and parties, have ever agreed; namely, that even if this innocent paper were admitted to be a libel, the publication would not be criminal, if you, the jury, saw reason to believe that it was not published by the dean with a criminal intention. It is true, that if a paper, containing seditious and libellous matter, be published, the publisher is *prima facie* guilty of sedition, the bad intention being a legal inference from the act of publishing; but it is equally true, that he may rebut that inference, by shewing that he published it innocently.

“ The dean of St. Asaph was one of a great many respectable gentlemen who, impressed with the dangers impending over the public credit of the nation, exhausted by a long war, and oppressed with grievous taxes, formed themselves into a committee, according to the example of other counties, to petition the legislature to observe great

* Mr. Wallace, then attorney-general.

† Mr. Lee, late attorney, then solicitor-general.

caution in the expenditure of the public money. This Dialogue being written by sir William Jones, a near relation of the dean by marriage, was either sent, or found its way to him in the course of public circulation. He knew the character of the author; he had no reason to suspect him of sedition or disaffection; and saw and believed it to be, what I at this hour believe, and have represented it to you, a plain, easy manner of shewing the people the great interest they had in petitioning parliament for every thing beneficial to the public. It was accordingly the opinion of the Flintshire committee, and not particularly of the dean as an individual, that the Dialogue should be translated into Welsh, and published. It was accordingly delivered, at the desire of the committee, to a Mr. Jones, for the purpose of translation. This gentleman, who will be called as a witness, told the dean a few days afterwards, that there were persons, not indeed from their real sentiments, but from spleen and opposition, who represented it as likely to do mischief, from ignorance and misconception, if translated and circulated in Wales.

“ Now, what would have been the language of the defendant upon this information, if his purpose had been that which is charged upon him by the indictment? He would have said, ‘ If what you tell me is well-founded, hasten the publication; my object is sedition; my plan is, that there may be rebellion in Wales; I am sure I shall never raise one here, by the dissemination of such a pamphlet in English; therefore let it be instantly translated, if the ignorant inhabitants of the mountains are likely to collect from it that it is time to take up arms.’

“ But Mr. Jones will tell you, that, on the contrary, the instant he suggested that such an idea, absurd and unfounded as he felt it, had presented itself from any motives to the mind of any man, the dean, impressed as he was with its innocence and its safety, instantly acquiesced, and recalled, even on his own authority, the intended publication by the committee; and it never was translated into the Welsh tongue at all, nor circulated amongst that multitude, which Mr. Bearcroft is so desirous of keeping in darkness; as if obedience to free government, like bigotry to priestcraft, was to be upheld by ignorance and delusion.

“ And here the dean’s connection with this Dialogue would have ended, if Mr. Fitzmaurice, who never lost any occasion of defaming and misrepresenting him, had not thought fit, near three months after the idea of translation was abandoned, to reprobate and condemn the dean’s conduct, at the public meetings of the county, in the severest terms, for his former intention of circulating the Dialogue in Welsh, declaring that its doctrines were seditious, treasonable, and repugnant to the principles of our government.

“ It was upon this occasion, that the dean, naturally anxious to redeem his character from the unjust aspersions of having intended to undermine the constitution of his country; conscious that the epithets applied to the Dialogue were false and unfounded, and thinking that the production of it would be the most decisive refutation of the groundless calumny cast upon him, directed a few English copies of it to be published, in vindication of his former opinions and intentions, prefixing an advertisement to it, which plainly marks the spirit in which he published

lished it. For he there complains of the injurious misrepresentations I have adverted to, and impressed with the sincerest conviction of the innocence, or rather the merit, of the Dialogue, makes his appeal to the friends of the Revolution in his justification.***

“ Gentlemen, after the length of time which, very contrary to my inclination, I have detained you, I am sure you will be happy to hear that there is but one other point to which my duty obliges me to direct your attention.

“ I should, perhaps, have said nothing more concerning that particular province which belongs to you as a jury, upon this occasion, than the little I touched upon it at the beginning, if my friend Mr. Bearcroft had not compelled me to it, by drawing a line around you, saying (I hope with the same effect that king Canute said to the sea), “ Thus far shalt thou go.” But since he has thought proper to coop you in, it is my business to let you out; and to give the greater weight to what I am about to say to you, I have no objection that every thing which I may utter shall be considered as proceeding from my own private opinions; and that not only my professional character, but my more valuable reputation as a man, and a member of society, may stand or fall by the principles which I shall lay down for the regulation of your judgments.

“ This is certainly a bold thing for me to say, since what I am about to deliver may clash in some degree, though certainly it will not throughout, with the decision of a great and reverend judge who has administered the justice of this country for above half a century, with singular advantage to the public, and distinguished reputation to him-

self; but whose extraordinary faculties and general integrity, which I should be lost to all sensibility and justice if I did not acknowledge with reverence and affection, could not protect him from much obloquy when he appeared as the supporter of those doctrines which I am about to controvert. I shall certainly never join in the calumny that followed them, because I believe he acted upon that, as upon all other occasions, with the strictest integrity; an admission which it is my duty to make, which I render with great satisfaction, and which proves nothing more than that the greatest of men are fallible in their judgments, and warns us to judge from the essences of things, and not from the authority of names, however imposing.

“ Gentlemen, the opinion I allude to is, that libel or not libel is a question of law for the judge, your jurisdiction being confined to the fact of publication. And if this was all that was meant by the position (though I could never admit it to be consonant with reason or law), it would not affect me in the present instance, since all that it would amount to would be, that my lord, and not you, would deliver that opinion, which would guide the present verdict. But what I am afraid of upon this occasion is, that neither of you are to give it; for so my friend has expressly put it. ‘ My lord, says he, will probably not give you his opinion whether it be a libel or not, because, as he will tell you, it is a question open upon the record; and that if Mr. Erskine thinks the publication innocent, he may move to arrest the judgment.’ Now this is just the most artful and the most mortal stab that can be given to justice, and to my innocent client.

client. All I wish is his lordship's judgment to guide yours in determining whether this pamphlet be or be not a libel; because, knowing the scope of his understanding and professional ability, I have a moral certainty that his opinion would be favourable. If therefore libel or no libel be a question of law, as is asserted by Mr. Bearcroft, I call for his lordship's judgment upon that question, according to the regular course of all trials where the law and the fact are blended; in all which cases the notorious office of the judge is to instruct the consciences of the jury, to draw a correct legal conclusion from the facts in evidence before them. A jury are no more bound to return a special verdict in cases of libel, than upon other trials criminal and civil where law is mixed with fact; but are to find generally upon both, receiving, as they constantly do receive in every court at Westminster, the opinion of the judge both on the evidence and the law.

"Say the contrary who will, I assert this to be the genuine, unrepealed constitution of England; and therefore, if the learned judge shall tell you that this pamphlet is in the abstract a libel; though I shall not agree that you are therefore bound to find the defendant guilty unless you think so likewise, yet I shall certainly think that it ought to have very great weight with you, and that you should not rashly, and without great consideration, go against it. But if you are only to find the fact of publishing, which is not even disputed, and the judge is to tell you, that the matter being on the record, he shall shut himself up in silence, and give no opinion at all as to the libellous and seditious tendency of the paper, and yet shall nevertheless

expect you to affix the epithet of guilty to the publication of a thing the guilt of which you are forbid, and he refuses, to examine; miserable indeed is the condition into which we are fallen! For if you, following such directions, bring in a verdict of guilty, without finding the publication a libel, or the publisher seditious, and I afterwards, in mitigation of punishment, apply to that humanity and mercy which is never deaf when it can be addressed consistent'y with the law, I shall be told, in the language I before put in the mouths of the judges, "You are estopped, sir, by the verdict; we cannot hear you say your client was mistaken, but not guilty; for, had that been the opinion of the jury, they had a jurisdiction to acquit him."

"Such is the way in which the liberties of Englishmen are by this new doctrine to be shuffled about from jury to court, without having any solid foundation to rest on.***

"But it seems your verdict would be no punishment, if judgment on it was afterwards arrested. I am sure, if I thought the dean so lost to sensibility as to feel it no punishment, he should find another counsel to defend him. But I know his nature better. I know that, conscious as he is of his own purity, he would leave this court hanging down his head in sorrow, if he was held out by your verdict a seditious subject, and a disturber of the peace of his country; and that he would feel an arrest of judgment, which would follow in the term upon his formal appearance in court as a criminal, to be a cruel insult upon his innocence, rather than a triumph over the unjust prosecutors of his pretended guilt.

"Let me therefore conclude with reminding you, gentlemen, that

that if you find the defendant guilty, not believing that the thing published is a libel, or that the intention of the publisher was seditious, your verdict and your opinion will be at variance, and it will then lie between God and your own consciences to reconcile the contradiction.

“As the friend of my client, and the friend of my country, I shall feel much sorrow, and you yourselves will probably hereafter regret it, when the season of reparation is fled. But why should I indulge such unpleasant apprehensions, when in reality I fear nothing? I know it is impossible for English gentlemen, sitting in the place you do, to pronounce this to be a seditious paper; much less, upon the bare fact of publication, explained by the prefixed advertisement, and the defendant's general character and deportment, to give credit to that seditious purpose which is necessary to convert the publication even of a libel itself into a crime.”

Extract of the Charge to the Jury.

“Now, gentlemen, this is the whole of the evidence that has been given on the one side and the other. As to the several witnesses who have been called to give Mr. Snipley the character of a quiet and peaceable man, not disposed to stir up sedition, that cannot govern the present question; for the question for you to decide is, whether he is or is not guilty of publishing this pamphlet?”

“You have heard a great deal said, which really does not belong to the case, and a part of it has embarrassed me a good deal in what manner to treat it. I cannot subscribe to a great deal that I have heard from the defendant's counsel; but I do readily admit the truth of

that proposition which he stated from Mr. Locke, that “wherever the law ends, tyranny begins.” The question then is, what is the law as applicable to this business? and to narrow it still more, what is the law in this stage of the business?—You have been pressed very much by the counsel, and so have I also, to give an opinion upon the question, whether this pamphlet is or is not a libel? Gentlemen, it is my happiness that I find the law so well and so fully settled, that it is impossible for any man who means well to doubt about it; and the counsel for the defendant was so conscious what the law was, that he himself stated what he knew must be the answer which he would receive from me, that is, that the matter appears upon the record—and as such, it is not for me, a single judge, sitting here at Nisi Prius, to say, whether it is or is not a libel. Those who adopt the contrary doctrine, forget a little to what lengths it would go; for, if that were to be allowed, the obvious consequence would be what was stated by the counsel in reply, namely, that you deprive the subject of that which is one of his dearest birthrights: you deprive him of his appeal—you deprive him of his writ of error; for if I was to give an opinion here that it was not a libel, and you adopted that, the matter is closed for ever. The law acts equally and justly, as the pamphlet states—it is equal between the prosecutor and the defendant; and whatever appears upon the record is not for our decision here, but may be the subject of future consideration in the court out of which the record comes; and afterwards, if either party thinks fit, they have a right to carry it to the dernier resort, the house of lords. The law is the same in both criminal and civil cases, and there is not a gentleman,

gentleman round this table who does not know that is the constant and uniform answer which is given in such cases.

“ You have been addressed by the quotation of a great many cases upon libels. It seems to me, that that question is so well settled, that gentlemen should not agitate it again; or at least, when they do agitate it, it should be done by stating fairly and fully what has passed on all sides, not by stating a passage or two from a particular case that may be twisted to the purpose that they want it to answer. And how this doctrine ever comes to be now seriously contended for, is a matter of some astonishment to me; for I do not know any one question in the law which is more thoroughly established than that is. I know it is not the language of a particular set or party of men, because the very last case that has ever arisen upon a libel was conducted by a very respectable and a very honourable man*, who is as warm a partisan as the counsel for the defendant, and, I believe, of what is called the same party. But he stated the case in few words, which I certainly adopted afterwards, and which, I believe, no man ever doubted about the propriety of. That case arose not three weeks ago at Guildhall upon a question on a libel; and in stating the plaintiff's case, he told the jury that there could be but three questions.

“ The First is, Whether the defendant is guilty of publishing the libel?

“ The Second, Whether the innuendos or the averments made upon the record are true?

“ The Third, which is a question of law, Whether it is or is not a libel?” Therefore, said he, the two

first are the only questions you have to consider: and this, added he, very rightly, is clear and undoubted law. It has been so held for considerably more than a century past. It is admitted by the counsel, that upon great consideration, it has been so held in one of the cases he mentioned, by a noble lord who has presided for many years, with very distinguished honour, in the first court of criminal justice in this country; and it is worthy of observation, how that case came on. For twenty-eight years past (during which time we have had a vast number of prosecutions in different shapes for libels) the uniform and invariable conduct of that noble judge has been, to state the questions as I have just stated them to you; and though the cases have been defended by counsel not likely to yield much, yet that point was never found fault with by them, and often as it has been enforced by the court, they never have attempted yet by any application to set it aside. At last it came on in this way; the noble judge himself brought it on, by stating to the court what his directions had always been, with a desire to know whether, in their opinions, the direction was right or wrong? The court were unanimously of opinion that it was right, and that the law bore no question or dispute.—It is admitted by the counsel likewise, that in the time that my lord chief justice Lee presided in the court of King's-Bench, the same doctrine was laid down as clear and established. There was not a sounder lawyer, or an honest man, that ever sat on the bench than he was. But if we trace the question further back, it will be found, that about the year 1731 (which, I suppose,

* Mr. Lee.

has not escaped the diligence of the counsel) another chief justice held the same doctrine, and in terms which are more observable than those in most of the other cases, because they shew pretty clearly when it was that this idea was first broached.—That was, an information against one Franklin (I think) for publishing a libel called *The Craftsman*.—The then chief justice stated the three questions to the jury in the same way I mentioned. He said, The first is the fact of publication; secondly, Whether the averments in the information are true or not; and thirdly, Whether it is a libel. He says, there are but two of these questions for your consideration;—the third is merely a question of law, with which you, the jury, have nothing to do, as has *now of late* been thought by some people, who ought to know better; but, says he, we must always take care to distinguish between matters of law and matters of fact, and they are not to be confounded.

“With such a train of authorities, it is really extraordinary to hear the matter now insisted on as a question which admits a doubt; and if we go farther back, it will be found still clearer: for about the time of the Revolution, authorities will be found which go directly to the point. In one of them, which arose within a year or two from the time of the case of the Seven Bishops which the counsel alluded to, a defendant, in an information for a libel, which was tried at bar, said to the court, “As the information states this to be a scandalous and seditious libel, I desire it may be left to the jury to say whether it is a scandalous and seditious libel, or not.” The answer then given by the court was, “That is matter of

law; the jury are to decide upon the fact; and if they find you guilty of the fact, the court will afterwards consider whether it is or is not a libel.”—If one goes still farther back, we find it settled as a principle which admits of no dispute, and laid down so early as the reign of queen Elizabeth as a maxim, that “*ad quæstionem facti respondent juratores, ad quæstionem juris respondent judices.*” And in the case that the counsel has thought fit to allude to, under the name of *Bushe’s case*, the same maxim is recognized by the court negatively, viz. *ad quæstionem facti non respondent judices, ad quæstionem legis non respondent juratores*; for, said the court unanimously, if it be asked of the jury what the law is, they cannot say; if it be asked of the court what the fact is, they cannot say.

“Now, so it stands as to legal history upon the business. Suppose there were no authority at all, can any thing be a stronger proof of the impropriety of what is contended for by the counsel for the defendant, than what I have had recourse to? They have addressed you—not as is very usual to address a jury, and which you must know yourselves, if you have often served upon them; they have addressed you upon a question of law, on which they have quoted cases for a century back. Now, are you possessed of those cases in your own minds? are you apprized of the distinctions on which those determinations are founded? Is it not a little extraordinary to require of a jury, that they should carry all the legal determinations in their minds? If one looks a little farther into the constitution, it seems to me, that without recourse to authorities, it cannot admit of a doubt. What is the

the mode of administering justice in this country?—The judges are appointed to decide the law, the juries to decide the fact.—How?—Both under the solemn obligation of an oath. The judges are sworn to administer the law faithfully and truly. The jury are not so sworn, but to give a true verdict *according to the evidence*. Was it ever yet attempted to give evidence of what the law was?—If it were done in one instance, it must hold in all.—Suppose a jury should say, that which is stated upon a record is high treason or murder; if the facts charged upon the record are not so, it is the duty of the court to look into the record, and they are bound by their oaths to discharge the defendant. The consequence if it were not so, would be, that a man would be liable to be hanged, who had offended against no law at all. It is upon the facts, as found by the jury, that the court are to say whether it is any offence or not. It would undoubtedly hold in civil cases as well as criminal; and as the counsel for the prosecution has said in reply, by the same reason in the case of an ejectment, you might decide contrary to the law. But was it ever supposed, that a jury was competent to say what is the operation of a fine, or a recovery, or a warranty, which are mere questions of law?—

Then the counsel says, it is a very extraordinary thing, if you have nothing else to decide but the fact of the publication; because then the jury are to do nothing but to decide that which was never disputed.—Now, there is a great deal of art in that argument, and it was very ingeniously put by the counsel; but there is a fallacy in the argument, which arises from not considering how the matter stands here. It is not true, that the De-

fendant, by the issue, admits that he ever published it.—No; upon the record he denies it; but when he comes here, he thinks fit to admit it. That does not alter the mode of trial.

Then it is asserted, that if you go upon the publication only, that the defendant would be found guilty, though he is innocent. But that is by no means the case; and it is only necessary to see how many guards the law has made, to shew how erroneous that argument is.—If the fact were, that the defendant never denied the publication, but meant to admit it, and insist that it was not a libel, he had another way in which he should have done it (a way universally known to the profession)—for he ought to have demurred to the indictment; by which in substance he would have said—I admit the fact of publishing it, but deny that it is any offence.—But he is not precluded even now, from saying it is not a libel; for if the fact be found by you, that he did publish the pamphlet, and upon future consideration the court of King's Bench shall be of opinion that it is not a libel, he must then be acquitted.—As to his coming here, it is his own choice.

But, say the counsel farther, it is clear in point of law, that in a criminal case the defendant cannot plead specially; therefore he might give any thing in evidence that would be a justification if he could plead specially.—I admit it:—but what does that amount to? you must plead matter of fact: you cannot plead matter of law; the plea is bad if you do. Then admitting that he could give that in evidence upon Not Guilty, which would in point of law, if pleaded, amount to an excuse or a defence, the question still is, what are the facts on which the defence is found-

ed? That brings the case to the question of publication; for the innuendos are no more than this: first, the indictment says, that by the letter G. is meant Gentleman, and by the letter F. is meant Farmer. Now the title of this pamphlet is, "The Principles of Government, in a Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer."—The innuendo is not upon initials or letters that may be doubtful, but whether the king written at length means the king of Great Britain, and whether the parliament means the parliament of Great Britain. These are points I don't know how to state a question upon; and if you are satisfied as to the innuendos, the only remaining question of fact is as to the publication.

Whether Mr. Jones's evidence will or will not operate in mitigation of punishment, is not a question for me to give an opinion upon, because it is not for me to inflict the punishment if the defendant is found guilty. But upon his evidence it stands thus: the dean had thoughts of printing the pamphlet in Welsh, but upon what was said to him by Mr. Jones and other gentlemen, he declined it. But he *afterwards* published it in English: for this conversation is sworn by Jones to be on the 7th of January, and not till the 24th of January does he send this letter to Evans with the pamphlet, desiring that it might be published; therefore there is no contradiction as to the publication; and if you are satisfied of this in point of fact, it is my duty to tell you in point of law, you are bound to find the defendant guilty.—I wish to be explicit in what I say to you, because if I err in any respect, it is open to the defendant to have it corrected. As far as it is necessary to give any opinion in point of law upon the

subject of the trial, I readily do it: beyond that I don't mean to say a word, because it is not necessary nor proper here. In a future stage of the business, if the defendant is found guilty, he will have a right to demand my opinion; and if ever that happens, it is my duty to give it, and then I will: but 'till that happens, I do not think it proper, or by any means incumbent upon one who sits where I do, to go out of the case to give an opinion upon a subject which the present stage of the case does not require. Therefore I can only say, that if you are satisfied that the defendant did publish this pamphlet, and are satisfied as to the truth of the innuendos in point of law, you ought to find him guilty. If you are not satisfied of that, you will acquit him.

The Jury withdrew to consider of their Verdict. When they returned again into Court, the Foreman said, they found the Defendant Guilty of Publishing only.

Mr. Justice Buller. That verdict is not quite correct.—You, gentlemen of the jury, must explain one way or the other, whether you find the meaning of the innuendos. The indictment has stated that G. means Gentleman, F. Farmer,—The King, the King of Great Britain, and the Parliament, the Parliament of Great Britain.—Do you find him guilty?

One of the Jury. Yes, we find him guilty of that.

Mr. Erskine. They find the defendant guilty of publishing *only*.

One of the Jury. We don't say any thing to judge of the libel, we only find him guilty of publishing.

Mr. Erskine. I beg your lordship's pardon, I am sure I mean nothing that is irregular: I understand the jury said, they only found that the dean published it.

One of the Jury. Yes.

Mr.

Mr. Erskine. They only find that the dean published this pamphlet.

Mr. Broderick. They have not found that it is a libel of, and concerning the king and his government.

Mr. Justice Buller. I asked them whether they were satisfied that the King meant the King of Great Britain, whether the letter G. meant Gentleman, and the letter F. meant Farmer; they say they are satisfied.—Is there any other innuendo in the indictment?

Mr. Erskine. When the jury came in, they gave the very verdict that was given in the case of the King against Woodfall; they said guilty of publishing only.—Gentlemen of the jury, do you mean that the word *only* shall stand part of your verdict?

One of the Jury. Certainly.

Mr. Justice Buller. Gentlemen, if you add the word *only*, it will be negating, or at least not finding the truth of the innuendos; that I understood you did not mean to do.

Mr. Erskine. That has the effect of a general verdict of guilty.—I desire your lordship, sitting here as judge, to record the verdict as given by the jury; if the jury depart from the word *only*, they alter their verdict.

Mr. Justice Buller. I will take their verdict as they mean to give it; it shall not be altered.—Gentlemen, do you mean to find him guilty of publishing the libel?

One of the Jury. Of publishing the pamphlet; we don't decide upon its being a libel or not.

Mr. Justice Buller. And that the meaning of the innuendos is as stated in the indictment?

One of the Jury. Yes, certainly.

Mr. Erskine. Would you have the word *only* recorded?

One of the Jury. Yes.

Mr. Erskine. Then I insist that it shall be recorded.

Mr. Justice Buller. Mr. Erskine, sit down, or I shall be obliged to interpose in some other way.

Mr. Erskine. Your lordship may interpose in what manner you think fit.

Mr. Justice Buller. Gentlemen, if you say guilty of publishing *only*, the consequence is, that you negative the meaning of the particular words I have mentioned—that is the operation of the word *only*. In effect, you would give a verdict in words contrary to what you mean.

One of the Jury. How will it operate?

Mr. Justice Buller. If you say nothing more but find him guilty of publishing, the question of law is open upon the record, and they have a right to apply first to the court of King's-Bench to arrest the judgment; and if they are not satisfied with the opinion of that court, either party has a right to go to the house of lords, and you find nothing more by that verdict but the simple fact; but if you find him guilty of publishing *only*, that verdict will not include the innuendos on the record.

One of the Jury. That is admitted.

Mr. Erskine. I desire to ask your lordship this question in the hearing of the jury, Whether if they find the verdict—Guilty of publishing, leaving out the word *only*, and on my application to arrest the judgment, the judgment shall not be arrested, but entered up in the King's Bench; whether the sedition does not stand recorded?

Mr. Justice Buller. No, it does not, unless the pamphlet be a libel in point of law.

Mr. Erskine. True. But can I say that the defendant did not publish it seditiously, if judgment is

not arrested, but is entered in the record?

Mr. Justice Buller. Gentlemen, this is my satisfaction. If in what I am saying to you I am wrong in any instance, they have a right to have a new trial directly for asking. But I must tell you the law is this: if you find the defendant guilty of publishing, without saying any more, the question of libel or not is open to the consideration of the court; but if you say he is guilty of publishing *only*, it is an incomplete verdict.

One of the Jury. We certainly mean to leave the question of libel or not to the consideration of the court.

Mr. Erskine. Do you find the sedition?

One of the Jury. We give no verdict upon it.

Mr. Justice Buller. When you understand your verdict yourselves, I will take it in the manner you state it. If you say guilty of publishing *only*, there must be another trial, because the verdict will be imperfect.

One of the Jury. No, we did not say that; we put the word *only* first—Guilty *only* of publishing.

Mr. Erskine. I desire, with great submission, the jury having said Guilty *only* of publishing, that it may be so recorded.

Mr. Justice Buller. Whether you say guilty *only* of publishing, or guilty of publishing *only*, that amounts to the same thing. You may say this, "Guilty of publishing; but whether it is a libel or not you don't know," if that is your intention.

One of the Jury. That is our intention.

Mr. Justice Buller. Do you give your verdict in this way, "Guilty

of publishing, but whether it is a libel or not, the jury don't know?"

One of the Jury. We don't find it a libel, my lord; we do not decide upon it.

Mr. Erskine. They find it no libel.

Mr. Justice Buller. See what is attempted to be done.

Mr. Erskine. There is no improper attempt upon my part. I ask this of your lordship, and desire an answer, as a judge, whether or no, if, when I come to move in arrest of judgment, and the court should enter up judgment, saying, that it is a libel, whether I can afterwards say, in mitigation of punishment, that the defendant did not publish it seditiously, when he is found guilty of publishing it in manner and form as stated? Therefore the jury are made to find a man guilty of sedition, when in the same moment they say they did not mean so to do. Gentlemen, do you find the dean guilty of sedition?

One of the Jury. We neither find the one nor the other.

Mr. Price (Associate). Do you say "Guilty of publishing, but whether a libel or not you do not find?"

Mr. Justice Buller. Is that your meaning?

One of the Jury. It is our meaning.

Mr. Bearcroft. All you mean is to leave the law where it is?

One of the Jury. That is all our meaning.

Mr. Justice Buller. The intention of the jury was from the first as clear as it could be, only they wanted to confound it.

The associate recorded the verdict,
"GUILTY OF PUBLISHING, BUT
WHETHER A LIBEL OR NOT
THE JURY DO NOT FIND."

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1784.

NAVY.

JUNE 1, 1784.

1. **T**HAT 26,000 men be employed for the sea service, for the year 1784, including 4,495 marines.

2. That a sum, not exceeding 4l. per man per month, be allowed for maintaining the said 26,000 men, for thirteen months, including ordnance for sea service

£.	s.	d.
1,352,000	0	0

JUNE 21, 1784.

1. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers, for the year 1784

701,869	0	6
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2. Towards the building, rebuilding, and repairs of ships of war in his majesty's yards, and other extra works over and above what are proposed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear in ordinary, for the year 1784

1,100,000	0	0
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3,153,869	0	6
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ARMY.

JUNE 15, 1784.

1. That a number of land forces, including 2,030 invalids, amounting to 17,483 effective men, commission and non-commissioned officers included, be employed for the year 1784.

2. For defraying the charge of 17,483 effective men, for guards, garrisons, and other his majesty's land forces in Great Britain, Guernsey, Jersey, &c.

6,6190	9	1
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3. For maintaining his majesty's forces and garrisons in the plantations, and those in garrison at Gibraltar

284,213	2	9
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4. For the pay necessary to be advanced to one regiment of light dragoons, and five battalions of foot, for service in East India, for the year 1784

8,252	7	9
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5. For the pay of the general and general staff-officers in Great Britain, for the year 1784

6,080	6	6
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(N 3)

6. For

6. For defraying the charge of two Hanoverian battalions of foot in Great Britain, for 183 days, from the 25th day of June 1783, to the 24th day of December 1784

£. s. d.
9,371 17 9

7. For the amount of exchequer fees, to be paid by the paymaster-general, and on account for poundage to be returned to the infantry of his majesty's forces, for the year 1784

67,551 14 1

8. For defraying the charge of the in and out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, and of the expences of the said hospital, for the year 1784

173,001 15 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

JUNE 28, 1784.

1. Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services, incurred from the 1st day of February 1783, to the 24th of December following, both days inclusive, and not provided for by parliament

2,360,992 0 9

2. Upon account of the reduced officers of his majesty's land forces and marines, for the year 1784

75,116 18 6

3. For defraying the charge of allowances to the several officers and private gentlemen of the two troops of horse-guards reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse-guards, for the year 1784

563 12 10

4. Upon further account of the reduced officers of his majesty's land forces, for the year 1784

130,300 0 0

5. Upon account of the commissioned officers of his majesty's British American forces, for the year 1784

54,653 10 6

6. Upon account of several officers late in the service of the States General, for the year 1784

3,544 14 3

7. For defraying the charge of pensions to be paid to the widows of commissioned officers, and expences attending the same, for the year 1784

17,000 4 0

8. For defraying the charge of pensions to be paid to the widows of commissioned officers of his majesty's British American forces, for the year 1784

686 0 0

9. For defraying the charge of two regiments of foot, sent from Ireland to Gibraltar during the year 1783

4,246 11 0

10. For defraying the charge of additional to three regiments of foot, for the year 1783

10,524 17 4

11. For defraying the charge of several corps to the respective times of their being disbanded, during the year 1783

9,821 15 6

12. For defraying the charge of five battalions of his majesty's Hanoverian infantry in the pay of Great Britain, from the 25th of December 1783, to the 24th of June 1784, both days inclusive, being 183 days

23,419 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
13. For

13. For defraying the charge of general and staff-officers of the hospital serving with the forces in North America and the West Indies, for the year 1784

£. s. d.
6,291 7 0

JUNE 29, 1784.

1. Towards defraying the charge of subsidies due to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, the reigning prince of Waldeck, the margrave of Brandebourg Anspach, the reigning prince of Anhalt Zerbst, and the reigning duke of Brunfwick, pursuant to treaties for the year 1784

120,369 11 7

2. Towards defraying the charge of 6,453 men, being a detachment of the troops of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, including staff-officers in the pay of Great Britain, from the 28th of May, 1784, to the 24th of December following, both days inclusive

60,035 8 4½

3. To make good a deficiency on the subsidy due to the reigning duke of Brunfwick, for the year 1783

2,366 13 0

AUGUST 7, 1784.

For defraying the charge of three regiments of foot, from the 25th of June 1784, to the 24th of December following, both days inclusive, being 183 days

15,626 4 11

4,080,220 13 9½

ORDNANCE.

JUNE 14, 1784.

1. For defraying the expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for by parliament in the year 1783

181,141 6 4

2. For the charge of the office of ordnance for the land service, for the year 1784

429,008 2 7

610,149 8 11

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

JUNE 3, 1784.

1. For discharging exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act passed in the last session of parliament, entitled, "An act for raising a certain sum of money by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1783," and charged upon the first aids to be granted in this session of parliament

1,000,000 0 0

2. For paying off and discharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act passed in the last session of parliament, entitled, "An act for raising a further sum of money by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1783," and

(N 4)

charged

charged upon the first aids to be granted in this session of parliament £. s. d.
1,169,400 0 0

JUNE 14, 1784.

1. To be advanced to the governor and company of merchants of England trading into the Levant seas, to be applied in assisting the said company in carrying on their trade 4,000 0 0

2. Towards enabling the trustees of the British Museum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in them by parliament 3,000 0 0

JUNE 15, 1784.

Upon account of the expences of the new roads of communication, and building bridges in the Highlands of North Britain, in the year 1784 4,830 7 6

JULY 20, 1784.

To make compensation to the rev. Thomas Weekes Dalby, the representative of Charles Weekes, deceased, for the loss sustained by the detainer of the ship Hope belonging to the said Charles Weekes, on account of his majesty's victualling office, in the years 1743 and 1744. 1,891 13 8

JULY 26, 1784.

To discharge the debt contracted on his majesty's civil list, and to defray the further expences thereof 60,000 0 0

AUGUST 5, 1784.

For defraying the charges of the following civil establishments, and other incidental expences attending the same, in America,

1. His majesty's colony of Nova Scotia 5,559 8 0

2. His majesty's island of St. John's 3,150 0 0

3. His majesty's province of East Florida 3,950 0 0

4. His majesty's province of New Brunswick 3,100 0 0

5. His majesty's island of Cape Breton 1,750 0 0

6. For the relief and benefit of sundry American civil officers, and others, who have suffered on account of their attachment to his majesty's government 75,750 13 6

7. To discharge bills drawn on the commissioners of the treasury by John Parr, esq. governor of Nova Scotia, and other services 12,816 15 9 $\frac{1}{4}$

8. Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerset-house, for the year 1784 25,000 0 0

9. To be paid to Joseph White, esq. for the expences attending the bill for inflicting pains and penalties on sir Thomas Rumbold, baronet, in the last session of parliament

10. To George White, esq. clerk to the committees appointed to enquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic, in the years 1781 and 1782

11. To William Evatt, clerk to the select committees appointed to take into consideration the state

of the administration of justice in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in the four last sessions of parliament

12. To Mr. White, junior, clerk to the select committees, to whom "The reports of the court of directors of the united company of the merchants trading to the East Indies" were referred during the last and this present session of parliament

13. To Mr. Arthur Benson, clerk to the committee appointed, in the last session of parliament, to enquire into the illicit practices used in defrauding the revenue of this kingdom

AUGUST 7, 1784.

1. To make compensation to the commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the public accounts of the kingdom, for their diligence, &c.

2. To make good the like sum which has been paid to the secretaries of the commissioners appointed to examine the public accounts, &c. and to the commissioners appointed to enquire into the losses of the American loyalists, and which has not been made good by parliament

3. To make good the sum which has been issued by his majesty's orders, in pursuance of the addresses of this house

4. For repairing, maintaining, and supporting, the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa

5. To replace the sum issued by his majesty's order to Duncan Campbell, esq. for the expence of confining, maintaining and employing convicts on the River Thames

6. To perfect the purchase of the soil of the Bahama islands, and to support the civil establishment of the said islands, in addition to the salaries now paid out of the duty fund, to the public officers

7. For the salary proposed to be allowed to the chief justice of the Bermuda or Somers islands, from the 24th of June 1784, to the 24th of June 1785

£. s. d.
6,623 19 9

9,000 0 0

7,000 0 0

36,841 1 6

13,000 0 0

12,212 11 6

7,850 0 0

500 0 0

2,47,226 11 2½

DEFICIENCIES.

JUNE 15, 1784.

1. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1758, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same

23,556 2 7

2. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1778, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same

168,090 2 9½

3. To

3. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1779, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	£.	s.	d.
			73,339	19	8
4. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1780, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	207,909	10	3
5. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1782, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	435,888	19	2
6. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1783, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	24,943	5	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
7. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1783	—	—	36,814	15	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
To make good deficiencies in the malt tax and land tax	—	—	706,166	0	0
			<hr/>		
			1,676,708	15	0
			<hr/>		
Total of supplies	—	—	11,988,174	9	4 $\frac{7}{8}$
			<hr/>		

WAYS and MEANS for raising the Supplies granted to his Majesty for the Year 1784.

NOVEMBER 24, 1783.

That the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, be further continued for one year — — 750,000 0 0

DECEMBER 10, 1783.

That the sum of four shillings in the pound be raised, within the space of one year, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, pensions, offices, and personal estates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and that a proportionable cess be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland — — 2,000,000 0 0

JULY 1, 1784.

1. That the sum of 6,000,000l. be raised by annuities, and the further sum of 360,000l. by a lottery in manner following—

That every contributor shall, for every hundred pounds contributed, be entitled to the principal sum of 100l. in annuities, after the rate of 3l. per cent. to 50l. after the rate of 4l. per cent. and to an annuity of five shillings and six pence for the term of seventy-five years and six months.

That every contributor shall, for every 1000l. be entitled to six tickets in a lottery to consist of 36,000 tickets, upon the payment of the sum of 10l. per

ticket.

ticket. The said 360,000*l.* to be distributed into prizes for the lottery.

That the annuities, after the rate of 3*l.* per cent. be made one joint stock with the 3*l.* per cent. annuities consolidated; the annuities, after the rate of 4*l.* per cent. one joint stock with the 4*l.* per cent. annuities consolidated; and the annuities of five shillings and six pence, one joint stock with annuities granted for the several terms of 99, 98, 80, 78, and 77 years, consolidated

£.	s.	d.
6.360,000	0	0

2. That out of the savings of the several army services, be applied, towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the 1st of February, 1783, and the 24th of December following, and not provided for by parliament, the sum of

441,702	13	9½
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AUGUST 2, 1784.

1. That there be raised by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament, the sum of

1,500,000	0	0
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2. That there be raised by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament, the sum of

1,000,000	0	0
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AUGUST 7, 1784.

1. That there be issued and applied, out of the overplus monies, and other revenues composing the sinking fund, the sum of

800,000	0	0
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2. That there be applied, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer, for the disposition of parliament, the sum of

105,818	5	11¼
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Total of ways and means

12,957,520	19	8½
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Total of supplies

11,988,174	9	4¾
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Excess of ways and means

969,346	10	3¾
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NEW TAXES for the Year 1784.

Candles, one halfpenny per pound

100,000	0	0
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Bricks, two shillings and six pence per thousand; and tiles, from three to thirty shillings per thousand

50,000	0	0
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Hats, from three pence to two shillings, and licences for vending the same

150,000	0	0
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Pleasure horses, ten shillings per head, running horses two guineas per head

100,000	0	0
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British linens and cottons, from three farthings to one shilling per yard, and licences for bleaching and dying the same

120,000	0	0
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Ribbands, from one penny for every twelve yards,

to

	£.	s.	d.
to one penny per yard, and gauzes, from two pence to four-pence per yard	120,000	0	0
Licences for retailing beer, ale, and other exciseable liquors; and to the makers and dealers in certain exciseable commodities, from ten shillings to fifty pounds	110,000	0	0
Qualifications of shooters, two pounds two shillings per head, and deputations from lords of manors ten shillings per head	10,000	0	0
Paper, from one penny to ten shillings per ream, pasteboards, millboards, and scaleboards	18,000	0	0
Hackney coaches, five shillings per week	12,000	0	0
Silver plate, six pence per ounce, and gold plate eight shillings per ounce	25,000	0	0
Lead exported, one guinea per ton	15,000	0	0
Postage of letters, one penny and two pence	100,000	0	0
Regulations of franking	20,000	0	0
Raw and thrown silk imported, three shillings, and two shillings per pound			
	930,000	0	0

Public Acts passed in the Fourth Session of the Fifteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

December 24, 1783.

An act for continuing and granting to his majesty certain duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

An act for granting an aid to his majesty by a land tax, to be raised in Great Britain, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

An act to continue, for a limited time, an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the United States of America, and to give to his majesty, for a limited time, certain powers for the better carrying on trade and commerce between the subjects of his majesty's dominions

and the inhabitants of the said United States."

An act to continue so much of an act, made in the last session of parliament, as allows further time for the payment of certain sums due, and to become due to the public from the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

March 11, 1784.

An act to explain and amend an act, made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for repealing an act, made in the twenty-second year of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for charging a stamp duty upon inland bills of exchange, promissory notes, or other notes, payable otherwise than upon demand;" and for granting new stamp duties on bills of exchange, promissory and other notes, and also stamp duties on receipts;" and for indemnifying all persons who have

written

written or signed any bill of exchange, promissory or other note, or any receipt, not stamped according to law.

An act for establishing certain regulations concerning the portage and conveyance of letters and packets by the post between Great Britain and Ireland.

March 24, 1784.

An act for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

An act for the regulation of his majesty's marine forces while on shore.

An act for appointing commissioners to put in execution an act of this session of parliament, intituled, "An act for granting an aid to his majesty by a land tax, to be raised in Great Britain, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four;" together with those named in two former acts for appointing commissioners of the land tax, and with those named in an act of the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for granting an aid to his majesty by a land tax, to be raised in Great-Britain, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three."

An act for further continuing, for a limited time, an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the United States of America; and to give to his majesty, for a limited time, certain powers for the better carrying on trade and commerce between the subjects of his majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of the said United States."

An act for defraying the charge of the militia in that part of Great

Britain, called England, for one year, beginning the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four; and for lessening the number of deputy lieutenants and justices of the peace to act in the execution of the laws relating to the militia.

An act to continue the provisions of an act of the twenty-third of his present majesty, for granting a bounty upon the exportation of British and Irish buckrams and tillettings, British and Irish linens, British calicoes and cottons, or cotton mixed with linen, printed, painted, stained, or dyed in Great Britain, for a limited time.

An act for allowing further time for inrollment of deeds and wills made by papists, and for relief of protestant purchasers.

An act to authorize the removal of prisoners in certain cases, and to amend the laws respecting the transportation of offenders.

Public Acts passed in the First Session of the Sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

June 18, 1784.

An act for further continuing, for a limited time, an act, made in the twenty-third year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the United States of America; and to give to his majesty, for a limited time, certain powers for the better carrying on trade and commerce between the subjects of his majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of the said United States."

June 29, 1784.

An act to empower the East India company to make a dividend to the pro-

proprietors of East India stock at Midsummer, 1784.

July 16, 1784.

An act for raising a certain sum of money by way of annuities, and for establishing a lottery.

An act to enable the governor and company of the bank of Scotland further to increase the capital stock of the said company.

An act to enable such officers, mariners, and soldiers, as have been in the land or sea service, or in the marines, or in the militia, or any corps of fencible men, since the second year of his present majesty's reign, to exercise trades.

An act for establishing certain regulations concerning the portage and conveyance of letters and packets by the post between Great Britain and Ireland.

July 20, 1784.

An act for laying additional duties upon all candles (except wax and spermaceti candles), and for more effectually securing the duties upon candles.

An act for appointing and enabling commissioners further to examine, take, and state the public accounts of the kingdom.

July 30, 1784.

An act for laying additional duties upon paper, pasteboards, millboards, and scaleboards; and for explaining certain doubts respecting the duties imposed by an act made in the twenty-first year of his present majesty's reign, intituled, "An act for repealing the present duties upon paper, pasteboards, millboards, and scaleboards, made in Great Britain, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof."

An act to revive and continue an act, made in the twelfth year of the reign of his present majesty, for encouraging the manufacture of lea-

ther, by lowering the duty payable upon the importation of oak barks, when the price of such bark shall exceed a certain rate, for a limited time; and for extending severall acts of parliament relative to the manufacture of leather to that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

An act for further continuing, for a limited time, an act made in the twenty-third year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the United States of America; and to give to his majesty, for a limited time, certain powers for the better carrying on trade and commerce between the subjects of his majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of the said United States."

An act for the preservation and encouragement of the hat manufactory within this realm, by preventing the exportation of British hare skins, British hare wool, and British coney wool, and all undressed or untawed British coney skins, and for preventing any of the said skins from being stained or dyed; and for the importation of goats hair into this kingdom, duty free.

An act to discontinue the petty custom on aliens goods imported into Great Britain, and the duty of one per centum on goods exported to, or imported from, the Mediterranean Seas, in unqualified ships; and for repealing so much of an act, passed in the fourth year of the reign of his present majesty, as enacts that no part of the old subsidy shall be drawn back upon goods exported to the British colonies or plantations in America.

August 13, 1784.

An act for granting to his majesty certain rates and duties upon bricks

bricks and tiles made in Great Britain, and for laying additional duties on bricks and tiles imported into the same.

An act for laying an additional duty on hackney coaches, and for explaining and amending several acts of parliament relating to hackney coaches.

An act for granting to his majesty an additional duty upon licences for retailing beer, ale, and other exciseable liquors.

An act for raising a certain sum of money, by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

An act for granting to his majesty certain duties on horses kept for the purpose of riding, and on horses used in drawing certain carriages, in respect whereof any duty of excise is made payable.

An act to postpone the payment of the sum of two millions, advanced by the governor and company of the Bank of England, towards the supply for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

An act for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India company, and of the British possessions in India; and for establishing a court of judicature, for the more speedy and effectual trial of persons accused of offences committed in the East Indies.

An act to repeal so much of two acts, made in the tenth and fifteenth years of the reign of his present majesty, as authorizes the speaker of the house of commons to issue his warrants to the clerk of the crown for making out writs for the election of members to serve in parliament in the manner therein mentioned, and for substituting other provisions for the like purposes.

An act for vesting certain lands, tenements, and hereditaments in trustees, for better securing his majesty's docks, ships, and stores, at Portsmouth and Plymouth; and also for revesting certain messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in the counties of Southampton, Cornwall, and Devon, in the former proprietors thereof; and for other purposes therein mentioned.

An act for authorising the treasurer of the navy to pay to the officers and men belonging to his majesty's ship *Santa Margareta* the like bounty, for taking the French frigate called *L'Amazone*, as is allowed to the officers and men on board any of his majesty's ships of war taking or destroying ships of war belonging to the enemy.

An act to empower the bishop of London, for the time being, or any other bishop, to be by him appointed, to admit to the order of deacon, or priest, persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of his majesty's dominions, without requiring them to take the oath of allegiance as appointed by law.

August 19, 1784.

An act for granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the sinking fund, and for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four; for appropriating the monies arising by the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, and also by a land tax granted to his majesty by two acts made in the last session of parliament; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

An act for raising a further sum of money, by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the year
one

one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

An act for granting to his majesty additional duties on linens printed, painted, stained, or dyed in Great Britain; and for granting certain duties on cotton stuffs bleached or dyed in Great Britain, and on licences for bleaching or dying the same, and upon the importation of stuffs made of, or mixed with, cotton, not painted, printed, stained, or dyed in foreign parts.

An act for laying certain duties upon licences to be taken out by the makers of, and dealers in, exciseable commodities therein mentioned.

An act for granting to his majesty certain duties on licences to be taken out by persons vending hats by retail, and also certain duties on hats sold under such licences; and for laying additional duties on all hats and caps imported into this kingdom.

An act for granting to his majesty certain duties on all gold and silver plate imported; and also certain duties on all gold and silver wrought plate made in Great Britain.

An act for repealing the present duties upon wax candles made in Great Britain, and for granting, in lieu thereof, other duties upon wax candles made in Great Britain, and upon wax imported, and upon licences to make or sell wax candles in Great Britain.

An act to discontinue, for a limited time, the payment of the duties upon low wines and spirits for home consumption; and for granting and securing the due payment of other duties in lieu thereof; and for the better regulation of the making and vending British spirits, as well for home consumption as for exportation; and for destroying all

home-made and foreign spirits after the condemnation thereof; and for vesting in his majesty the duties of excise within the lands of Ferintosh, in the county of Inverness; and for discontinuing, for a limited time, certain imposts and duties upon rum and spirits imported from the West Indies.

An act for better securing the duties on starch and soap.

An act for granting annuities to satisfy certain navy, victualling, and transport bills, and ordnance debentures.

An act for the relief of the East India company, with respect to the payment of certain sums due to the public, and to the acceptance of certain bills drawn upon the said company; and for regulating the dividends to be made by the said company.

An act for the more effectual prevention of smuggling in this kingdom.

An act to enable his majesty to grant to the heirs of the former proprietors, upon certain terms and conditions, the forfeited estates in Scotland, which were put under the management of a board of trustees, by an act passed in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of his late majesty king George the Second; and to repeal the said act.

An act to extend the powers of an act, made in the twenty-third year of his present majesty, for giving his majesty certain powers for the better carrying on trade and commerce between the subjects of his majesty's dominions and the inhabitants of the United States of America, to the trade and commerce of this kingdom with the British colonies and plantations in America, with respect to certain articles therein mentioned.

An act to indemnify such persons

as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and to indemnify justices of the peace or others, who have omitted to register or deliver in their qualifications within the time limited by law, and for giving further time for those purposes; and to indemnify members and officers in cities, corporations, and borough towns, whose admissions have been omitted to be stamped according to law, or, having been stamped, have been lost or mislaid, and for allowing them time to provide admissions duly stamped; and to give further time to such persons as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, or to pay the duties on the indentures and contracts of clerks, apprentices, or servants.

An act to revive and continue several laws relating to the allowing the exportation of certain quantities of wheat, and other articles, to his majesty's sugar colonies in America, and to the allowing a drawback of the duties on rum shipped as stores to be consumed on board merchant ships on their voyages; and to extend the provisions of an act of the twenty-third year of his present majesty, relative to the removal of wine in casks, to wine removed in bottles, and other packages.

An act for the effectual transportation of felons, and other offenders; and to authorize the removal of prisoners in certain cases; and for other purposes therein mentioned.

An act to explain and amend an act, made in the eleventh and twelfth years of the reign of king William the Third, intituled, "An act to enable justices of peace to build and repair gaols in their re-

spective counties;" and for other purposes therein mentioned.

An act to explain and amend an act, made in the twenty-second year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for the amending, and rendering more effectual, the laws in being relative to houses of correction."

August 20, 1784.

An act for granting to his majesty certain duties on certificates issued with respect to the killing of game.

An act for granting to his majesty certain additional rates of postage for conveyance of letters and packets by the post, within the kingdom of Great Britain; for preventing frauds in the revenue carried on by the conveyance of certain goods in letters and packets; and for further preventing frauds and abuses in relation to the sending and receiving of letters and packets free from postage.

An act for granting additional duties upon raw and thrown silk imported into Great Britain, and upon lead exported from Great Britain into parts beyond the seas; and for allowing a drawback upon the exportation of silks, and stuffs mixed with silk.

An act for repealing the several duties on tea, and for granting to his majesty other duties in lieu thereof, and also several duties on inhabited houses, and upon the importation of cocoa nuts and coffee, and for repealing the inland duties of excise thereon.

An act to explain, amend, and render more effectual, an act made in the 30th year of the reign of his late majesty king George the Second, intituled, "An act for the more effectual punishment of persons who shall attain, or attempt to

attain, possession of goods or money by false or untrue pretences; for preventing the unlawful pawning of goods; for the easy redemption of goods pawned; and for preventing gaming in public houses, by jour-

neymen, labourers, servants, and apprentices;" so far as the same relates to the preventing of the unlawful pawning of goods, and for the easy redemption of goods pawned.

PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1784.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down to that Month.																			
	Bank Stock	3 per c. ed.	3ditt. conf.	4 p. c. 1777.	4 p. c. conf.	Long Ann.	Short 1777.	Ditt. 1778.	Ditt. 1779.	India Stock	India Ann.	India bonds	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	3 p. c. Scrip.	4 p. c. Scrip.	Excheq. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	{ 111 113 1/4	{ 55 1/8 57 1/4	{ 57 3/4 53 3/4			{ 16 1/2 17 1/2				{ 118 1/2 120 1/2		{ 53 1/2 42			{ 17 3/4 12 1/2	{ 57 1/8 58 1/8			
Feb.	{ 113 116	{ 57 58 3/4	{ 57 7/8 55 1/8		{ 74 1/4 75 1/8	{ 16 7/8 17 3/4		{ 12 1/8 12 1/2		{ 122 1/2 133 1/2	{ 54 54 1/8	{ 40 25	{ 57 1/2 57	{ 56 56 1/2	{ 20 18 1/8	{ 58 1/8 58 1/8		{ 4s. 10	
Mar.	{ 116 118	{ 56 1/8 59 3/8	{ 56 1/8 60 1/4		{ 75 1/4 76 1/8	{ 17 1/4 18 1/8		{ 12 1/4 12 1/4		{ 127 1/2 129 1/2		{ 30 7	{ 57 1/2 59 1/2	{ 58 57 1/2	{ 18 1/2 16			{ 6 2	
Apr.	{ 116 1/2 116 1/2	{ 57 3/8 58	{ 59 1/2 58		{ 75 3/8 75 1/4	{ 17 1/4 17 3/4		{ 12 7/8 12 1/8		{ 129 127		{ 22 9		{ 56 7/8 58 1/8	{ 19 17 1/4			{ 1 2	
May	{ 116 1/2 115	{ 58 57 3/8	{ 58 3/4 57 3/8		{ 74 1/8 74 7/8	{ 17 7/8 17 1/2		{ 12 1/2 12 3/4		{ 122 3/4 124		{ 7 13	{ 58 56 5/8	{ 57 3/4 57 1/2	{ 14 17				
June	{ 115 116	{ 57 3/8 58 3/8	{ 57 3/8 59 1/4		{ 74 3/8 75 1/8	{ 17 1/2 17 3/4		{ 12 1/2 12 3/4				{ 9 19	{ 56 3/4 57 1/8	{ 58 57 1/2	{ 18 14 3/8			{ 1 3	
July	{ 113 3/4 116	{ 59 3/4 55 1/4	{ 59 55 1/4		{ 74 1/2 73	{ 17 1/8 17 1/2		{ 12 1/8 12 3/4		{ 122 1/2 119	{ 53 1/2 53 7/8	{ 21 3			{ 14 1/2 17 1/2	{ 56 3/4 58 1/4	{ 74 3/8 75 1/4		{ 16 0 0 15 6 0
Aug.	{ 116 116 1/2	{ 58 5/8 57 1/8	{ 57 1/2 56 1/8		{ 74 1/4 74 3/4	{ 17 1/8 17 1/8		{ 12 12 3/4		{ 122 1/2 122 1/2	{ 54 1/4 54 1/4	{ 7 4	{ 56 1/2 56 1/2	{ 56 1/2 54 1/2	{ 15 1/2 12 1/4	{ 57 1/8 56 1/8	{ 75 1/4 75 1/4	{ 2 1	{ 15 5 0 15 16 0
Sep.	{ 117 1/4 117 1/2	{ 57 1/4 56 1/4	{ 56 1/4 54 1/8		{ 74 1/2 74	{ 17 1/4 16 1/2		{ 12 3/8 12 1/4		{ 127 1/2 125 1/2		{ 6 1	{ 56 1/8 55 1/2	{ 55 1/8 54 1/2	{ 13 3/4 15 1/4	{ 56 3/4 55 1/8	{ 74 3/8 73 1/2	{ 2 2	{ 15 13 0 15 16 0
Oct.	{ 110 111 1/2	{ 54 54 1/2	{ 54 1/8 55 1/4		{ 70 1/4 70 1/4	{ 16 3/8 16 7/8		{ 12 1/8 12		{ 128 126 3/4		{ 4 2		{ 53 1/4 53 1/4		{ 55 1/2 54 1/2		{ 2 1	{ 15 13 0 15 0 0
Nov.	{ 112 110 1/2	{ 53 3/4 55 1/2	{ 54 1/4 56 1/8			{ 16 1/8 17 1/8		{ 12 12 3/8				{ 1 3	{ 54 3/8 54			{ 54 1/2 56 1/2		{ 3 3	{ 15 6 0 16 2 0
Dec.	{ 113 1/2 112 1/2	{ 55 1/2 55 1/2	{ 54 1/2 56 1/2			{ 17 1/4 17 1/8		{ 12 1/2 12 1/2				{ 1 7	{ 54 1/8 54 1/8	{ 55 1/4 55 1/4		{ 56 1/2 55 1/2		{ 3 3	

B I O G R A P H I C A L
A N E C D O T E S
A N D
C H A R A C T E R S.

1820-1821

1821-1822

1822-1823

B I O G R A P H I C A L

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

The LIFE of CHARLES CHURCHILL, the Poet.

[From the Third Volume of Dr. KIPPIS's Edition of the Biographia Britannica.]

“**C**HURCHILL (Charles), an eminent satiric poet, was born in Vine-street, in the parish of St. John's, Westminster, in the year 1731. His father, who was a very respectable clergyman, was curate and lecturer of the parish, and was possessed, besides, of a living in the country. Young Charles, as might be expected from the vicinity of his situation, received his grammatical education at Westminster school; in which he soon distinguished himself so far as to make his tutors sensible that he was a lad of considerable abilities. His application, however, as is too frequently the case with youths of lively parts, by no means kept pace with his natural talents; so that the chief character he obtained was, that he was a boy who could do well if he would. One day, having been enjoined to make an exercise, he failed in bringing it at the time appointed; for which reason his master not only chastised him with some severity, but even charged him with stupidity. The last reproach made a strong impression upon Charles Churchill's mind, and the fear of shame wrought an effect which the fear of stripes could not

produce. On the next day he brought his exercise finished in such a manner, that he received the public thanks of the masters of the school. This instance of his sensibility, and of the applause that resulted from it, was not followed by a complete reformation of conduct. The vivacity of his imagination, and the dissipation of his temper, still prevented his walking regularly forward in the trammels of a scholastic education. When, therefore, he was sent by his father to the university of Oxford, he was refused an admittance into that illustrious seat of literature, upon account of his want of a proper skill in the learned languages. This, no doubt, was a great mortification to himself, as well as a severe disappointment to a worthy parent. Churchill, in the subsequent parts of his life, often mentioned his repulse at Oxford; and the following turn was given to it by himself and his friends. He and they frequently asserted, that he could have answered the college examination, had he thought proper; but that he so much despised the trifling questions which were proposed to him, that, instead of returning suitable replies,

he only launched out into satirical reflections on the abilities of the gentleman whose office it was to make the trial of his literary improvements. If this was really the truth of the case, Mr. Churchill's conduct, to say the least of it, was highly imprudent. Whoever wishes to receive the benefit of an university education, must comply with the customary forms of admission; and it would be perfectly ridiculous for a young man to have it in his own power to prescribe in what mode he should be examined, previously to his matriculation. Churchill's rejection from Oxford will supply one very probable reason for the severity with which, in the course of his writings, he hath sometimes treated that famous seminary.

“After this event, Mr. Churchill continued to prosecute his studies at Westminster school; and there can be no cause to doubt, but that he would soon have been esteemed properly qualified for an entrance into one of our learned universities, if his views of this kind had not been prevented by an act of imprudence which had a considerable effect upon the colour of his future life. When he was little more than seventeen years of age, he contracted an intimacy with a young lady in the neighbourhood, which sprang up into a warm affection, and was followed by a hasty marriage. This, like many others, was a match which began in passion and ended in disgust. Their regard, however, for each other, which in its origin was mutual and sincere, was preserved in its purity and ardour for a number of years. In the sequestered life which Mr. Churchill was now obliged to lead, he made such a progress in literature, and sustained so good a character, that, notwithstanding his want of an university

education, he was thought worthy of being admitted into holy orders at the usual age of obtaining them, and accordingly was ordained by Dr. Sherlock, at that time bishop of London. The first preferment he received in the church was a very trifling one, being only a small curacy of thirty pounds a year in Wales. To this remote part of the kingdom he carried his wife, and, having taken a little house, he applied himself to the duties of his station with assiduity and cheerfulness. His behaviour gained him the love and esteem of his parishioners; and his sermons, though somewhat raised above the level of his audience, were commended and followed. What chiefly disturbed him was the smallness of his income, which would indeed have been too narrow for the support of a family, even where a much greater degree of œconomy was exercised than was suitable to Mr. Churchill's natural disposition. To supply, therefore, the deficiency of his scanty salary, he entered into a branch of trade which he hoped might raise him to competence, and perhaps to riches, but which, in fact, involved him in debts that long kept him in perplexity and trouble. The business in which he engaged was that of keeping a cyder-warehouse, with a view of vending that commodity in the different parts of the neighbouring country. A man of genius and a poet was but ill qualified for such an undertaking. Mr. Churchill could not descend to the patience and frugality which are necessary in the common course of merchandise, where small gains are to be quietly expected and carefully accumulated. A kind of rural bankruptcy was therefore the consequence of the attempt.

“The ill success of Mr. Churchill's

ill's trading scheme brought him back to London, and his father soon after dying, he succeeded him as curate and lecturer in the parish of St. John's. The emoluments of his situation not amounting to a full hundred pounds a year, in order to improve his finances, he undertook to teach young ladies to read and write English with propriety and correctness, and was engaged for this purpose in the boarding-school of Mrs. Dennis, a governess who had the honour of being one of the first introducers of a laudable custom, which hath since been adopted in many of the reputable seminaries of female education. Mr. Churchill conducted himself in his new employment with all the decorum becoming his clerical profession. Still, however, his method of living bore no proportion to his income; so that he contracted a variety of debts which he was totally incapable of paying; and a gaol, the terror of indigent genius, seemed ready to close upon his miseries. From this wretched situation he was relieved by the benevolent interposition of Dr. Lloyd, the second master of Westminster school, and father of Robert Lloyd the poet. The doctor undertook to treat with Churchill's creditors, and succeeded in engaging them to consent to a composition of five shillings in the pound. In an instance which fell under the knowledge of the writer of the present article, as an executor and a guardian, Mr. Churchill, when he had obtained money by his publications, voluntarily came, and paid the full amount of the original debt. It is highly probable, from this unsolicited and unexpected act of equitable retribution, that his conduct was the same in some other cases.

“The time now approached for Mr. Churchill's appearing in the

world as an author. Hitherto nothing had come from him in this character, though he was known among his acquaintance to be a man of a very vigorous imagination, and a strong understanding; and though he was in the habits of intimacy with Thornton, Colman, and Lloyd, who had already begun to make a considerable figure in the republic of letters. With the last of these gentlemen he was connected in the ties of the closest friendship. Mr. Lloyd had printed a poem, entitled the Actor, which met with a very favourable reception from the public, and justly procured him a considerable degree of reputation. By the success of his friend, Mr. Churchill is supposed to have been stimulated (how truly we know not) to exert his poetical talents upon a subject of a similar kind, though more appropriated and personal. The theme he pitched upon was admirably suited to his genius and his taste. He had long been a frequenter of the theatre, and had bestowed incessant attention on stage representation. The scene of his observations was usually the first row of the pit, next to the orchestra. From this place he thought that he could best discern the real workings of the passions in the players, or the artifices which they substituted in the room of genuine nature and feeling. As Mr. Churchill was thus qualified, by judgment and experience, for delineating the excellencies and defects of the actors, so the vigour of his fancy, and the strength of his conceptions, enabled him to do it in the most lively colours. In the month of March, 1761, the “Rosciad” appeared. The first edition stole as it were into the world, being very little advertised, and published without a name. A second edition was soon called

for, in the title-page of which the author asserted his claim to his own performance. Scarcely ever was there an instance of a poet's rising so suddenly from the most perfect obscurity to the greatest celebrity. To this the players themselves contributed more than any other set of men. They ran about the town like so many stricken deer; and while they strove to extract the arrow from the wound by communicating the knowledge of it to their friends, spread abroad more and more the fame of the piece. It was pleasant enough to observe, how artfully some of them, who were, in fact, the most hurt, pretended to be unaffected by the injury done to themselves, but to feel extremely for the obloquy thrown upon others. "Why, exclaimed one of these disinterested persons, should this man attack Mr. Havard? I am not at all concerned for myself; but what has poor Billy Havard done, that he must be treated so cruelly?" "And pray, replied a gentleman who was present at this artificial declaration of benevolence, What has Mr. Havard done too, that he cannot bear his misfortunes as well as another?" Whilst the actors, in different ways, expressed their resentment, the public enjoyed their distress. The *Rosciad* was regarded, in general, as a pleasant and reasonable retaliation for the mirth which the stage had continually excited by the representation of the follies and frailties of mankind. The poem was not wholly employed in satire. Mr. Garrick was commended in the highest terms of applause; and the various and peculiar excellencies of Mrs. Pritchard, Mrs. Cibber, and Mrs. Clive, were celebrated with equal warmth and justice. Excepting Mr. Garrick, there was not a

single man, amongst the players of that period, who, in the first impression, entirely escaped the poet's satirical lash. Those who were the most eager in expressing their anger, had only the misfortune of being treated with greater severity in subsequent editions. In this respect Mr. Churchill has been blamed by some writers; and it has been said, that the *Rosciad* was not always benefited by the alterations which it received. Perhaps there is little foundation for this assertion; but, however that may be, it is certain that its excellence enabled it firmly to maintain its ground against all opposition. Though various pamphlets and poems were published against it, in vindication of the players, they were so poorly written, that they only served to swell Mr. Churchill's triumph.

"The Critical Reviewers happened to be peculiarly unfortunate in the account which they gave of the *Rosciad*. In speaking of the first impression of it, they ascribed it, with some degree of confidence, to Mr. Lloyd; and though they would not pretend absolutely to assert that it was solely written by him, they ventured to affirm, that it was the production, jointly or separately, of the new triumvirate of wits, who never let an opportunity slip of singing their own praises. The triumvirate, here referred to, consisted of Thornton, Colman, and Lloyd. The mistake, however, if it had been delivered in less offensive terms, was pardonable, as the author had not set his name to the performance. When he asserted his claim to the work, the critics acknowledged their error, but did not do it with a very good grace, or, at least, in such a manner as was satisfactory to Mr. Churchill. Besides his not being

well

well pleased with the account which had been given of his poem, he wished to add something farther on the subject of the *Rosciad*, and to justify the attack he had made on the players. Accordingly, in a short time, he published his "Apology, addressed to the Critical Reviewers." Whatever reasons these gentlemen had to be dissatisfied with the poem, the players themselves were not so much offended as they had been with the *Rosciad*. The author had indeed treated the profession of acting with great contempt, and had painted, in the strongest colours, the meanness and distress of itinerant companies, and the unhappy shifts to which they are occasionally reduced. But all this the London actors regarded as a trifling injury, compared with the satire which had been directed against their personal faults. It was likewise no small consolation to them, that their master, the mighty *Roscius* himself, had not wholly been spared: for Mr. Garrick was certainly aimed at in the following lines:

"Let the vain tyrant sit amidst his
guards,
His puny green-room wits, and venal
bards,
Who meanly tremble at the puppet's
frown,
And for a playhouse freedom lose their
own;
In spite of new-made laws, and new-
made kings;
The free-born Muse with lib'ral spirit
sings.
Bow down, ye slaves; before these idols
fall;
Let genius stoop to them who've none
at all;
Ne'er will I flatter, cringe, or bend the
knee
To those who, slaves to all, are slaves
to me."

"The manager felt all the force of these sarcastic strokes, and was

extremely unhappy that he should have provoked so irritable and so powerful a writer. Accordingly, he wrote a long letter to Churchill, which, besides comprehending an apology for himself and the players, was full of encomiums upon his uncommon vein of poetry, and contained a kind of deprecation of his future wrath. A friend, to whom Mr. Garrick shewed the letter, entirely disapproved of it; and informed him that the author of the *Rosciad*, who was a man of a quick discernment and undaunted spirit, would not think the better of him for his humiliations and flatteries.

"Mr. Churchill being now become so greatly celebrated, and having, at the same time, procured a large number of enemies, it was natural that researches should be made into his situation, connexions, and character; and upon enquiry it was found, that he was not remarkable for the regularity of his manners, and that he particularly indulged himself in sitting up very late over a bottle. The reproaches hence cast upon him gave occasion to his next production, entitled, "Night; an Epistle to Robert Lloyd." The object of this poem was to vindicate his conduct, or rather to avow it in the face of the public. The "Night" was followed by the first book of "The Ghost," a work that took its rise from a ridiculous imposture carried on in Cock-lane, near West Smithfield, and to which some men of eminent abilities and character paid too serious an attention. Neither of these performances being so popular as the *Rosciad* and the *Apology*, Mr. Churchill was desirous of producing something which should more strongly excite the curiosity of the nation. In this he succeeded, though we must ever

lament the subject he fixed upon, and the turn of mind with which it is treated. Availing himself of the disputes in politics which were then carried on with peculiar acrimony, and influenced by private friendship, he published his "Prophecy of Famine, a Scots Pastoral." Of this piece Mr. Wilkes is said to have pronounced, before its appearance, that he was sure it would take, as it was at once personal, poetical, and political. His prediction was accomplished; for the poem had a very rapid and extensive sale, and Churchill was extolled by his admirers as superior to Pope. This was undoubtedly carrying his praise to an undue height of exaggeration. It cannot, however, be denied, that the author has displayed great force of abilities in the Prophecy of Famine; though the malignity which he has shewn against Scotland and its inhabitants is totally inexcusable.

"Whilst the literary fame of Mr. Churchill stood thus high with a large part, at least, of the public, his personal conduct was very reprehensible. He laid aside all the external decorums of his profession, divested himself of his clerical habit, and appeared in the dress of a blue coat with metal buttons, a gold laced waistcoat, a gold laced hat, and ruffles. This part of his behaviour was wholly disapproved of by his most intimate friends. They considered it as a very blameable opposition to the decencies of life, and as likely to be hurtful to his interest; since the abilities he was possessed of, and the figure he made in political contests, would perhaps have recommended him to some noble patron, from whom he might have received a valuable benefice. I remember well that he dressed his younger son in a Scotch plaid, like a little Highlander, and carried him

every where in that garb. The boy being asked by a gentleman with whom I was in company, why he was clothed in such a manner, answered with great vivacity, "Sir, my father hates the Scotch, and does it to plague them." In other respects Mr. Churchill's conduct was more than indiscreet. He plunged into various irregularities, and lived no longer with his wife; though whether his quitting her was at this particular juncture we are not able to determine. "Some people, observes a certain writer, have been unkind enough to say, that Mrs. Churchill gave the first just cause of separation. But nothing can be more false than this rumour; and we can assure the public, that her conduct in private life, and among her acquaintance, was ever irreproachable." We have our doubts concerning the truth of what is here asserted, notwithstanding the positivity with which it is delivered. It was always understood in Westminster, that Mrs. Churchill's imprudence kept too near a pace with that of her husband. However, we do not hence mean in the least to justify his disorderly and licentious manner of living.

"Mr. Churchill being now embarked as a political satirist, from which character he derived great fame and profit, next drew his pen against a man whose genius he admired, and with whom he and Mr. Wilkes had long been in the habits of friendship, the celebrated Hogarth. It must be acknowledged that Hogarth himself afforded the original cause of offence. In a print, called the Times, he had attacked lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, and soon after published a caricature of Mr. Wilkes. This, which was too much for Churchill to bear, gave

gave rise to the Epistle to William Hogarth, wherein that eminent painter, whilst justice is done to his extraordinary talents, is treated with all the severity of satire. When Hogarth had formed the design of holding out Lord Temple, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Churchill, and Mr. Wilkes, to the public, as objects of ridicule, in a series of prints, the last gentleman, by two of their common acquaintance, remonstrated with him against such a proceeding, as what would not only be unfriendly in the highest degree, but extremely injudicious. It was urged to him, that such a pencil ought to be universal and moral, to speak to all ages, and to all nations, not to be dipped in the dirt of the faction of a day, of an insignificant part of the country, when it might command the admiration of the whole. It would have been well for Mr. Hogarth, if he had listened to this salutary advice, as by so doing he would have saved himself from the most extreme mortification. Churchill's satire struck him to the heart, and is thought to have contributed to the acceleration of his decease. Mr. Hogarth's revenge against the poet, terminated in vamping up an old print of a pug-dog and a bear, which he published under the title of *The Bruiser*, C. Churchill, (once the reverend!) in the character of a Russian Hercules, &c. So feeble a blow at his antagonist was but a poor compensation for the deep wound he had received. It must ever be lamented that men of genius, who had been intimate friends, and might have continued such as long as they lived, should have their union dissolved, and discord sown among them, by the demon of politics and party.

“The poems we have hitherto spoken of employed Mr. Churchill

in 1761, 1762, and part of 1763. During the same time he continued to publish, at different intervals, *The Ghost*, the fourth and concluding book of which appeared in the last of the years now mentioned. The most celebrated passage in this work was the character of Pomposo, intended for Dr. Johnson, and which was much extolled by that gentleman's enemies. The doctor had offended Churchill, by declaring that his poetry had but little merit. The only reply which Dr. Johnson made to our author's satire was, that he thought him a shallow fellow in the beginning, and that he could say nothing worse of him still. Highly as we reverence this eminent writer's character and abilities, we must express ourselves to be of a different opinion. However inferior Churchill might be, in many respects, to Dr. Johnson, he certainly did not deserve the appellation of a shallow fellow. He was undoubtedly possessed of a sound and vigorous understanding, though it might not always be prudently and happily applied. The contemptuous terms in which men of real genius are apt to speak of each other, we have too often had occasion to observe and lament. With regard to the poem of *The Ghost*, it may, in general, be remarked, that, besides its being composed in verses of eight syllables, it is written in a very desultory and digressive manner. It is difficult to determine what plan and design the author had in view, and, perhaps, he could scarcely have explained the matter himself. The work, therefore, doth not, upon the whole excite much of our approbation, though there are in it some shining and beautiful passages. Even Lloyd, the great panegyrist of Churchill, hints at the slovenly nature

ture of the composition, in the following lines, which are, indeed, put into the mouth of the Cobler of Cripplegate.

- “ The priest, I grant, has something
 “ clever,
 “ A something that will last for ever.
 “ Let him, in part, be made your pat-
 “ tern,
 “ Whose muse, now queen, and now a
 “ flatterer,
 “ Trick’d out in Rosciad rules the roast,
 “ Turns trapes and trollop in the Ghost,
 “ By turns both tickles us, and warms,
 “ And, drunk or sober, has her charms.”

“ Nearly at the time when the last book of the Ghost appeared, Mr. Churchill published *The Conference*, in which he returned to his usual measure of verse, the heroic, being the measure wherein he most excelled; though he had lately begun to introduce into it too many prosaic lines. The plan of the poem is similar to that of one of Pope’s satires. A dialogue is supposed to be carried on between the author and a noble lord, who is represented as giving him much good worldly advice, to which he answers with great spirit, and in his replies indulges his satiric vein with no small degree of freedom. One of the most striking passages in the *Conference* is that in which he expresses the deepest contrition for a recent action of his life, that was, indeed, highly to his dishonour. He had seduced and carried off the daughter of a tradesman in Westminster. In a little more than a fortnight his passion subsided, and the young woman became very sorry for her crime. Accordingly, a wise and judicious friend wrote for her a letter to her father, expressive of her penitence, and of her desire to return home. Her father, with equal tenderness and prudence, received her into his house; and she

might have been fully restored to a virtuous conduct, had it not been for the severity of an elder sister, who was continually loading her with reproaches. Wearied with this usage, she applied to Churchill, offering to return to him again; which he thought himself bound to admit, by the ideas he entertained of gratitude and honour. The true point of virtue would have been to have provided, as amply as he could, for the young woman’s support, and to have had no criminal connexion with her in future.

“ Our author’s next poem, if we mistake not, was *The Duellist*, in three books, written in verses of eight syllables. The occasion of the work is well known, being Mr. Martin’s challenge to Mr. Wilkes; and it is not surprizing that Churchill’s muse should be awakened in the cause of his friend. *The Duellist* has many poetical beauties. It is more concise than the Ghost, more correct, more directly to the purpose; though one principal object of it was to satirize other persons besides Mr. Martin.

“ Mr. Churchill’s last publication in 1763, seems to have been *The Author*, and it is one of the most pleasing of his productions. The former part of it is not remarkably satirical; but, towards the conclusion, the poet is extremely severe against certain writers of the time, especially some political writers. The character of Kidgell, the Informer, is drawn in a masterly manner. The opinion of the Monthly Reviewers, concerning this poem, was, that it was the most agreeable and the most unexceptionable of all Mr. Churchill’s performances, whether they considered the tendency of the subject or the execution. “ The
 “ interests,” say they, “ of genius
 “ and learning are cordially espoused
 “ and

“and powerfully supported, while
 “the contempt of professed igno-
 “rance, and the shallowness of
 “pretenders to science, are justly
 “exposed, and lashed by the blame-
 “less rod of general satire.” Even
 with regard to the satirical strokes
 of a private nature, the critics add,
 that if the censure be just, they
 scarcely know how to blame it.
 The Critical Reviewers, though
 they had been involved in a contest
 with our bard, gave a like testimony
 on this occasion. “It is but jus-
 “tice,” they observe, “to Mr.
 “Churchill, to acknowledge, that
 “his reputation as a poet seems to
 “rise and increase with every per-
 “formance. The Conference was
 “much superior to the Ghost, and
 “the Author is, in our opinion, a
 “better poem than the Conference.
 “The sentiments throughout are,
 “for the most part, noble and
 “manly, the satire finely pointed,
 “the expression strong and nerv-
 “ous.”

“Churchill’s poetical career for
 1764, began with the first book of
 his *Gotham*, which was considered
 by the generality of readers as so
 strange and irregular a production
 that they could not tell what judg-
 ment to form of the writer’s inten-
 tion. As he proceeded in the work,
 he appeared to greater advantage;
 and it became manifest from the se-
 cond and third books, that it was
 his chief design, under the idea of
 his being proclaimed King of Go-
 tham, to represent the real duty of
 a monarch; in which view much
 good instruction is conveyed. This
 performance is less satirical than
 most of our author’s pieces. Upon
 the whole, *Gotham* is not one of
 the pleasantest of his poems, though
 it contains a number of beautiful
 passages.

“Churchill’s next production was
The Candidate, which took its title
 from the contest that had been car-
 ried on between the Earl of Hard-
 wicke and the Earl of Sandwich for
 the high-stewardship of the univer-
 sity of Cambridge. The begin-
 ning of the poem is very spirited;
 and the words, “Come, Panegy-
 “ric,” introduce one of the se-
 verest satires which the pen of man
 ever wrote against a nobleman who
 has, indeed, often been the subject
 of satire; perhaps so much as to
 be indifferent and careless about the
 attacks that are made on his charac-
 ter. *The Candidate* was succeeded
 by *The Farewell*, wherein the poet
 is represented as having formed a
 design to quit his native land, from
 which his friend endeavours to dis-
 suade him. Though there is much
 good sense in this performance, and
 several excellent observations on
 philosophy, and the love of our
 country, it cannot be considered as
 one of our author’s chief works.
 It is deficient in poetical fire, and
 many of the lines are feeble and
 prosaic. Partly from a confidence
 in the good opinion of his admirers,
 and partly from the necessity of ob-
 taining frequent pecuniary supplies,
 Mr. Churchill now became too neg-
 ligent and rapid in his publications.
 In his succeeding production, enti-
 tled, *The Times*, he displays his
 usual vigour and spirit. The cha-
 racters of Faber and Apicius, who-
 ever were intended by them, are
 drawn with equal strength and se-
 verity. The satire of the poem is
 principally directed against an un-
 natural vice, which is exposed with
 an energy and indignation that can-
 not possibly be exceeded. The
 matter is, indeed, carried to the
 very height of extravagance; but
 this extravagance shews, at the same
 time,

time, the wonderful powers of the author's mind, and his just and boundless detestation of the crime against which his poetry is levelled.

“Churchill's next publication was *Independence*, a poem which does not, in every part of it, display the vigour of imagination that is apparent in some of his performances; and it is, also, chargeable with the fault we have more than once had occasion to touch upon, the fault of careless versification. It contains, however, several shining passages; and a strong vein of good sense runs through the whole. Much is said in it of poets and patrons; perhaps as much as the subject will well bear. The author hath admirably represented the striking contrast between an effeminate lord and himself; and hath drawn his own picture with great humour. *Independence* was followed by *The Journey*, a short poem, which reflects no disgrace on our author's abilities. The advice of his friends and his answer to it are well conducted. Towards the conclusion, he indulges himself in satirizing several contemporary poets. Mr. Churchill's last poetical production was the dedication of his sermons to bishop Warburton, which is written with his usual severity against that eminent prelate. Some parts of it are very spirited, and especially those passages which begin with, “Health to great Gloster.” If the same vigour is not maintained through the whole, it may be observed that, as the poem was left unfinished, in consequence of the author's decease, we cannot tell to what height the grave irony of the satire might have been carried. With respect to the sermons, which are ten in number, two upon the nature of prayer in general, and eight upon our Lord's prayer,

there certainly could be no other reason for publishing them than to obtain the benefit of a large subscription. The present biographer, that he might be able to form an exact judgment, hath, with exemplary patience, read them all; and he is obliged to pronounce concerning them, that they are written with an uniform mediocrity; and if he were to add dulness, he would not be far from the truth. There is no animation in the discourses; nor could a single passage be selected from them, which displays the fire of genius, or the force of imagination. The sentiments are practical, and not usually to be found fault with; but there is not a thought that is new, or which indicates any peculiar strength of conception. The style is perspicuous, without the least pretensions to elegance. There is a dull formality in it, and we often meet with the words thereto, therefrom, herefrom, whereof, hereunto, and others of a like kind. The sermons have all the air as if they had been composed by some plain clergyman in the beginning of the century. On the whole, we have no idea that Mr. Churchill could have been the author of them; for surely whatever came from his pen must have manifested some traces of the natural vigour and acuteness of his mind. He probably found them in his father's closet.

“In the latter end of the year 1764, our poet went to France, to pay a visit to his friend Mr. Wilkes, who was then in that kingdom. Mr. Humphrey Cotes was of the party. They met at Boulogne, where Mr. Churchill was seized with a miliary fever, which baffled the medical aid of two physicians of skill and reputation by whom he was attended. Mr. Cotes, who was a great advocate

advocate for Dr. James's powder, insisted upon applying it; to which the physicians consented, but said, that the battle was lost. They observed, at the same time, that if the powder produced any favourable effect, it would operate as a cathartic, or by perspiration; but that if it acted as an emetic, (which was in fact the case) the patient would be immediately carried off. The event corresponded with their prediction, and Mr. Churchill departed this life on the fourth of November, at Boulogne, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. When the violence of the disorder threatened his dissolution, the physicians, according to the law of France, were obliged to acquaint the church with his danger, that the priests might attend to perform their spiritual functions, and especially, as being a protestant, to use their endeavours for his conversion. Accordingly, they again and again demanded admission for this purpose; but Mr. Wilkes, with that politeness, address, and good sense which he is so well known to possess, parried their attempts, and prevented them from troubling his dying friend. Mr. Davies, in his *Life of Garrick*, upon what he thinks good authority, hath related, that Churchill's last words were, "What a fool have I been!" Though he might, on several accounts, have had too much cause to make such a reflection, it is not true that it was made by him. This we have been assured of by Mr. Wilkes, whose testimony upon the subject must be decisive; and the same gentleman hath informed the world, that the goodness of Churchill's heart and the firmness of his philosophy were in full lustre during the whole time of his very severe illness; and that the amazing faculties of his mind were not in the

least impaired till within a few moments before his death. The decease of a man of so much celebrity, and of such popularity with a large part of the nation, could not be received with indifference; especially considering the early period of his life, and the short course of fame which he had run. He was greatly lamented by his acquaintance and admirers; but no one was so deeply affected with his death as Robert Lloyd. The news of the melancholy event being announced to him somewhat abruptly, while he was sitting at dinner, he was seized with a sudden sickness, and saying "I shall follow poor Charles," took to his bed, from which he never rose again. Besides Churchill's great personal friendship for Lloyd, he had been remarkably generous to him during his confinement in the Fleet, having all that time allowed him a regular stipend. Such was, at first, the enthusiasm in favour of Mr. Churchill's memory, that there was a talk of erecting a monument to him in Westminster-Abbey; but the idea soon subsided, and will scarcely ever be revived. The following inscription in the close style of the ancients, and engraven on a sepulchral urn of alabaster, was drawn up by Mr. Wilkes, and intended by him to give the true character of our author, as a friend, a poet, and a patriot.

"CAROLO CHURCHILL,

"Amico jucundo,

"Poetæ acri,

"Civi optimè de patria merito,

"P.

"JOHANNES WILKES, 1765."

"Our opinion of Churchill, as a poet, is sufficiently apparent from what hath already been said. That he had great force of genius cannot justly be denied; and there are scarcely

scarcely any of his performances in which the natural vigour of his mind is not in some instances displayed. It must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that he is very unequal in his compositions. Writing from a spirit of party, being desirous of gratifying the eagerness of his admirers, and having a view to his customary tax of half a crown for each of his publications, he was too rapid in sending them into the world, and too solicitous to fill up the quantity of pages expected from him, to attend to the necessary art of blotting. In his verification there is sometimes such a looseness of contexture, as brings to our memory Oldham and several of the poets of the last century; whilst at other times he amply shews how well he understood all the power of strong and harmonious numbers. If his life had been protracted, if he had been placed in an independent situation, if he could have united application with leisure, he might have been capable of producing some grand work, which would have rescued his name for ever from oblivion. Should it be thought that a few of his friends have extolled him beyond his merit, it must be allowed that by many persons he was unduly depreciated. He hath afforded a remarkable instance of a sudden and short-lived celebrity, and of a more than usual rapidity in the neglect paid to his writings. Perhaps nothing will revive the memory of them, so as to cause them to be again generally read, excepting a new edition with notes, fully explaining the satirical and historical allusions. This was what Mr. Churchill himself, before his decease, wished to be done. In his will is the following passage: "I desire my dear friend, John Wilkes,

esq. to collect and publish my works with the remarks and explanations he has prepared, and any others he thinks proper to make." Whether Mr. Wilkes will ever have leisure or inclination to comply with this request, we are not able to say. Perhaps the time is not yet arrived for taking away the veil from certain objects; and perhaps it may never be desirable to revive party matters, which, though not sunk into oblivion, have happily ceased to inflame the passions of the mind.

"Few of Mr. Churchill's juvenile pieces have made their way to the press. Some of them are to be met with in a periodical work, entitled "The Library," which was published a little more than twenty years ago; and the poetical department of which was conducted, for several months, by our author and his friend Lloyd. Six of Churchill's Letters to Mr. Wilkes are in the collection printed by that gentleman in 1769. Our poet was a most ardent admirer of Dryden, but had contracted an enmity to Pope. The reasons of it, which are fully assigned in the publication just referred to, do not appear to be satisfactory. A sincere regard to Pope is not inconsistent with the most zealous admiration of Dryden. Mr. Churchill left two sons, the youngest of whom was generously educated at the expence of doctor, now sir Richard Jebb, bart.

"Our author has unhappily added another name to the catalogue, already too numerous in literary history, of those men of genius who would have arisen to a much greater excellence in writing, and to a far more illustrious reputation, had their intellectual talents been accompanied with the uniform practice of virtue."

The LIFE of Dr. CLAYTON, Bishop of CLOGHER.

[From the same Work.]

CLayton (Robert), an excellent and learned prelate of the kingdom of Ireland, was born at Dublin, in the year 1695. The family from which he was descended, were the Claytons of Fulwood in Lancashire, whose estate he became possessed of, by right of inheritance. His father, Dr. Clayton, was minister of St. Michael's, Dublin, and dean of Kildare; who, being desirous that his son Robert should receive the best classical education, sent him to Westminster school; where, besides enjoying the instructions of the able masters of that school, he was put under the private tuition of Zachary Pearce, then a king's scholar, and afterwards successively bishop of Bangor and Rochester. From such a connexion, Mr. Clayton could not avoid deriving particular advantage; and the two young gentlemen formed a mutual friendship, which was preserved, by a regular correspondence, to the end of their lives. From Westminster school, Dr. Clayton removed his son to Trinity College, Dublin, of which, in due time, he became a fellow. Not satisfied with having received a merely scholastic education, he was desirous of adding to it the benefits of foreign travel; and accordingly made the tour of Italy and France. From whom Mr. Clayton received holy orders, what preferments he had before he was raised to the episcopacy, and when he took his degrees, we are not informed; only we find, that he was become Doctor of Divinity in 1729. In 1728, he entered into the matrimonial rela-

tion, which he was well able to do in the manner that was entirely agreeable to his own inclinations, by his having come into the possession of an affluent estate, in consequence of his father's decease. Some time before his marriage, with a scrupulosity very unusual, he openly resigned his fellowship, without taking the least measures to obtain in lieu of it any ecclesiastical benefice. The lady he married was Catharine, daughter of lord chief baron Donnellan. Her fortune, which was not considerable, he made a present of to her sister. He behaved with the same generosity to his own three sisters: for, not thinking the provision that had been made for them to be sufficient for supporting the genteel style of life in which they had been educated, he gave to each of them as much more as had been bequeathed to them by their father's will. He has often been heard to relate, with pleasantry, the pains which his father took to engage him to seek after a wife with a plentiful dowry. The old gentleman, in order to obtain his son's compliance, would argue, that a lady's bestowing upon him a large fortune, was the surest testimony she could exhibit of her sincere and unfeigned affection. But our doctor, whose mind was far raised above pecuniary considerations, was resolved to follow the dictates of his own heart. He valued money only for the honourable use which might be made of it; and liberality and munificence constituted a prime part of his character. It was an extraordinary instance of this disposition, which

con-

contributed towards his more speedy advancement to the high rank which he sustained in the church.

“ Soon after Dr. Clayton’s marriage, he went with his lady to England, to pass a winter in London. Whilst he resided in the metropolis, a person in distressed circumstances applied to him for assistance, which he declined at first to contribute, from a suspicion that there was some imposture in the story. But the petitioner appealing to the testimony of Dr. Samuel Clarke for a recommendation of the case, Dr. Clayton desired to have a certificate under that gentleman’s own hand. This, accordingly, was procured and presented to Dr. Clayton ; upon which, instead of the usual donation on such occasions, he gave to the necessitous man no less a sum than three hundred pounds, which was the whole that he wanted to make him easy in the world. An action of so uncommon a nature could not fail of introducing our divine to the acquaintance of Dr. Clarke, which was followed by a mutual esteem and friendship, and by a free discussion of theological subjects. The result of the conversations that passed between them, was Dr. Clayton’s embracing those religious principles to which he adhered during the remainder of his life. This he hath been heard frequently to declare to his friends.

“ Dr. Clarke carried to queen Caroline an account of Dr. Clayton’s remarkable beneficence, and it made a powerful impression on her majesty’s mind in favour of his character ; which impression was strongly enforced by the good offices of lady Sundon. This accomplished lady, the favourite of the queen, and the particular friend of Clarke and Hoadly, had been married to a

Mr. Clayton, no very distant relation of our worthy divine. Indeed it is by her name of Mrs. Clayton, rather than that of lady Sundon, that she has been most known in the world. Such a powerful interest, in connexion with Dr. Clayton’s personal merit, procured for him an immediate recommendation from her majesty, to lord Carteret, then chief governor of Ireland, for the very first bishoprick that should become vacant. An opportunity of this kind soon happened, by the translation of Dr. Robert Howard, bishop of Killala, to the see of Elphin. It appears from Dr. Boulter’s letters, at that time primate of Ireland, that he was well acquainted with the design which was then formed in England for raising Dr. Clayton to the prelacy. Nor does the archbishop appear to have had any objection to this intention ; only he would have preferred Dr. Clayton’s being appointed to the bishoprick of Clonfert. He was, however, advanced to the episcopal seat of Killala, in January, 1729-30. In this situation he continued till November, 1735, when he was translated to the see of Cork, upon the death of Dr. Peter Brown. The bishopric of Derry having become vacant some months before, the primate Boulter was apprehensive lest Dr. Clayton should immediately be removed thither from Killala. This did not arise from any dislike which his grace had to our prelate, but from his being of opinion that so young a man, and so young a bishop, ought not to be promoted with such rapidity to the richest see in the kingdom, as it would create great uneasiness to those who had been longer seated on the episcopal bench. It appears, from two of the good archbishop’s letters, that he was afraid of Mrs. Clayton’s activity on this occasion ; from which

it may be collected, that she was a woman of interest and spirit, and probably of ambition. What the primate proposed was, that Dr. Hort, bishop of Kilmore, should be removed to Derry, and Dr. Clayton to Kilmore. This arrangement, however, did not take place. It was thought necessary for the public service that the excellent Dr. Rundle, who had been unjustly and malignantly persecuted in England, should be promoted to the bishopric of Derry; and the government took the opportunity, which happened not long after, of advancing Dr. Clayton to the see of Cork, from which he was translated to that of Clogher, in 1745.

“Hitherto we have seen little or nothing of our prelate in his literary capacity; and it is remarkable, that he had been many years a bishop before he was at all known in the world as a man of eminent learning. It is certain, that he laid a good foundation of literature in early life, and his progress in it might be greater than was commonly apprehended; but this was a secret, at least to his acquaintance in general. Being distinguished for the politeness of his manners, conversing much with the ladies, and mixing frequently in public society, the character of the scholar was lost in that of the gentleman. It is indeed, probable, that his application to study grew more intense as he advanced in years; and he is mentioned as an instance (we presume not to say that it is an uncommon one) of a man's having been rendered better by his exaltation to a bishopric. So unfavourable an idea was entertained of his erudition, that when he published his first work it was not believed to be his own. But this prejudice, which arose from an ignorance of the valuable

manner in which Dr. Clayton had spent his time, was soon removed; and the whole world became convinced of his solid, various, and extensive learning. Excepting a letter written to the Royal Society, upon a subject of no great consequence, his first publication was an “Introduction to the History of the Jews,” which was afterwards translated into French, and printed at Leyden. Not having seen this performance, we cannot ascertain the year of its appearance. Our prelate's next work was, “The Chronology of the Hebrew Bible vindicated; the Facts compared with other ancient Histories, and the Difficulties explained, from the Flood to the Death of Moses; together with some Conjectures in Relation to Egypt, during that Period of Time; also two Maps, in which are attempted to be settled the Journeyings of the Children of Israel.” This elaborate production was printed in quarto, in 1747, and contains a variety of observations, which deserve the attention of the learned reader. From the time of Usher, the chronology of the Hebrew Bible has been generally adopted by the divines of our own country. Of late, indeed, *that* of the Septuagint has been ably defended by Mr. Jackson; and speculative men will find abundant cause for doubt, with regard to a subject which will always be attended with difficulties that are not capable of being easily and fully explained. In 1749, bishop Clayton published a “Dissertation on Prophecy;” in which he endeavoured to shew, from a joint comparison of the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Revelations of St. John, that the final end of the dispersion of the Jews will be coincident with the ruin of the popedom, and take place about the year 2000. If, in

discussing matters of so disputable a nature, our author should be thought to have failed in precisely establishing the point he had in view, it may be remembered, that, if he has been mistaken, he has only erred with many able men who have gone before him in the same walk of theological literature. The Dissertation on Prophecy was followed by an "Impartial Enquiry into the Time of the Coming of the Messiah," in two letters to an eminent Jew, printed first separately, and then together, in 1751. In these letters, and especially in the second of them, the bishop of Clogher displays himself to great advantage. The arguments are addressed solely to the Jews, to convince them of their error in rejecting the messiahship of Jesus; and the subject is treated of with true learning, candour, and judgment. In the same year (1751) appeared the "Essay on Spirit;" a performance which excited a very general attention, which has not yet lost its celebrity, and which was productive of a large and fruitful controversy. The whole title of the book is, "An Essay on Spirit, wherein the Doctrine of the Trinity is considered in the Light of Reason and Nature, as well as in the Light in which it was held by the ancient Hebrews, compared also with the Doctrine of the Old and New Testament; with an Enquiry into the Sentiments of the primitive Fathers of the Church, and the Doctrine of the Trinity, as maintained by the Egyptians, Pythagoreans, and Platonists; together with some Remarks on the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds," 8vo. It is plain, from this long title page, that the work abounds with various discussion; and, indeed, the author hath given free scope to his speculations. Beginning with a series of

metaphysical observations, he rises, by degrees, to his principal object, which is to assert the inferiority of the Son, and of the Spirit, to the Father; and this point he hath sustained with singular ingenuity, and with no small degree of ability. We think, at the same time, that he hath indulged too freely to imagination and conjecture; and that he might have confined the question, with greater advantage, to the direct and simple standard of scripture. In the dedication of the work to Dr. George Stone, then lord primate of Ireland, the matter of subscription is considered; and it is contended, that the articles of religion are only required to be subscribed as articles of peace. What the writer has advanced upon this head hath had some proper strictures made upon it by the acute and learned author of the Confessional. But though our essayist was for admitting subscription with a certain latitude, he thought that the doctrines imposed ought to be as plain, few, and fundamental as possible; and he ardently wished for some degree of reformation in the church, and especially for the abolition of the Athanasian Creed.

"It is a remarkable fact, and hitherto not known in the world, that the Essay on Spirit was not actually written by the bishop of Clogher. The real author of it was a young clergyman in our prelate's diocese, who shewed the manuscript to his lordship, and, for reasons which may easily be conceived, expressed his fear of venturing to print it in his own name. The bishop, with that romantic generosity which marked his character, readily took the matter upon himself; and determined to sustain all the obloquy that might arise from the publication. He did not,

indeed, absolutely avow the work, nor could he do it with truth : but by letting it pass from his hands to the press, and covering it with the dedication, which was of his own writing, he managed the affair in such a manner, that the treatise was universally ascribed to him ; and it was openly considered as his, in all the attacks to which it was exposed. Few persons, excepting Dr. Barnard, the present dean of Derry, knew the fact to be otherwise ; and he hath authorized Dr. Thomas Campbell to assure the public, that the bishop of Clogher was only the adopted father of the “ Essay on Spirit.” One effect of our prelate’s conduct in this matter was, his being prevented from rising to a higher seat in the church. In 1752, upon the death of Dr. Hort, he was recommended by the duke of Dorset, then viceroy of Ireland, to the vacant archbishopric of Tuam. But a negative was put upon him in England, solely on account of his being regarded as the writer of the Essay.

“ The next appearance of Dr. Clayton from the press, was in a work undoubtedly his own ; and that was his “ Vindication of the Histories of the Old and New Testament ; in answer to the Objections of the late Lord Bolingbroke ; in two Letters to a young Nobleman,” 8vo. 1752. This was only the first part of his design, and it is executed with great ability. The mistakes, in particular, to which lord Bolingbroke’s objections to several parts of scripture were owing, are well exposed and confuted. In 1753, the bishop of Clogher published “ A Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, and back again. Translated from a Manuscript, written by the Prefetto of Egypt, in Company with the Missionaries *de propaganda Fide* at Grand

Cairo. To which are added, some Remarks on the Origin of Hieroglyphics and the Mythology of the ancient Heathens.” Dedicated to the Society of Antiquaries, London, 4to. An edition was likewise printed in 8vo. The bishop, having become possessed of the original Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai, and which had been mentioned by Dr. Pococke in his Travels through the East, communicated this translation of it to the Society of Antiquaries, with a view of exciting them to make some enquiry into certain ancient characters, which, as appears from the Journal, are discovered in great numbers in the wilderness of Sinai, at a place well known by the name of Gebel el Mokatah, or the *written* Mountains. By carefully copying a good quantity of these letters, his lordship apprehended that the ancient Hebrew character, which is now lost, might be recovered ; and he was of opinion, that if a person were sent on purpose to live for some time at Tor, on the coast of the Red Sea, he might make such an acquaintance with the Arabs living near the Written Mountains, by the civility of his behaviour, and frequently making them small presents, that it would be no great difficulty, in six months, or thereabouts, to attain the desired end. As this would require a good capacity in the person employed, and be attended, likewise, with considerable expence, Dr. Clayton thought proper to apply to the Society abovementioned, to look out for some man of such education and character as well qualified him for the undertaking. The bishop, at the same time, offered to bear any proportion of the expence the society should think fit, in order to have the design thoroughly effected.

The sum which he proposed to give, agreeably to the customary generosity of his temper, was a hundred pounds a year, for five years. Besides procuring a copy of the unknown characters to be found on the mountains of Mokatah, our prelate had another object in view, which was, to have a particular description of the second stone struck by Moses, as mentioned in the twentieth chapter of Numbers. Of this stone, which has lain unnoticed by any traveller of consequence for so many thousand years, mention is made in the Journal from Cairo; and it was looked upon by his lordship as an attestation of the truth of the Mosaical History written by the finger of God. For this reason, independently of all curiosity, the bishop thought it would be worth while to employ some person to go thither, who should be very exact in his description of it. It doth not appear, that any measures were taken by the Society of Antiquaries, in consequence of these propositions. However, what Dr. Clayton had published excited the attention of succeeding travellers. The celebrated Mr. Edward Wortley Montagu, in particular, made a journey from Cairo to the Desert of Sinai, with the express purpose of seeing and describing the objects proposed by the bishop. With regard to the Written Mountains, the result of his enquiry was not agreeable to the expectations which our good prelate had formed upon the subject. On examining the characters, Mr. Montagu was greatly disappointed, in finding them every where interspersed with figures of men and beasts, which convinced him that they were not written by the Israelites. It will be difficult, he says, to guess what the inscrip-

tions were; and he expresses his fear, that if it ever should be discovered what they contain, nothing important would be the effect of the discovery. If our recollection doth not fail us, the researches of more recent travellers have been equally unsuccessful.

“ In 1754, the bishop of Clogher favoured the literary world with the second part of his “ Vindication of the Histories of the Old and New Testament. Wherein the Mosaical History of the Creation and Deluge is philosophically explained; the Errors of the present Theory of the Tides detected and rectified: together with some Remarks on the Plurality of Worlds. In a Series of Letters to a young Nobleman. Adorned with several explanatory Cuts,” 8vo. This tract abounds with curious disquisitions, and with learned criticism; in the whole of which the author hath displayed singular ingenuity: but that his judgment is equal to his ingenuity, we dare not take upon ourselves absolutely to assert. Dr. Clayton’s account of the formation of the earth and of the deluge, was attacked by Mr. Alexander Catcott, a gentleman of the Hutchinsonian principles, but of greater learning and candour than usually have appeared in the advocates for Mr. Hutchinson’s method of explaining the scriptures of the Old Testament. Our prelate’s next publication was in 1755, and consisted only of some letters which had passed between his lordship, when bishop of Cork, and Mr. William Penn, on the subject of baptism. The point in debate was, What is the baptism of Christ, and wherein does it consist? Mr. Penn urged the arguments of Mr. Barclay, to shew that the baptism of the Spirit is the same with the true Christian baptism com-

manded

manded by our Saviour, Matthew xxviii. 19. Our author contended, on the other hand, that the true Christian baptism is to continue to the end of the world; whereas the baptism of the Holy Ghost has not continued, but ceased with the ceasing of miracles.

“ We come now to an event of great consequence in the bishop of Clogher’s life. He had long been dissatisfied with the Athanasian Creed, nor did he approve of the Nicene Creed in every particular; on which accounts he was not a little disturbed, that they continued to be a part of the liturgy of the church. These sentiments he had declared in his writings; but this, upon mature deliberation, did not appear to him to be a sufficient discharge of his Christian duty. He determined, therefore, to avow the same sentiments in his legislative capacity; and accordingly, on Monday, the 2d of February, 1756, he proposed, in the Irish house of lords, that the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds should, for the future, be left out of the Liturgy of the Church of Ireland. The speech which our prelate delivered upon this interesting occasion, being taken down in short-hand, was afterwards published, and hath gone through several editions. When the bishop returned from the house of peers, he expressed to a gentleman, who accompanied him in his coach, his entire satisfaction with what he had done. He said, that his mind was eased of a load which had long lain upon it; and that he now enjoyed a heart-felt pleasure, to which he had been a stranger for above twenty years before.

“ Whatever happiness the bishop of Clogher might derive from thus complying with the dictates of his own conscience, he had not the ad-

ditional felicity of obtaining the approbation of his auditors. His speech gave great and general offence, and was particularly disgusting to the ecclesiastical lords. The primate said, that *it made his ears tingle*. But, though so declared and avowed an attack upon the establishment was regarded in a very atrocious light, no measures were taken for calling Dr. Clayton to an account for it, till he had published the third part of his “ Vindication of the Histories of the Old and New Testament.” In this part, which did not appear till the year 1757, he pursued his speculations with as much freedom and ardour as ever. The nature of angels, and the scriptural account of the fall and redemption of mankind, were the objects of his particular examination; besides which, he renewed his attacks upon the Trinity, and contended earnestly for the utmost freedom of enquiry in matters of religion. In short, he gave up so many doctrines as indefensible, and advanced others so contradictory to the Thirty-nine Articles, that the governors of the church of Ireland determined to proceed against him; and in consequence of this determination, his late majesty king George the Second, was advised to order the lord lieutenant of the kingdom, then the duke of Bedford, to take the proper steps toward a legal prosecution of the bishop of Clogher. A day was accordingly fixed for a general meeting of the Irish prelates at the house of the primate, to which Dr. Clayton was summoned, that he might receive from them the notification of their intentions. A censure was certain; a deprivation was apprehended. But, before the time appointed arrived, he was seized with a nervous fever, which brought him to his dis-

dissolution, on the 26th of February, 1758. It is on all hands agreed, that the agitation of mind, into which the bishop was thrown by the prosecution commenced against him, was the immediate cause of his death. We have been informed, that nothing affected him so much as the consideration that he should, on this occasion, be forsaken by his royal master. It does, indeed, reflect disgrace on the memory of king George the Second, that he should thus have been prevailed upon to give countenance to any measures of persecution. Had queen Caroline been living, she would undoubtedly have protected the prelate of her own creation; and who, supposing him to have been mistaken in some of his opinions, was, nevertheless, distinguished above several of his brethren on the episcopal bench, both by his abilities and his virtues. He was far superior, in these respects, to the primate, Dr. George Stone; who, whatever political talents he might possess, will not be transmitted to posterity, with any extraordinary lustre, in the history of religion and learning.

“ The person of bishop Clayton was not above the middle size; but his aspect was commanding, and his countenance extremely pleasing. His hair was dark, his eyes of the same colour, and though large they were piercing. His complexion was clear, and all his features in symmetry. The lineaments of his mind were not less fairly drawn. In private life he was much esteemed, his manners being polite and cheerful, his accomplishments high and finished, his address open and engaging. He happily united the dignity of the great ecclesiastic with the ease of the fine gentleman. His elocution was distinct and ready,

his preaching frequent, and, as it ought to be, plain and practical. The objects of his charity were uncommonly numerous, the sums bestowed by him large; and in the true spirit of christianity, they were given with such privacy, that his beneficiaries seldom saw the hand by which they were relieved. A peculiar elegance diffused itself through every department of his domestic œconomy. His table was such as became his rank; but, in the enjoyments of it, the bishop himself was singularly temperate. His favourite amusement was angling, in which he was a great proficient. Though he lived much in society, he found sufficient time for study, by always rising at five o'clock in the morning, both in summer and winter. By the union of temperance and exercise, he preserved an uncommon share of health till the 64th year of his age; and from the goodness of his constitution, a far longer duration of life might have been hoped for, had not the preternatural agitation of spirits above mentioned, thrown him into the acute disorder of which he died.

“ On Dr. Clayton's literary abilities and character, after what has been already said, it is not necessary to enlarge. It is apparent, from his writings, that he was a man of a great capacity, of a vigorous imagination, and of extensive learning. The accuracy of his judgment does not seem to have been equal to his other qualities. From the liveliness of his fancy, he was sometimes carried, perhaps too boldly, into the regions of conjecture: but these occasional faults were amply compensated for, by the liberal views of things, the general good sense, and the variety of useful information with which his works abound.

The very learned Mr. Markland, in one of his letters to Mr. Bowyer, says, "I thank you for the bishop of Clogher, who I think was a great man."

"Our prelate left behind him several works in manuscript, which are now in the possession of his executor, Dr. Barnard, dean of Derry. This gentleman is of opinion, that they would do no dishonour to the bishop; but personal regard to the deceased, and a tenderness to his memory, which the dean thinks has already suffered sufficiently for what was published in his life-time, have hitherto induced him to suppress them, lest they should again revive a subject, which were better buried in oblivion. Such is Dr. Barnard's view of the matter; while other persons may perhaps be disposed to entertain a different sentiment. It is impossible to prevent the Trinitarian controversy from being perpetually renewed; but it is probable that, in the present state of it,

the publication of Dr. Clayton's manuscripts would not excite an extraordinary attention, or be attended with any very material advantage.

"We forgot to mention, in the proper place, that the bishop of Clogher was a member of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries. He maintained a regular correspondence with several gentlemen of eminent literature in this country, and, among the rest, with the learned printer, Mr. Bowyer, to whom he made a present of the copy-right of all his works published in England. His Lancashire estate he bequeathed to his nearest male heir, Richard Clayton, esq. chief justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland; but the greatest share of his fortune is inherited by Dr. Barnard, who married his niece, and of whom we need not say, that he is a gentleman whose respectable character is well known in the world.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH of Dr. SAMUEL JOHNSON. By THOMAS TYERS, Esq.

This Sketch has been sent us, with Enlargements, for Preservation in our New Annual Register, with the following Motto from Prior:

"Much may be right, yet much be wanting."

"**W**HEN Charles the Second was informed of the death of Cowley, he pronounced, "that he had not left a better man behind him in England." It may be affirmed with truth, that this was the case when Dr. Johnson breathed his last. Those who observed his declining state of health during the last winter, and heard his complaints of painful days and sleepless nights, for which he took

large quantities of opium, had no reason to expect that he could survive another season of frost and snow. His constitution was totally broken, and no art of the physician or surgeon could protract his existence beyond the 13th of December. At the request of Mr. Cruikshank, the executors permitted his body to be opened, on the suggestion that his internals might be uncommonly affected, which

which was the case on inspection. The dead may sometimes give instruction to the living. The Cyrus of Xenophon ordered his breathless body to fertilize the earth that had given it nourishment. Johnson's inside had not the soundness of that of old Parr (as related by Harvey), not far from whom he is now deposited. One of his kidneys was found to be decayed. He never complained of disorder in that region (which was mortal to his friend Mr. Garrick); and probably it was not the immediate cause of his dissolution. Perhaps "of no disease he died," like the character from the Tragedian; for who can tell wherein vitality consists? Johnson could hear, perhaps, with ambitious satisfaction, that he was to be buried in Westminster Abbey; for the love of fame is the last infirmity of noble minds, and, to continue quotation in the words of Dr. Young,

"Nor ends with life, but nods on
fable plumes,

"Adorns our hearse, and flatters on
our tombs."

Possibly the thought or talk of the incisions of anatomy would have disturbed his imagination. But, in this case, what was not prohibited was permitted. For it may be easily asked, in the words of the soldier to the Ephesian Matron, in Petronius,

"Id cinerem aut manes credis curare
sepultos?"

It might be thought that so strong and muscular a body might have lasted many years longer; for Johnson drank nothing but water, and lemonade (by way of indulgence) for many years, almost uninterruptedly, without the taste of any fermented liquor; and he was often abstinent from animal food, and

kept down feverish symptoms by dietetic management. Of Addison and Pope he used to observe, perhaps to remind himself, that they ate and drank too much, and thus shortened their days. It was thought by many who dined at the same table, that he had too great an appetite. This might now and then be the case, but not till he had subdued his enemy by famine. But his bulk seemed to require now and then to be repaired by kitchen physic. To great old age not one in a thousand arrives. How few were the years of Johnson in comparison of those of Jenkins and Parr? But perhaps Johnson had more of life by his intenseness of living. Jenkins, as it is expressed on his memorial in Bolton church (in which parish he lived, and died, at the antediluvian age of one hundred and sixty-nine) was happy, if not in the variety, yet in the duration of his enjoyments, which were probably of fishing and of drinking. His diet was coarse and sober, says Cheyne. Johnson's time is to be dated from the number of his ideas. He was old in mind, though not comparatively in years. Most people die of disease. He was all his life preparing himself for death; but particularly in the last stage of his asthma and dropsy. "Take care of your soul—don't live such a life as I have done—don't let your business or dissipation make you neglect your sabbath"—were now his constant inculcations. Private and public prayer, when his visitors were his audience, were his constant exercises. He cannot be said to be weary of the weight of existence, for he declared, that to prolong it only for one year, but not for the comfortless sensations he had lately felt, he would suffer the amputation of a limb. He was willing

willing to endure positive pain for possible pleasure. But he had no expectation that nature could last much longer; and therefore, for his last week, he undoubtedly abandoned every hope of his recovery or duration, and committed his soul to God. Whether he felt the instant stroke of death, and met the king of terrors face to face, cannot be known, for "death and the fun cannot be looked upon," says Rochefaucault. But the writer of this has reason to imagine that when he thought he had made his peace with his Maker, he had nothing to fear. He has talked of submitting to a violent death, in a good cause, without apprehensions. On one of the last visits from his surgeon, who, on performing the puncture on his legs, had assured him that he was better, he declared, "he felt himself not so, and that he did not desire to be treated like a woman or a child, for that he had made up his mind." He had travelled through the vale of this world for more than seventy-five years. It probably was a wilderness to him for more than half his time. But he was in possession of rest and comfort and plenty, for the last twenty years. Yet the blessings of fortune and reputation could not compensate to him the want of health, which pursued him through his pilgrimage on earth. *Post equitem sedet atra cura.*

"For when we mount the flying steed,
"Sits gloomy Care behind."

Of the hundred sublunary things bestowed on mortals, health is ninety-nine. He was born with a scrupulous habit, for which he was touched, as he acknowledged, by good queen Anne, whose piece of gold he carefully preserved. But even a Stuart could not expel

that enemy to his frame, by a touch. For it would have been even beyond the stroaking power of Great-rux in all his glory, to charm it away. Though he seemed to be as athletic as Milo himself, and in his younger days performed several feats of activity, he was to the last a convulsionary. He has often slept aside, to let nature do what she would with him. His gestures, which were a degree of St. Vitus's dance, in the street, attracted the notice of many; the stare of the vulgar, but the compassion of the better sort. This writer has often looked another way, as the companions of Peter the Great were used to do, while he was under the short paroxysm. He was perpetually taking aperient medicines. He could only keep his ailments from gaining ground. He thought he was worse for the agitation of active exercise. He was afraid of his disorder's seizing his head, and took all possible care that his understanding should not be deranged. *Orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.* When his knowledge from books, and he knew all that books could tell him, is considered; when his compositions in verse and prose are enumerated to the reader, (and a complete list of them, wherever dispersed, is desirable) it must appear extraordinary he could abstract himself so much from his feelings, and that he could pursue with ardour the plan he laid down of establishing a great reputation. Accumulating learning (and the example of Barretier, whose life he wrote) shewed him how to arrive at all science. His imagination often appeared to be too mighty for the controul of his reason. In the preface to his Dictionary, he says, that his work was composed "amidst inconvenience and distraction,
in

in sickness and in sorrow." "I never read this preface," says Mr. Horne, "but it makes me shed tears."

"If this memoir-writer possessed the pen of a Plutarch, and the subject is worthy of that great biographer, he would begin his account from his youth, and continue it to the last period of his life, in the due order of an historian. What he knows and can recollect, he will perform. His father (called "gentleman" in the parish register) he says himself, and it is also within memory, was an old bookseller at Litchfield, and a whig in principle. The father of Socrates was not of higher extraction, nor of a more honourable profession. Our author was born in that city; and the house of his birth was a few months visited by a learned acquaintance, the information of which was grateful to the doctor. It may probably be engraved for some monthly repository. The print and the original dwelling may become as eminent as the mansion of Shakspeare at Stratford, or of Erasmus at Rotterdam. He composed a poetical stanza, at five years old, on his treading on a duck. If it is to be given to the public, it ought to be with authentication. He was Hercules in his cradle. Could Lopez del Vega, or Cowley, or Milton, or even Pope, have asserted more truly, "they lisped in numbers?" It is said of some men, they hardly had a childhood, but arrived to early ripeness, just as the Russian winter turns into summer without passing through the spring. He certainly must have had a good school education. He was entered of Pembroke college, Oxford, Oct. 31, 1728, and continued there for several terms. By whose bounty he was supported, may be known to enquiry. While he was there, he

was negligent of the college rules and hours, and absented himself from some of the lectures, for which when he was reprimanded and interrogated, he replied with great rudeness and contempt of the lecturer. Indeed he displayed an overbearing disposition that would not brook controul, and shewed that, like Cæsar, he was fitter to command than to obey. This dictatorial spirit was the leading feature in his deportment to his contemporaries. His college themes and declamations are still remembered; and his elegant translation of Pope's *Messiah* into Latin verse found its way into a volume of poems published by one Husbands. In 1735, after having been some time an usher to Anthony Blackwall, his friends assisted him to set up an academy near Litchfield. Here he formed an acquaintance with the late bishop Green, then an usher at Litchfield, and with Mr. Hawkins Browne. As the school probably did not answer his expectation, (for who does not grow tired of teaching others, especially if he wants to teach himself?), he resolved to come up to London, where every thing is to be had for wit and for money (*Romæ omnia venalia*), and to seek his fortune. He was accompanied by his pupil Mr. Garrick, and travelled on horseback to the metropolis in March, 1737.

"The time and business of this journey are before the public in some letters from Mr. Walmfley, who recommends Johnson as a writer of tragedy, as a translator from the French language, and as a good scholar. He brought with him his tragedy of *Irene*, which afterwards took its chance on Drury-lane theatre. Luckily he did not throw it into the fire, by design or otherwise, as Parson Adams did his

Æschylus

Æschylus by mistake. He offered himself for the service of the book-sellers; "for he was born for nothing but to write,"—

"And from the jest obscene reclaim our youth,
And set our passions on the side of truth."

"The hurry of this pen prevents the recollection of his first performances. But he used to call Doddsley his patron, because he made him, if not first, yet best known, by printing and publishing, upon his own judgment, his satire, called "London," which was an imitation of one of Juvenal, whose gravity and severity of expression he possessed. He there and then discovered how able he was "to catch the manners living as they rise." The poem had a great sale, was applauded by the public, and praised by Mr. Pope, who, not being able to discover the author, said, "he will soon be *determé*." In 1738 he luckily fell into the hands of his other early patron Cave. His speeches for the senate of Lilliput were begun in 1740, and continued for several sessions. They passed for original with many till very lately. But Johnson, who detested all injurious imposition, took a great deal of pains to acknowledge the innocent deception. He gave Smollett notice of their unoriginality, while he was going over his historical ground, and to be upon his guard in quoting from the Lilliput Debates. It is within recollection, that an animated speech he put into the mouth of Pitt, in answer to the parliamentary veteran Horace Walpole, was much talked of, and considered as genuine. Members of parliament acknowledge that they reckon themselves much obliged for the printed accounts of debates of both houses, because they are made to speak better than they do in the senate. Within these

few years, a gentleman in a high employment under government was at breakfast in Gray's inn, where Johnson was present, and was commending the excellent preservation of the speeches of both houses, in the Lilliput Debates. He declared, he knew how to appropriate every speech without a signature; for that every person spoke in character, and was as certainly and as easily known as a speaker in Homer or in Shakspeare. "Very likely, Sir," said Johnson, ashamed of having deceived him, but I wrote them in the garret where I then lived." His predecessor in this oratorical fabrication was Guthrie; his successor in the Magazine was Hawkesworth. It is said, that to prove himself equal to this employment (but there is not leisure for the adjustment of chronology) in the judgment of Cave, he undertook the life of Savage, which he asserted (not incredible of him), and valued himself upon it, that he wrote in six and thirty hours. In one night he also composed, after finishing an evening in Holborn, his Hermit of Teneriff. He sat up a whole night to compose the preface to the Preceptor.

"His eye-sight was not good; but he never wore spectacles, not on account of such a ridiculous vow as Swift made not to use them, but because he was assured they would be of no service to him. He once declared, that he "never saw the human face divine." He saw better with one eye than the other, which however was not like that of Camoens, the Portuguese poet, as expressed on his medal. He chose to say to an observer and inquirer after the apparent blemish of his left eye, that "he had not seen out of that little scoundrel for a great many years." "It is inconceivable, he used to observe, how little light

light or fight are necessary for the purpose of reading." Latterly, perhaps, he meant to save his eyes, and did not read so much as he otherwise would. He preferred conversation to books; but when driven to the refuge of reading, by being left alone, he then attached himself to that amusement. "Till this year, said he to an intimate, I have done tolerably well without sleep, for I have been able to read like Hercules." But he picked and culled his companions for his midnight hours, "and chose his author as he chose his friend." The mind is as fastidious about its intellectual meal as the appetite is as to its culinary one; and it is observable, that the dish or the book that palls at one time is a banquet at another. By his innumerable quotations you would suppose, with a great personage, that he must have read more books than any man in England, and have been a mere book-worm; but he acknowledged that supposition was a mistake in his favour. He owned he had hardly ever read a book through. The posthumous volumes of Mr. Harris of Salisbury (which treated of subjects that were congenial with his own professional studies) had attractions that engaged him to the end. Churchill used to say, having heard perhaps of his own confession, as a boast, that "if Johnson had only read a few books, he could not be the author of his own works." His opinion, however, was, that he who reads most, has the chance of knowing most; but he declared, that the perpetual task of reading was as bad as the slavery in the mine, or the labour at the oar. He did not always give his opinion unconditionally of the pieces he had even perused, and was competent to decide upon. He did not

choose to have his sentiments generally known; for there was a great eagerness, especially in those who had not the pole-star of judgment to direct them, to be taught what to think or to say on literary performances. "What does Johnson say of such a book?" was the question of every day. Besides, he did not want to increase the number of his enemies, which his decisions and criticisms had created him; for he was generally willing to retain his friends, to whom, and their works, he bestowed sometimes too much praise, and recommended beyond their worth, or perhaps his own esteem. But affection knows no bounds. Shall this pen find a place in the present page to mention, that a shameless Aristophanes had an intention of taking him off upon the stage, as the Rehearsal does the great Dryden? When it came to the notice of our exasperated man of learning, he conveyed such threats of vengeance and personal punishment to the mimic, that he was glad to proceed no farther. The reverence of the public for his character afterwards, which was increasing every year, would not have suffered him to be the object of theatrical ridicule. Like Fame, in Virgil, *vires acquirit eundo*. In the year 1738 he wrote the Life of Father Paul, and published proposals for a translation of his History of the Council of Trent by subscription; but it did not go on. Mr. Urban even yet hopes to recover some sheets of this translation, that were in a box under St. John's Gate; more certainly once placed there, than Rowley's poems were in the chest in a tower of the church of Bristol.

'Night was his time for composition. Indeed he literally turned night into day, *noctes vigilabat ad ipsum*

ipsum mane, but not like Tigellius in Horace. Perhaps he never was a good sleeper, and (while all the rest of the world was in bed) he chose his lamp, in the words of Milton,

“ In midnight hour,
Were seen in some high lonely tower.”

“ He wrote and lived perhaps at one time only from sheet to sheet, and (according to vulgar expression) from day to day. Dr. Cheyne reprobates the practice of turning night into day, as pernicious to mind and body. Jortin has something to say on the vigils of a learned man, in his *Life of Erasmus*. As he would not sleep when he could, nothing but opium could procure him repose. There is cause to believe he would not have written unless under the pressure of necessity. *Magister artis ingenique largitor venter*, says Persius. He wrote to live, and luckily for mankind lived a great many years to write. All his pieces are promised for a new edition of his works, under the inspection of sir John Hawkins, one of his executors, who has undertaken to be his biographer. Johnson's high tory principles in church and state were well known. But neither his *Prophecy of the Hanover Horse*, lately maliciously reprinted, nor his political principles or conversations, got him into any personal difficulties, nor prevented the offer of a pension, nor his acceptance. *Rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire quæ velis, et quæ sentias, dicere licet*. The present royal family are winning the hearts of all the friends of the house of Stuart. There is here neither room nor leisure to ascertain the progress of his publications, though, in the idea of Shenstone, it would exhibit the history of his mind and thoughts.

“ He was employed by Osborne

to make a catalogue of the Harleian library. Perhaps, like those who stay too long on an errand, he did not make the expedition his employer expected, from whom he might deserve a gentle reprimand. The fact was, when he opened a book he liked, he could not refrain from reading it. The bookseller upbraided him in a gross manner, and, as tradition goes, gave him the lie direct, though our catalogue-maker offered at an excuse. Johnson turned the volume into a weapon, and knocked him down, and told him, “ not to be in a hurry to rise, for when he did, he proposed kicking him down stairs.” Perhaps the lie direct may be punished *ad modum recipientis*, as the law gives no satisfaction. His account of the collection, and the tracts that are printed in quarto volumes, were well received by the public. Of his folio labours in his *English Dictionary*, a word must be said; but there is not room for much. This writer has sufficient proof that Doddsley suggested the first idea of this great collection. Johnson wanted a long and a large literary employment. The proposal rather took him by surprise. *Tantæ molis erat!* The pecuniary bargain was necessary to him, and the engagement for time and payment was concluded. But the work went on but slowly. The money was all gone (for time and money are the most wastable things in the world) before the task was completed. Illness, weariness, or dissipation, clogged the wheels of this machine. A refreshing fee was perpetually necessary; or, to use classical instead of legal allusion, golden showers were to be thrown into the lap of this literary Danaë, to the amount of three hundred additional pounds. It required the purses of five eminent booksellers to be opened to pay for

for the labours of this Hercules. When Johnson came to settle with his employers, said Andrew Millar, they produced their receipts for the money they had advanced, most of which were for small sums. He was confounded to find the balance against himself, for he kept no account, and that he had been working nine years for nothing. The creditor instantly became the debtor. The booksellers generously made him a present of the difference, and paid his reckoning for him. Doddsley wished for an alphabetical list of the books quoted for this dictionary to be prefixed to the work; but he was not gratified. The delineation of his plan, which was esteemed a beautiful one, was inscribed to lord Chesterfield, no doubt with permission, whilst he was secretary of state. It was at this time, he said, he aimed at elegance of writing, and set for his emulation the preface of Chambers to his Cyclopaedia. Johnson undoubtedly expected beneficial patronage. It should seem that he was in the acquaintance of his lordship, and that he had dined at his table, by an allusion to him in a letter to his son, printed by Mrs. Stanhope, and which he himself would have been afraid to publish. Whilst he was ineffectually hallooing the Graces in the ear of his son, he set before him the slovenly behaviour of our author at his table, whom he acknowledges as a great genius, but points him out as a rock to avoid, and considers him only as "a respectable Hot-tentot." When the book came out, Johnson took his revenge, by saying of it, "that the instructions to his son inculcated the manners of a dancing-master, and the morals of a prostitute." Within this year or two he observed (for anger is a short-lived passion) that, bating some im-

proprieties, it contained good directions, and was not a bad system of education. But Johnson probably did not think so highly of his own appearance as of his morals; for, on being asked if Mr. Spence had not paid him a visit! "Yes," says he, and he probably may think he visited a bear." "Johnson, says the author of the Life of Socrates, is a literary Caliban." "Very likely," replied Johnson, and Cooper (who was as thick as long) is a literary Punchinello."

"It does not appear that Lord Chesterfield shewed any substantial proofs of approbation to our philosopher, for that was the professional title he chose. A small present he would have disdained. Johnson was not of a temper to put up with the affront of disappointment. He revenged himself in a letter to his lordship, written with great acrimony, and renouncing all acceptance of favour. It was handed about, and probably will be published, for *littera scripta manet*. He used to say, he was mistaken in his choice of a patron, for he had simply been endeavouring to gild a rotten post. An endeavour has been made to procure a copy of it, in order to afford an abstract to the reader, but without success. Mr. Langton, when applied to, thought he could not grant it without a breach of trust. It is in more hands than one; and, perhaps, where secrecy was not enjoined. Johnson took care to send his letter by a safe hand to lord Chesterfield, who shewed it to Doddsley. His lordship defended himself very plausibly against the misstatements of the writer, and candidly pointed out some beautiful sentences and happy expressions. It was a long letter. (*grandis epistola*) and written with great asperity. It prevented, as

Doddsley

Doddley reported, the patronage of his lordship, and the benefit from a dedication, which he said would have been the promotion of the sale. One of Johnson's acquaintance, who in conversation probably made lord Chesterfield to be in the wrong, said before him, that his lordship, tho' the politest, was the proudest man alive; "Except one person," said an acquaintance. "That," said Johnson, "I take to myself; but my pride was defensive." But nothing that is here said is meant as an arraignment of lord Chesterfield.

"Lord Chesterfield indeed commends and recommends Mr. Johnson's dictionary in two or three numbers of the World. Not words alone pleased him. "When I had undergone," says the compiler, "a long and fatiguing voyage, and was just getting into port, this lord sent out a small cock-boat to pilot me in." The agreement for this great work was for sixteen hundred pounds. This was a large bookseller's venture at that time: and it is in many shares. Robertson, Gibbon, and a few more, have raised the price of manuscript copies. In the course of fifteen years, two and twenty thousand pounds have been paid to four authors. Johnson's world of wonders demands frequent editions. His titles of Doctor of Laws from Dublin and from Oxford, (both of which came to him unasked and unknown, and only not unmerited) his pension from the king, which is to be considered as a reward for his pioneering services in the English language, and by no means as a bribe, gave him consequence, and made the dictionary and its author more extensively known. It is a royal satisfaction to have made

the life of a learned man more comfortable to him.

"These are imperial works, and worthy kings."

"Lord Corke, who would have been kinder to him than a Stanhope, (if he could) as soon as it came out, presented the dictionary to the Academy della Crusca at Florence in 1755. Even for the abridgement in octavo, which puts it into every body's hands, he was paid to his satisfaction, by the liberality of his booksellers. His reputation is as great for compiling, digesting, and ascertaining the English language, as if he had invented it. His grammar in the beginning of the work, was the best in our language, in the opinion of Goldsmith. During the printing of his dictionary, the *Ramblers* came out periodically; for he could do more than one thing at a time. He declared that he wrote them by way of relief from his application to his Dictionary, and for the reward. He has told this writer that he had no expectation they would have met with so much success, and been so much read and admired. What was amusement to him, is instruction to others. Goldsmith declared that a system of morals might be drawn from these essays: this idea is taken up and executed by a publication in an alphabetical series of moral maxims. Indeed he seems to be the great lay-preacher of morality to the nation.

"The Rambler is a great task for one person to accomplish, single-handed. For he was assisted only in two essays by Richardson, two by Mrs. Carter, and one by Miss Talbot. His *Idlers* had more hands. The *World*, The *Connoisseur*, (the Gray's

Gray's Inn Journal an exception) the Mirror, the Adventurer, the Old Maid, all had help-mates. The toilet, as well as the shelf and table, have these volumes, lately republished with decorations. Shenstone, his fellow collegian, calls his style a learned one. There is, indeed, too much Latin in his English. He seems to have caught the infectious language of sir Thomas Brown, whose works he read, in order to write his life. Though it cannot be said, as Campbell did of his own last work, that there is not a hard word in it, nor words of learned length, in the poetical phrase of the Deserted Village, yet he does not rattle through hard words and stalk through polysyllables, to use an expression of Addison, as in his earlier productions. His style, (the banter and ridicule of Lexiphanes) as he says of Pope, became smoothed by the scythe, and levelled by the roller. It pleased him to be told by Dr. Robertson, that he had read his dictionary twice over. If he had some enemies beyond and even on this side of the Tweed, he had more friends. Only he preferred England to Scotland. It were to be wished, he had not pronounced, in his Hebridian Tour, whatever particular provocation was before him, that "a Scotchman must be a sturdy moralist who does not prefer Scotland to truth." An inadvertent expression in the house of lords, on the imputed cowardice of the Americans, accelerated them into enemies and heroes. If Johnson's accusation had been more confined, a Caledonian, like Wotton's Ambassador, might have been permitted to exaggerate for the honour of his country. But it was taken for a national reflection, never to be forgiven nor forgotten: and it is considered as a breach of the union,

at least between Johnson and Scotland. The dead cannot send a negotiator in their cause. To say the truth, Johnson confessed at last, that the Scotch would never forgive him for publishing that book. But he never wished he had not written it. As it is cowardly to insult a dead lion, it is hoped, that as death extinguishes envy, it also does ill-will: "for British vengeance wars not with the dead."

"The well-known short epigram of Cleiveland, against our sister kingdom, is more malignant than all that Johnson has said or written. But that shall have no place here. It may be admitted of Johnson, at least by his enemies, as it was said of South by Tillotson, "that he wrote like a man, but bit like a dog." This may be applicable to the epic poem of Fingal, and to the personality on the translator. It puts the writer in mind of the complaint and expression of sir Isaac Newton, on the controversy of Hare and Bently about Terence, that "it was a shame two such great men should be fighting about a play-book!" The particulars of the dispute here alluded to must be trusted to future biographers. *Non nostrum inter nos tantas componere lites.* But for the injunction of lord Chesterfield, "not to seem to be ignorant, (especially as an historiographer) of any fact," this literary and personal altercation would not have been referred to.

"He gave himself very much to companionable friends for the last years of his life, (for he was delivered from the daily labour of the pen, and he wanted relaxation) and they were eager for the advantage and reputation of his conversation. Therefore he frequently left his own home, (for his household gods were not numerous or splendid enough

enough for the reception of his great acquaintance) and visited them both in town and country. This was particularly the case with Mr. and Mrs. Thrale (*ex uno disce omnes*), who were the most obliging and obliged of all within his intimacy, and to whom he was introduced by his friend Murphy. He lived with them a great part of every year. He formed at Streatham a room for a library, and increased by his recommendation the number of books. Here he was to be found (himself a library) when a friend called upon him; and by him the friend was sure to be introduced to the dinner-table, which Mrs. Thrale knew how to spread with the utmost plenty and elegance; and which was often adorned with such guests, that to dine there was, *epulis accumbere divum*. Of Mrs. Thrale, if mentioned at all, less cannot be said, than that in one of the latest opinions of Johnson, "if she was not the wisest woman in the world, she was undoubtedly one of the wittiest." She took or caused such care to be taken of him, during an illness of continuance, that Goldsmith told her, "he owed his recovery to her attention." She taught him to lay up something of his income every year. Besides a natural vivacity in conversation, she had reading enough, and the gods had made her poetical. The Three Warnings, (the subject she owned not to be original) are highly interesting and serious, and literally come home to every body's breast and bosom. The writer of this would not be sorry if this mention could follow the lady to Milan. At Streatham, where our philologer was also guide, philosopher, and friend, he passed much time. His inclinations here were consulted,

and his will was a law. With this family he made excursions into Wales and to Brighthelmstone. Change of air and of place were grateful to him, for he loved vicissitude. But he could not long endure the illiteracy and rusticity of the country; for woods and groves, and hill and dale, were not his scenes—

"Tower'd cities please us then,
"And the busy hum of men."

"On hearing that this literary lady (one of the joys of his own life) was likely to be courted into matrimony a second time, Johnson set himself to prevent it, and wrote her a letter, as full of friendship as her heart was of affection; to which, or to a second letter of the objurgatory kind, it is said, she made a spirited reply. He offered, ill as he was, to travel to her to Bath, with all possible expedition, to expostulate with her, and to obtain only an hour's conversation, with the hope of dissuading her from her inclinations. "Can Love be controuled by advice?" Hardly ever. Then, "Let Cupid and Hymen agree!" Johnson was asked about the letter in print, that is addressed to her and signed with his name; which occasions the present extravagance of this pen. He said, it exhibited his opinion, but had not two sentences together as he wrote them. He said, "it was an adumbration of his letter."

"But the greatest honour of his life was from a visit that he received from a great personage in the library of the queen's palace—only it was not from a king of his own making. Johnson, on his return, repeated the conversation, which was much to the honour of the great person, and was as well supported

as Lewis the XIVth could have continued with Voltaire. He said, he only wanted to be more known, to be more loved. They parted, much pleased with each other. If it is not an impertinent stroke of this pen, it were to be wished that one more person had conveyed an enquiry about him during his last illness. "Every body has left their names, or wanted to know how I do," says he; "but——" In his younger days he had a great many enemies, of whom he was not afraid.

"Ask you what provocation I have had?
"The strong antipathy of good to bad."

"Churchill, the puissant satirist, challenged Johnson to combat; satire the weapon. Johnson never took up the gauntlet or replied, for he thought it unbecoming him to defend himself against an author who might be resolved to have the last word. He was content to let his enemies feed upon him as long as they could. This writer has heard Churchill declare, "that he thought the poems of London, and The Vanity of Human Wishes, full of admirable verses, and that all his compositions were diamonds of the first water." But he wanted a subject for his pen and for raillery, and so introduced Pomposo into his descriptions. "For, with other wise folks, he sat up with the ghost." Our author, who had too implicit a confidence in human testimony, followed the newspaper invitation to Cock-lane, in order to detect the impostor, or, if it proved a being of an higher order, and appeared in a questionable shape, to talk with it. Posterity must be permitted to smile at the credulity of that period. Johnson had otherwise a vulnerable side; for he was one of

the few non-jurors that were left, and it was supposed he would never bow the knee to the Baal of whiggism. This reign, which disdained proscription, began with granting pensions (without requiring their pens) to learned men.

"Johnson was unconditionally offered one; but such a turn was given to it by the last mentioned satirical poet, that it might have made him angry or odious, or both. Says Churchill, amongst other passages very entertaining to a neutral reader——

"He damns the pension that he takes,
"And loves the Stuart he forsakes."

"Not so fast, great satirist—for he had now no friends at Rome. In the sport of conversation, he would sometimes take the wrong side of a question, to try his hearers, or for his own exertions. But this may do mischief sometimes. "For, without aiming at ludicrous quotation, he could dispute on both sides, and confute." Among those he could trust himself with, he would enter into imaginary combat with the whigs, and has now and then shook the principles of a sturdy revolutionist. All ingenious men can find arguments for and against every thing: and if their hearts are not good, they may do mischief with their heads. On all occasions he pressed his antagonist with so strong a front of argument, that he generally prevented his retreat. "Every body," said an eminent detector of impostors, "must be cautious how they enter the lists with Dr. Johnson." He wrote many political tracts since his pension. Perhaps he would not have written at all, unless impelled by gratitude. But he wrote his genuine thoughts, and imagined himself contend-

contending on the right side. A great parliamentary character seems to resolve all his American notions into the vain expectation of rocking a man in the cradle of a child. Johnson recounted the number of his opponents with indifference. He wrote for that government which had been generous to him. He was too proud to call upon lord Bute, or leave his name at his house, though he was told it would be agreeable to his lordship, for he said he had performed the greater difficulty, for he had taken the pension.

“ The last popular work, to him an easy and a pleasing one, was the writing the Lives of our Poets, now reprinted in four octavo volumes. He finished this business so much to the satisfaction of the bookfellers, that they presented him a gratuity of one hundred pounds, having paid him three hundred pounds as his price. The Knaptons made Tindal a large present on the success of his translation of Rapin’s history. But an unwritten space must be found for what Johnson did respecting Shakspeare; for the writer and reader observe a disorder of time in this page. He took so many years to publish his edition, that his subscribers grew displeased and clamorous for their books, which he might have prevented; for he was able to do a great deal in a little time. Though for collation he was not fit. He could not pore long on a text. It was Columbus at the oar. It was on most literary points difficult to get himself into a willingness to work. He was idle, or unwell, or loth to act upon compulsion. But at last he tried to awake his faculties, and, like the lethargic porter of the castle of Indolence, “ to rouse himself as much as rouse himself he can.” He confessed that the publication of his

Shakspeare answered to him in every respect. He had a very large subscription.

“ Dr. Campbell, then alive in Queen-square, who had a volume in his hand, pronounced, that the preface and notes were worth the whole subscription money. You would think the text not approved or adjusted by the past or present editions, and requiring to be settled by the future. It is hoped that the next editors will have read all the books that Shakspeare read: a promise our Johnson gave, but was not able to perform.

“ The reader is apprized, that this memoir is only a sketch of life, manners, and writings—

“ In every work regard the writer’s end;
“ For none can compass more than they
“ intend.”

“ It looks forwards and backwards almost at the same time. Like the nightingale in Strada, “ it hits imperfect accents here and there.” Hawkesworth, one of the Johnsonian school, upon being asked, whether Johnson was an happy man, by a gentleman who had been just introduced to him, and wanted to know every thing about him, confessed, that he looked upon him as a most miserable being. The moment of enquiry was probably about the time he lost his wife, and sent for Hawkesworth, in the most earnest manner, to come and give him consolation and his company.— “ And screen me from the ills of life!” is the conclusion of his sombrous poem on November. In happier moments (for who is not subject to every skyey influence, and the evil of the hour?) he would argue, and prove it in a sort of dissertation, that there was, generally and individually, more of natural and moral good than of the contrary

trary. He asserted, that no man could pronounce he did not feel more pleasure than misery. Every body would not answer in the affirmative; for an ounce of pain outweighs a pound of pleasure. There are people who wish they had never been born—to whom life is a disease—and whose apprehensions of dying pains and of futurity embitter every thing. The reader must not think it impertinent to remark, that Johnson did not choose to pass his whole life in celibacy. Perhaps the raising up a posterity may be a debt and duty all men owe to those who have lived before them. Johnson had a daughter, who died before its mother, if this pen is not mistaken.

“ The supposition of his having had a daughter was groundless. Mrs. Johnson never had a child after her marriage with the doctor, nor, from her advanced age, was such an event probable.

“ When these were gone, he lost his hold on life, for he never married again. He has expressed a surprize that sir Isaac Newton continued totally unacquainted with the female sex, which is asserted by Voltaire, from the information of Chefelden, and is admitted to be true. For curiosity, the first and most durable of the passions, might have led him to have overcome that inexperience. This pen may as well finish this last point in the words of Fontenelle, that sir Isaac never was married, and perhaps never had time to think of it. Whether the sunshine of the world upon our author raised his drooping spirits, or that the lenient hand of time removed something from him, or that his health meliorated by mingling more with the croud of mankind, or not, he, however, appa-

rently acquired more chearfulness, and became more fit for the labours of life and his literary functions. But he certainly did not communicate to every intruder every uneasy sensation of mind and body. Who, it may be asked, can determine of the pleasure and the pain of others? True and solemn are the lines of Prior, in his Solomon—

“ Who breathes must suffer, and who
“ thinks must mourn;
“ And he alone is blest, who ne’er was
“ born.”

“ Johnson thought he had no right to complain of his lot in life, or of having been disappointed: the world had not used him ill; it had not broke its word with him; it had promised him nothing; he aspired to no elevation; he had fallen from no height. Lord Gower endeavoured to obtain for him, by the interest of Swift, the mastership of a grammar-school of small income, for which Johnson was not qualified by the statutes to become a candidate. His lordship’s letter, published some years ago, is to the honour of the subject; in praise of his abilities and integrity, and in commiseration of his distressed situation. The younger Warton, by his influence, procured for him the honorary degree of Master of Arts at Oxford, on the conclusion of his Dictionary. Johnson wished, for a moment, to fill the chair of a professor, at Oxford, then become vacant, but he never applied for it. He was offered a good living by Mr. Langton, if he would accept it, and take orders; but he chose not to put off his lay habit. He would have made an admirable library-keeper; like Casaubon, Magliabechi, or Bentley. But he belonged to the world at large. He was nominated to be professor of
ancient

ancient literature, amongst the royal society of artists at Somerset-place, as was the late Dr. Franklin of history. A post of honour, but of nothing else. No suit nor service to be performed. Their names did not appear in the Red Book, or Court Calendar, amongst the other professors. Johnson had done that state some service, during their incorporation, and they knew it." Talking on the topick of what his inclinations or faculties might have led him to have been, had he been bred to the profession of the law, he has said he should have wished for the office of master of the rolls. He gave into this idea in table-talk, partly serious and partly jocular, for it was only a manner he had of describing himself to his friends without vanity of his parts (for he was above being vain) or envy of the honourable stations enjoyed by other men of merit. He would correct any compositions of his friends, (*habes confitentem*) and dictate on any subject on which they wanted information. He could have been an orator, if he would. On account of his occasional connexion with Dr. Dodd, for whom he made a bargain with the bookfellers for his edition of the Bible, he wrote a petition to the crown for mercy, after his condemnation. To comply with the request in a letter which he received during divine service at Streatham church, he retired to Mr. Thrall's, "relinquishing, as he said, for the first time, the worship of his Creator to serve a fellow-creature." The letter he composed for the translator of Ariosto, that was sent to Mr. Hastings in Bengal, is esteemed a master-piece. Dr. Warton, of Winchester, talked of it as the very best he ever read. He could have been eminent, if he chose it, in letter-writing; a faculty in

which, according to Sprat, his Cowley excelled. His epistolary and confidential correspondence would make an agreeable publication, but the world will never be trusted with it. He wrote as well in verse as in prose. Though he composed so harmoniously in Latin and English, he had no ear for music; and tho' he lived in such habits of intimacy with sir Joshua Reynolds, and once intended to have written the lives of the painters, he had no eye, nor perhaps taste, for a picture, nor a landscape. He renewed his Greek some years ago, for which he found no occasion for twenty years. He owned that many knew more Greek than himself; but that his Grammar would shew he had once taken pains. Sir William Jones, one of the most enlightened of the sons of men, as Johnson described him, has often said he knew a great deal of Greek. He amused himself, very lately, with translating into Latin verse, many of the Greek epigrams; and had read over the Expedition of Xenophon, and the Iliad of Homer. He took care to keep up all his stock of learning of all sorts, and, in the words of queen Elizabeth, "to rummage up his old Greek." With French authors he was familiar. He had lately read over the works of Boileau. He passed a judgment on Sherlock's French and English letters, and told him there was more French in his English, than English in his French. His curiosity would have led him to read Italian, even if Baretti had not been his acquaintance. Latin was as natural to him as English. He seemed to know the readiest roads to knowledge, and to languages their conductors. He possessed himself enough of the Saxon tongue, for the purpose of his work, and had always the assistance of Mr. Lye, when he wanted

it. He made such progress in the Hebrew, in a few lessons, that surprised his guide in that tongue. In company with Dr. Barnard and the fellows at Eton, he astonished them all with the display of his critical, classical, and profodical treasures, and also himself, for he protested, on his return, he did not know he was so rich.

“ Christopher Smart was at first well received by Johnson. This writer owed his acquaintance with our author, which lasted thirty years, to the introduction of that bard. Johnson, whose hearing was not always good, understood he called him by the name of Thyer, that eminent scholar, librarian of Manchester, and a non-juror. This mistake was rather beneficial than otherwise to the person introduced. Johnson had been much indisposed all that day, and repeated a Psalm he had just translated, during his affliction, into Latin verse, and did not commit to paper; for so retentive was the memory of this man, that he could always recover whatever he lent to that faculty. Smart in return recited some of his own Latin compositions. He had translated with success, and to Mr. Pope’s approbation, his St. Cecilian Ode. Come when you would, early or late, for he desired to be called from bed, when a visitor was at the door; the tea-table was sure to be spread, *te veniente die; te decedente*.—With tea he cheered himself in the morning, with tea he solaced himself in the evening; for in these, or in equivalent words, he expressed himself in a printed letter to Jonas Hanway, who had just told the public, that tea was the ruin of the nation, and of the nerves of every one who drank it. The pun upon his favourite liquor he heard with

a smile. Though his time seemed to be bespoke, and quite engrossed, it is certain his house was open to all his acquaintance, new and old. His amanuensis has given up his pen, the printer’s devil has waited on the stairs for a proof-sheet, and the press has often stood still. His visitors were delighted and instructed. No subject ever came amiss to him. He could transfer his thoughts from one thing to another with the most accommodating facility. He had the art, for which Locke was famous, of leading people to talk on their favourite subjects, and on what they knew best. By this he acquired a great deal of information. What he once heard he rarely forgot. They gave him their best conversation, and he generally made them pleased with themselves, for endeavouring to please him. Poet Smart used to relate, “ that the first conversation with him was of such variety and length, that it began with poetry, and ended at fluxions.” He always talked as if he was talking upon oath. He was the wisest person, and had the most knowledge in ready cash, this writer had the honour to be acquainted with.—Here a little pause must be endured. The poor hand that holds the pen is benumbed by the frost as much as by a torpedo. It is cold within, even by the fire-side, and a white world abroad. His reader has a moment’s leisure to censure or commend the harvest of anecdote that is brought in, for his sake; and if he has more reading than usual, may remark for or against it in the manner of the Cardinal to Ariosto, “ All this may be true, extraordinary, and entertaining; but where the deuce did you pick it all up?” The writer perhaps comes within the proverbial observation, that the in-

quisitive

quisitive person ends often in the character of the tell-tale.—Johnson's advice was consulted on all occasions. He was known to be a good casuist, and therefore had many cases for his judgment. It is notorious, that some men had the wickedness to over-reach him, and to injure him, till they were found out. Lauder was of the number, who made, at the time, all the friends of Milton his enemies. For this he expiated, by composing a prologue to *Comus*, by praising Milton, and for the benefit of his great-grand-daughter. There is nobody so likely to be imposed upon as a good man. "In the business of Lauder (says Johnson, in a letter) I was deceived, partly by thinking the man too frantic to be fraudulent." His conversation, in the judgment of several, was thought to be equal to his correct writings. Perhaps the tongue will throw out more animated expressions than the pen. He said the most common things in the newest manner. He always commanded attention and regard. If he wrote for money, he talked for reputation. His person, though unadorned with dress, and even deformed by neglect, made you expect something; and you was hardly ever disappointed. His manner was interesting; the tone of his voice, and the sincerity of his expressions, even when they did not captivate your affections, or carry conviction, prevented contempt. "No wonder he talks with more sense than any of us, said Goldsmith, for it is discharged from a larger caliber." If the line, by Pope, on his father, can be applied to Johnson, it is characteristic of him, who never swore, nor told a lie. If the first part is not

confined to the oath of allegiance, it will be useful to insert it.

"Nor dar'd an oath, nor hazarded a lie."

"It must be owned, his countenance, on some occasions, resembled too much the medallie likeness of Magliabechi, as exhibited before the printed account of him by Mr. Spence. No man dared to take liberties with him, nor flatly contradict him; for he could repel any attack, having always about him the weapons of ridicule, of wit, and of argument. No man was prophane or obscene in his company; and no one could leave his conversation without being wiser or better. It must be owned, that some who had the desire to be admitted to him, thought him too dogmatical, and as exacting too much homage to his opinions, and came no more. For they said, while he presided in his library, surrounded by his admirers, he would, "like Cato, give his little senate laws." He had great knowledge in the science of human nature, and of the fashions and customs of life, and knew the world well. He had often in his mouth this line of Pope,

"The proper study of mankind is man."

He was desirous of surveying life in all its modes and forms, and in all climates. Twenty years ago he offered to attend his friend Vansittart to India, who was invited there to make a fortune; but it did not take place. He talked much of travelling into Poland, to observe the life of the Palatines, the account of which struck his curiosity very much. His *Rasselas*, it is reported, he wrote to raise a purse of pecuniary assistance to his aged mother at Lichfield. The first title of

his manuscript was, "Prince of Ethiopia;" but, as he had erected a history of Seged, king of Ethiopia, in his *Ramblers*, he changed it to Abyssinia. He had formerly translated an account of those countries, written by a French Jesuit. Mr. Bruce is expected to give us a history of both these countries. The happy valley he would hardly be able to find in Abyssinia. Dr. Young used to say, "that Rasselas was a lump of wisdom." He there displays an uncommon capacity for remark, and makes the best use of the descriptions of travellers. It is an excellent romance. But his journey into the Western Islands is an original thing. He hoped, as he said, when he came back, that no Scotchman had any right to be angry with what he wrote. It is a book written without the assistance of books. He said, "it was his wish and endeavour not to make a single quotation." His curiosity must have been excessive, and his strength undecayed, to accomplish a journey of such length, and subject to such inconvenience. His book was eagerly read. One of the first men of the age (lord Camden) told Mr. Garrick, "that he would forgive Johnson all his wrong notions respecting America, on account of his writing that book." He thought himself the hardier for travelling. He took a tour into France, and meditated another into Italy or Portugal, for the sake of the climate. But Dr. Brocklesby, his friend and physician, (and who that knows him can wish for more companionable and professional knowledge?) conjured him, by every argument in his power, not to go abroad in the state of his health; but that if he was resolved on the first, and wished for something ad-

ditional to his income, desired he would permit him to accommodate him out of his fortune with one hundred pounds a year, during his travels, to be paid by instalments.

"Ye little stars, hide your diminish'd heads."

The reply to this generosity was to this effect, "That he would not be obliged to any person's liberality, but to his king's." The continuance of this design to go abroad, occasioned the application for an increase of pension, that is so honourable to those who applied for it, and to the lord chancellor, who gave him leave to draw on his banker for any sum. It is just come to the knowledge of this narrator, that Mr. Gerard Hamilton offered Johnson his purse of one hundred guineas (*bonos erit huic quoque*); but it was not accepted, "for, said Johnson, I am worth fifteen hundred pounds!" A sum of money that would last longer than the whole half-guinea that Parson Adams boasted was sufficient for all his charges and expences. The reader, if he is in a good humour, may not dislike the comparative allusion. Adams, for the moment, was richer than Johnson. With the courage of a man, Johnson demanded to know of Brocklesby, if his recovery was impossible? Being answered in the affirmative; "then, says he, I will take no more opium, and give up my physicians."

"At last he said, "If I am worse, I cannot go; if I am better, I need not go; but if I continue neither better nor worse, I am as well where I am." The writer of this Sketch could wish to have committed to memory or paper all the wise and sensible things that dropped from his lips. If the one could have

have been Xenophon, the other was a Socrates. His benevolence to mankind was known to all who knew him. Though so declared a friend to the church of England, and even a friend to the Convocation, it assuredly was not in his wish to persecute for speculative notions. He used to say, he had no quarrel with any order of men, unless they disbelieved in revelation and a future state. This writer has permission, from Dr. Dunbar, to publish this specimen of his pertinacious opinion: for which Mr. Hume would have put him into his chapter of bigots. That prominent feature in Johnson's character was strongly marked in a conversation one morning with me *tête à tête*. He reproached me in a very serious, though amicable strain, for commending Mr. Hume as I had done in my *Essays on the History of Mankind*. I vindicated myself from the imputation as well as I was able—But he remained dissatisfied; still condemned my praise of Hume; and added: "For my part, sir, I should as soon have praised a *mad dog*."

Another morning when he expostulated with me on the same offence, I answered, that I had, indeed, commended Mr. Hume for talents which really belonged to him; but, by no means for his Scepticism, his Infidelity, or Irreligion. "I could not, sir," said Johnson, "on any account, have been the instrument of his praise. When I published my Dictionary, I might have quoted *Hobbes* as an authority in language, as well as many other writers of his time: but I scorned, sir, to quote him at all; because I did not like his principles." He would indeed have sided with Sacheverell against Daniel Burgess, if he thought the church was in danger. His

hand and his heart were always open to charity. The objects under his own roof were only a few of the subjects for relief. He was at the head of subscription in cases of distress. His guinea, as he said of another man of a bountiful disposition, was always ready. He wrote an exhortation to public bounty. He drew up a paper to recommend the French prisoners, in the last war but one, to the English benevolence; which was of service. He implored the hand of benevolence for others, even when he almost seemed a proper object of it himself.

"Like his hero *Savage* while in company with him, he is supposed to have formerly strolled about the streets almost houseless, and as if he was obliged to go without the cheerful meal of the day, or to wander about for one, as is reported of *Homer*. If this were true, it is no wonder if he was unknown, or uninquired after, for a long time:

'Slow rises worth by poverty depress'd.'"

When once distinguished, as he observes of *Ascham*, he gained admirers. He was fitted by nature for a critic. His *Lives of the Poets* (like all his biographical pieces) are well written. He gives us the pulp without the husks. He has told their personal history very well. But every thing is not new. Perhaps what Mr. Steevens helped him to, has increased the number of the best anecdotes. But his criticisms of their works are of the most worth, and the greatest novelty. His perspicacity was very extraordinary. He was able to take measure of every intellectual object; and to see all round it. If he chose to plume himself as an author, he might on account of the gift of intuition.

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“The brightest feather in the Eagle’s wing.”

He has been censured for want of taste or good nature, in what he says of Prior, Gray, Lyttelton, Hammond, and others, and to have praised some pieces that nobody thought highly of. It was a fault in our critic too often to take occasion to shew himself superior to his subject, and also to trample upon it. There is no talking about taste. Perhaps Johnson, who spoke from his last feelings, forgot those of his youth. The love verses of Waller and others have no charms for old age. Even Prior’s Henry and Emma, which pleased the old and surly Dennis, had no attractions for him. Of Gray, he always spoke as he wrote, and called his poetry artificial. If word and thought go together, the odes of Gray were not to the satisfaction of our critic. But what composition can stand before the porcupine pen of criticism? Mr. Potter, the elegant translator of *Æschylus*, has ably defended the ode and ode-writing of Gray against the opinion of Johnson: so has a Scotch professor, in an entertaining but farcical imitation of his language and criticism. Lyttelton, Akenfide, and Hammond, have also found friends in their defence against Johnson’s accusation. He made some fresh observations on Milton, by placing him in a new point of view: and if he has shewn more of his excellencies than Addison does, he accompanies them with more defects. He took no critic from the shelf, neither Aristotle, Bossu, nor Boileau. He hardly liked to quote, much more to steal. He drew his judgments from the principles of human nature, of which the *Rambler* is full, before the *Elements of Criticism*

by Lord Kaimes made their appearance.

“It may be inserted here, that Johnson, soon after his coming to London, had thought of writing a History of the Revival of Learning. The bookfellers had other service to offer him. But he never undertook it. The proprietors of the Universal History wished him to take any part in that voluminous work. But he declined their offer. His last employers wanted him to undertake the life of Spenser. But he said, Warton had left little or nothing for him to do. A system of morals next was proposed. But perhaps he chose to promise nothing more. He thought, as, like the running horse in Horace, he had done his best, he should give up the race and the chace. His character for learning lifted him into so much consequence, that it occasioned several respectable writers to dedicate their works to him. This was to receive more reverence than he paid. Murphy (to whom he was obliged, as he often said, for many social happinesses) addressed to him an imitation of a satire of Boileau: and Goldsmith dedicated a comedy to him, and praised him for what, as he explained it, Johnson would like to be praised—“his piety, and his wit.” Franklin, (as a sincere admirer of his respectable character) inscribed his translation of Lucian’s *Demonax* to him, and terms him the *Demonax* of the present age. His dependent Levett died suddenly under his roof. He preserved his name from oblivion, by writing an elegiac epitaph for him, which shews that his poetical fire was not extinguished, and is so appropriate, that it could belong to no other person in the world. Johnson said, that the remark of appropriation, was just

criticism : his friend was induced to pronounce, that he would not have so good an epitaph written for himself. Pope has nothing equal to it in his sepulchral poetry. When he dined with Mr. Wilkes, at a private table in the city, their mutual altercations were forgot, at least for that day. Johnson did not remember the North Briton, nor the sharpness of a paper against his description or definition of an alphabetical point animadverted upon in his Dictionary by that man of acuteness ; who, in his turn, forgot the severity of a pamphlet of Johnson's. All was, during this meal, a reciprocation of wit and good humour. During the annual contest in the city, Johnson confessed, that Wilkes would make a very good chamberlain. When Johnson (who had said that he would as soon dine with Jack Ketch as with Jack Wilkes) could sit at the same table with this patriot, it may be concluded he did not write his animosities in marble.—Johnson was famous for saying what are called *good things*. Mr. Boswell, who listened to him for so many years, has probably remembered many. He mentioned many of them to Paoli, who paid him the last tribute of a visit to his grave. If Johnson had had as good eyes as Boswell, he might have seen more trees in Scotland, perhaps, than he mentions.

“ This is not the record-office for his sayings : but a few must be recollected here. For Plutarch has not thought it beneath his dignity to relate some things of this sort, of some of his heroes. “ Pray, Dr. Johnson (said somebody), is the master of the mansion at Streatham a man of much conversation, or is he only wise and silent ? ” “ He strikes,” says Johnson, “ once an

hour, and I suppose strikes right.” Mr. Thrale left him a legacy, and made him an executor. It came to Johnson's ears, that the great book-feller in the Strand, on receiving the last manuscript sheet of his Dictionary, had said, “ Give Johnson his money, for I thank God I have done with him.” The philologist took care that he should receive his compliments, and be informed, “ he was extremely glad he returned thanks to God for any thing.” Well known is the rude reproof he gave to a talker, who asserted, that every individual in Scotland had literature. (By the by, modern statesmen do not wish that every one in the king's dominions should be able to write and read.) “ The general learning of the Scotch nation (said he, in a bad humour) resembles the condition of a ship's crew, condemned to short allowance of provisions : every one has a mouthful, and nobody a belly-full.” Mr. Garrick used to relate an incident, with great humour, but without personal mimicry (of which perhaps he was the inventor, and the inheritance went to Foote), says the communicator, who desired it might have a place here that made a good story, as he told it. Johnson was once beset with questions, by somebody, about the merits of the tragedy of Douglas, that had just made its public appearance. After submitting to hear some favourite descriptive passage, which the reciter praised to the skies, ignorantly or hypocritically, he was asked, if there ever had been written lines so transcendently excellent by any other poet ? To get rid of the importunity, Johnson impetuously replied ; “ Yes, by many a man—by many a woman—and by many a child.”—This answer immediately checked the enthusiasm of the

the querist. On reporting this decision at a table, it was asserted in company, that Johnson took an opportunity of saying this again, to a very eminent scholar at Edinburgh, whom he made an enemy by it.

“ This opinion of our critic was not meant as a severity against Douglas ; for he had said, “ he thought it as good a first play as he had read.” Gray commended it excessively. It accordingly holds its rank at the theatre. Its merits, and the great performance of the character of lady Randolph by Mrs. Siddons, who is above praise, bring it into frequent representation, and occasion clapping hands and weeping eyes. Johnson received, in the course of the last year, a long and agreeable visit from this actress. On his being asked afterwards, if he could not wish to compose a part in a new tragedy (Euripides and Voltaire wrote plays when they were older than Johnson) to display her powers ? He replied, “ Mrs. Siddons excels in the pathetic, for which I have no talent.” Then, says his friend, imperial tragedy must belong to you (alluding to his Irene.) Johnson smiled. Of this enough. His size has been described to be large : his mind and person both in a large scale. His face and features are happily preserved by Reynolds and by Nollkens. His face and shoulders were moulded and taken off since his death, (alas ! how changed from him !) by Hofkins, of St. Martin’s-lane, from which a bust is made. His elocution was energetic, and, in the words of a great scholar in the North, who did not like him, he spoke in the Lincolnshire dialect. His articulation became worse, by some dental losses. But he never was silent on that account, nor unwilling to talk. It never was said

of him, that he was never overtaken with liquor, a declaration bishop Hoadly makes of himself. He owned that he drank his bottle at a certain time of life. Lions, and the fiercest of the wild creation, said he, drink nothing but water. Like Solomon, who tried so many things for curiosity and delight, he renounced strong liquors, (strong liquors, according to Fenton, of all kinds, were the aversion of Milton) ; and he might have said, as that king is made to do by Prior,

“ I drank, I lik’d it not, ’twas rage,
“ ’twas noise,
“ An airy scene of transitory joys.”

His temper was not naturally smooth, but seldom boiled over. It was worth while to find out the *mollia tempora fandi*. The words *nugarum contemptor* fell often from him in a reverie. When asked about them, he said, he appropriated them from a preface of Dr. Hody. He was desirous of seeing every thing that was extraordinary in art or nature ; and to resemble his Imlac in his moral romance of Rasselas. It was the fault of fortune that he did not animadvert on every thing at home or abroad. He had been upon the salt-water, and observed something of a sea-life : of the uniformity of the scene, and of the sickness and turbulence belonging to that element, he had felt enough. He had seen a little of the military life and discipline, by having passed whole days and nights in the camp, and in the tents, at Warley Common. He was able to make himself entertaining in his description of what he had seen. A spark was enough to illuminate him. The giant and the Corsican fairy were objects of attention to him. The riding-horses in Astley’s amphitheatre (no new public amusement, for Homer al-

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tudes to it) he went to see; and on the fireworks of Torri he wrote a Latin poem.

“The study of humanity, as was injuriously said of the great Bentley, had not made him inhuman. He never wantonly brandished his formidable weapon. He intended to keep his enemies off. He did not mean, as in the advice of Radcliffe to Mead, “to bully the world, lest the world should bully him.” He seemed to be endowed with great clemency to all subordinate beings. He said, “he would not sit at table, where a lobster that had been roasted alive was one of the dishes. His charities were many; only not so extensive as his pity, for that was universal. He frequently remarked, that every year took something from him of life, and robbed him of a companion or an acquaintance. He had said in his Preface to his Dictionary, that he had outlived all he wished to please. However fond he was of existence, and afraid of death, he would have thought the lot contained in the wish and punishment of the ancients, *ultimus suorum moriatur*! intolerable. An evening convivial club, for three nights in every week, was contrived to amuse him, in Essex-street, founded, according to his own words, “in frequency and parsimony;” to which he gave a set of rules, as Ben Jonson did his *leges convivales* at the Devil tavern—Johnson asked one of his executors, a few days before his death (which, according to his will, he expected every day) “where do you intend to bury me?” He answered, “In Westminster Abbey.” Then,” continued he, “place a stone over my grave (probably to notify the spot) that my remains may not be disturbed.” This direction is executed. His expectations of death

were so immediate, that he had not time to bequeath his house at Litchfield, to maintain an exhibition at Pembroke-College, as he had resolved. For he was desirous of paying that tributary respect, and of taking that method of making himself remembered by that society. He gave a copy of his works very lately to Dr. Adams, the present master, who had been his tutor. Tutor and pupil had a meeting in the way to London from Derbyshire, which furnished a conversation, the former thinks, (though old in years and in wisdom), he shall be the better for as long as he lives; and which, if Johnson had lived longer, the world also might have been the better for. He intended to compose and publish a volume of Devotions, says Dr. Adams. Who will come forth with an inscription for him in the Poet’s-Corner? Who should have thought that Garrick and Johnson would have their last sleep together? It were to be wished he could have written his own epitaph with propriety. None of the lapidary inscriptions by Dr. Freind have more merit than what Johnson wrote on Thrale, on Goldsmith, and Mrs. Salisbury. By the way, one of these was criticised, by some men of learning and taste, from the table of sir Joshua Reynolds, and conveyed to him in a round robin. Maty, in his Review, praises his Latin epitaphs very highly. This son of study and of indigence died worth above seventeen hundred pounds; Milton died worth fifteen hundred. His legacy to his black servant Frank is noble and exemplary. Milton left in his hand-writing the titles of some future subjects for his pen; so did Johnson. The booksellers gave it out, as a piece of literary news, that he had an inclination to translate
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the lives of Plutarch from the Greek. It appears from his literary memorandum-book, that this was one of the tasks he assigned to himself. He had cut out so much for himself, that many more years of life would not have concluded these Herculean labours. The winter before he died, he talked seriously of a translation of Thuanus, one volume of which is already translated in folio, by Dr. Wilson of Newark.

“Johnson died *by a quiet and silent expiration*, to use his own words on Milton: and his funeral was respectably and numerously attended. The friends of the doctor were happy on his easy departure, for they apprehended he might have died hard. It must be told, that a dissatisfaction was expressed in the public papers, that he was not buried with all possible funeral rites and honours. In all processions and solemnities something will be forgotten or omitted. Here no disrespect was intended. The executors did not think themselves justified in doing more than they did. For only a little cathedral service, accompanied with lights and music, would have raised the price of interment. In this matter, fees run high: they could not be excused; and the expences were to be paid from the property of the deceased. His funeral expences amounted to more than two hundred pounds. Future monumental charges may be defrayed by the generosity of subscription: the whole cost will be more than the last mentioned sum. At the end of this Sketch, it may be hinted (sooner might have been prepossession) that Johnson told this writer, for he saw he always had his eye and his ear upon him, that at some time or other he might be called upon to assist a posthumous account of him.

“A hint was given to our author, many years ago, by this rhapsodist, to write his own life, lest somebody should write it for him. He has reason to believe, he has left a manuscript biography behind him. His executors, all honourable men, will fit in judgment upon his papers. Thuanus, Buchanan, Huetius, Bayle, and others, have been their own historians, or journalists.

“It was forgot to be told, that twenty years ago he gave an abstract in the Gentleman’s Magazine, of Mr. Tytler’s book, in vindication of Mary queen of Scots, at the instigation of an old acquaintance. Probably he thought her innocent of the charge of writing the letters to Bothwell.

“But he confessed, that her letting Bothwell run away with her, and the marrying him afterwards, was very profligate and indefensible. This writer cannot avoid giving the classical reader, Dryden’s Virgil lying upon his table, a parallel adventure (for, says Voltaire, there are examples of every thing in this world) of Dido the queen of Carthage, who was ruined by love (as much as the desiring and the desirable Mary of Scotland), and followed her paramour Æneas into the cave, where and when, says poetical history,

“She call’d it marriage, by that specious name

“To veil the crime, and sanctify the shame.”

“That the ceremonies were short, we may believe,” says Dryden, “for Dido was not only amorous, but a widow.”

“He wrote the plan for the Literary Magazine, and furnished it with some excellent essays and criticisms. He composed the Preface to the Poems of Miss Williams, the

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Preface to Sully's Memoirs, to Macbean's Classical Geography, and to Adams on the Globes. Mr. Davies collected most of his Fugitive Pieces into three handsome volumes.

“ He had a large, but not a splendid library, near 5000 volumes. Many authors, not in hostility with him, presented him with their works. But his study did not contain half his books. He possessed the chair that belonged to the Ciceronian Dr. King of Oxford, which was given him by his friend Vansittart. It answers the purposes of reading and writing, by night or by day; and is as valuable in all respects as the chair of Aristotle, as delineated in the Preface to

Hoole's liberal translation of that poet. Since the rounding of this period, intelligence is brought, that this literary chair is purchased by Mr. Hoole. Relicks are venerable things, and are only not to be worshipped. On the reading-chair of Mr. Speaker Onslow a part of this historical sketch was written.

“ The memory of some people, says Mably very lately, “ is their understanding.” This may be thought, by some readers, to be the case in point. Whatever anecdotes were furnished by memory, this pen did not choose to part with to any compiler. His little bit of gold he has worked into as much gold-leaf as he could.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. THEODOSIUS FORREST.

By Mr. TYERS.

“ **O**N Friday the 5th of November, 1784, died suddenly, Mr. Theodosius Forrest, an attorney of good reputation, at his house in George-street, York-buildings.—A nervous disorder, attended with a black jaundice, which gained ground with the greatest rapidity on his constitution, shortened his days at the age of about fifty-six. He was, all his life long, in poetical expression, “ tremblingly alive all o'er.” He was so anxious in the service of his clients, that, at those times, he may be said hardly to have known what sleep was. He was obliged, on account of increasing bodily and mental distresses, to resign a great part of his professional business. It was hoped by his acquaintance, that a six weeks tour he took into Ireland, this last summer, would have re-

stored his health, and continued him much longer amongst the circle of those he loved, and who loved him; for he declared, on his return, that he went from London with every complaint, and felt not a disagreeable sensation while he was absent from home. True is generally found that medical observation, in every point of view, that “ motion is the tenure of life;” and pertinent is the old Latin jingle, “ *Peregrinatio ærumnarum curatio!*” But neither friendship, that sunshine of life, nor prosperity, that preserver of good humour to the end of it, could save him from the gloom of dejection and despair. Those who saw him during his last month, perceived that “ Melancholy marked him for her own.” It was a greater sorrow than surprize to find, that
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in the desertion of reason, and from not knowing what he was doing, "he took up arms against a sea of troubles," and left his post, as a sentinel, before he was summoned away—" *Multi idem fecerunt et boni.*" At the beginning of life he studied drawing under Lambert, the first landscape-painter; (for, as yet, the two Sandbys, Wilton, Gainborough, Marlow, Louthborough, and Wheatly, were not *) or, as his own expression was, he stood behind his chair, and acquired such a relish for the arts that it never forsook him. The mind, like the cask in Horace, will long retain it's habitual flavour. Till within this year or two, he annually exhibited a drawing at the Royal Academy. He had a great number of them at his own house, and a good collection of those of other artists. He was universally known to the masters in the polite arts, but was not envied or disliked by any of them. He was considered, as Johnson says of Gay, by Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot, as their playfellow and companion, instead of their rival. His father † called him off from this seductive employment to the lucrative track of an attorney, and made him serve a clerkship under him: but though he was obliged to consider the law as his wife, the arts were the mistresses of his affection. He had a passion for music, though he played upon no instrument; could catch a favourite air with surprising quickness, and had a very agreeable manner of singing, though no voice. He seldom failed attending the Beef Steak Club every Saturday, of which he was

early admitted a member, (and of which his father was one of the eldest) where his pleasantries were much regarded. If he was not able "to set the table in a roar," yet he always excited attention, and all thought themselves lucky in having him for a guest. "He was fond to spread friendships, but (tho' a man of the law) to cover heats." He was also happy in his poetical talent. He composed many songs, and sung them well. May no literary son of poverty make a collection, and serve them up to the public! But he seldom suffered sing-song, or epigram, to break in upon his line of business. "He penned no stanza when he should engross;"—parchments, not poetry, lay upon his office-table—it was crowded with leases and conveyances. Yet, in 1775, during a vacation, he wrote a musical after-piece for Covent-Garden, called, The Weathercock (that emblem of sublunary things), which, the author not being able, in the boast of poor Bayes, to "pit, box, and gallery it," after a few nights was withdrawn. This disappointment cannot and need not be concealed, (for that bow of Ulysses is not to be drawn by every hand), as it is published, in alphabetical record, in that entertaining repository of biographical and dramatic information, the Biographia Dramatica. He never ventured another theatrical voyage in his small pinnace, (as dangerous as the aerial ones of Lunardi and Blanchard) which a popular hurricane overfet. He sculked from his acquaintance (for he was a sensitive plant on the occasion) for a few days, and wished

* But Wotton was—adds a friend.

† He wrote the Five Days Peregrination of Hogarth, himself, and three others, which the late Mr. Gosling versified, and Mr. Nichols incorporated with his Anecdotes of Hogarth.

the poet to be forgot in the attorney. He had as many friends, and as few enemies, as can be supposed; perhaps none but what the prosecution of law made him. He had a plentiful income, and was possessed of money in the funds. He was affectionately, and perhaps, by some on account of his figure, for he was rather under the common size, called Little Forrest; but he was a giant in the estimation of all of both sexes who knew him. The picture at the exhibition, for which he and his convivial friend, the entertaining, and now antiquarian, Grose, are supposed to have lent themselves to the canvas of Hone the painter, in the habits of monks, drew every one's eye, and was known at first sight: Forrest, by the tenuity of person, and the jovial adjutant, by the double chin, and rotundity of the Spanish Friar. It was a scene of character and contrast. More would have been too much; for, where character ends, caricature begins. A print was engraved from the picture. He was not only loved, but esteemed: he delighted in performing good offices; not only by advice, which may seem to cost nothing, but with his purse, which some consider as

their life's blood. He was known and approved by Garrick, Colman, and Harris. He was solicitor to Covent-Garden theatre, and a good judge of what was performing on the stage, that miniature of the whole world; and also a steward and receiver of rents to many respectable persons. Many have solicited, to use a phrase that has been employed since his decease, "to stand in his shoes." No one was ever known to repent of the confidence reposed in him. He accepted the troublesome and unthankful offices of trustee and executor, on the importunity of many who knew his ability of carrying them into effect. No one pleased more by harmless compliance, nor made himself more useful and agreeable at the parties where he was invited. All this, though the language of friendship, is also that of truth, which is dearer to the writer of this historical morsel than all the friendships in the world. Whoever, in the middle rank of life, shall be valued for integrity, benevolence, acuteness, accomplishments, and the arts of pleasing, must not think himself under-rated when he is compared to—Theodorus Forrest."

Some ACCOUNT of the LIFE and CHARACTER of the late Colonel HUMBERSTONE.

[An original Communication.]

Colonel Mackenzie Humberstone, embraced the military profession under singular advantages of character, birth, and fortune. He had naturally not only a great

thirst of military fame, but having shewn at a very early period of his life, an eager desire to excel in every manly accomplishment, and being endowed with good natural parts,

he applied himself successfully to the attainment of useful knowledge, and not only acquired great classical taste, and historical information, but an intimate acquaintance with several branches of science.

His father was the late major Mackenzie, of the family of Seaforth, and he himself became the head of that ancient house, upon the death of the late earl. The late war broke out soon after he went into the army and he was employed in raising a regiment of highlanders among his kinsmen, in the north of Scotland. Though an entire stranger in the country, having been bred in England, yet by his superior good sense, and amiable manners, he so far conciliated the good-will and respect of all ranks, that he was very successful in raising the battalion with which he was sent to Jersey, and had a principal hand in repelling the attack that was made on that island in the year 1778. But this being a scene too inactive for an enterprising mind aspiring at distinction, he solicited and obtained leave to raise a regiment to go to the East Indies, where a war at that time raged not only with our European enemies, but with all the country powers. This duty was performed in the course of a few months, and he embarked with his new battalion, with the rank of colonel, in the armament that sailed from England in the spring, 1781, under the command of commodore Johnstone. This squadron, and the convoy, having anchored in Port Praya bay, was surprised by a French squa-

dron, which was also outward bound for India. Colonel Humberstone happened at that moment to be on shore, with many others; but such was his ardor to share the danger of the day, that he swam off to one of the ships that were engaged with the enemy.

As soon as he arrived in India, he obtained a separate command on the Malabar coast; but in the exercise of it, he met with every discouragement from the council of Bombay. This, however, was so far from thwarting him, that it gave him a greater opportunity of distinguishing himself: for, under all the disadvantages of having money, stores, and reinforcements withheld from him, he undertook, with an army of a thousand Europeans, and two thousand five hundred sepoy, to wage an offensive war in the kingdom of Calicut. He was conscious of great resources in his own mind; and the greatest harmony, confidence, and attachment subsisted between himself, his officers, and men*. He drove the enemy out of the country, defeated them in three different engagements, in one of which Hyder's brother-in-law, who was viceroy of the kingdom, was killed. He took the city of Calicut, and every other place of strength in the kingdom: he made a treaty, and procured a new ally, in the king of Trancavore, who reinforced him with twelve hundred men. This king was the most powerful prince in the peninsula of India next to Hyder Ally.—By this means he got possession of a large and fertile

* In his despatches which gave an account of his operations, and which for some reason or other were never published, he owned particular obligations to the zeal and activity of major Campbell and captain Gage, both of his own regiment.

track of country, which supplied his army with every thing that was wanted; and as the civil government on the coast did not even favour him with orders, he was left entirely at discretion; but conducted himself with the wisdom and moderation that might be expected from a mind enlightened and humanized by cultivation, and naturally possessed of the most amiable virtues.

The enemy having been off their guard, not expecting that a handful of men would thus possess themselves of the whole kingdom of Calicut, left one of the most important posts in their whole territories exposed. This was the strong fort Paliacatcherry, which commands the pass through the Gaute Mountains. The possession of this post would have laid Hyder's richest provinces open to our incursions, while it would always give us a safe retreat in case of superior numbers, and secure the newly acquired kingdom of Calicut from the depredations of the enemy. The colonel, perceiving the great importance of this post, and making up in enterprise of mind what he wanted in force, determined to attempt the siege of it, though really above his force. But by this time the enemy had taken the alarm, seeing the very heart of their dominions threatened: and the danger of this important pass drew Tippoo Saheb, Hyder's eldest son and best general, upon us. He drew together, and put in motion, with the greatest expedition, the flower of his father's army; with the celebrated Mons. Lally; his force consisting of upwards of 30,000 men, near 12,000 of which were cavalry, with twenty-four pieces of artillery. These troops had already acquired great

reputation by the defeat of colonel Baily, by the capture of col. Brathwait and all his army and by several smaller exploits. It was now that our leader had occasion for all the resources of his mind; and it has been in retreats that the greatest exhibitions of generalship have been shewn both in ancient and modern times. He had exact intelligence of the enemy's motions, and endeavoured to regain the coast, where, at Paniane, he had a strong post and his magazines. Tippoo marched with the most incredible celerity, and with a certainty of overpowering the small handful of British troops; and he came up with them when they were yet thirty-six miles from their post, and had three large rivers to cross. Our little army was now surrounded with multitudes of cavalry on every side; and which ever way they turned their eyes they saw their numerous enemies covering the country. They marched through this host with an inconsiderable loss of men, without any loss of artillery or baggage; and having left them behind by a rapid march, regained the fort of Paniane. This the enemy attempted to force, but were repulsed with the loss of 1000 men; and Tippoo was soon after called away by the death of his father to a contest of greater importance.

Though this campaign did not terminate in any permanent acquisition, yet it proved extremely useful, by giving respect to the British arms, and causing a diversion from the other coast, where the enemy were ravaging our rich provinces in the Carnatic, hitherto the principal seat of the war. Colonel Humberstone was the first who carried the war into the enemy's country, and by dividing their force, gave such

a turn to affairs as produced the peace that was concluded in the end of the following year. It is also justly considered as a fine specimen of the most promising military genius; and had it been on a larger scale, could not have failed to immortalize the enterprize, courage, and skill of this young leader, who was at this time only eight and twenty. It ought also to be remarked, that in consequence of unbecoming jealousies between the king's and company's service, and between the civil and military departments, these transactions were never duly and fairly communicated to the public; a circumstance to be regretted, not only as it tended to rob a deserving individual of his honest and well-earned fame, but as the general tendency of suppressing such facts must be to damp the ardor of those generous minds who court distinction in encountering danger and hardship, and who hold a good name to be the best recompence of their deserts.

Soon after this, that is, in the end of the year 1782, colonel Humberstone, and his detachment, were called to serve under a superior officer, general Matthews. During the operations of this campaign, that general gave such proofs of misconduct, of rapacity, and injustice, that col. McLeod and col. Humberstone carried complaints to the council at Bombay, and backed them with such convincing evidence, that he was superseded in his command.

It was in returning from this piece of duty, that this gallant

young officer lost his life, by one of those deplorable and unforeseen fatalities against which human wisdom is never provided. He went from Bombay to the southern part of the coast by sea, for the greater expedition, and the small vessel which carried him fell in with a squadron of large ships of war belonging to the Mahrattahs. We had been at war with that barbarous people, but peace had been concluded, a circumstance known to our people, though not to the enemy. Resistance, however, was made with, perhaps, unwarrantable temerity. The small vessel was overpowered after a sharp engagement, in which the greater number on board were killed or wounded. Among the latter was col. Humberstone, who died of his wounds soon after at Geriah, a sea-port belonging to the Mahrattahs.

Too much cannot be said in regret of a person who promised to be the ornament of his family and country, and a most useful member of the state; and no panegyric is necessary but the transactions in which he had been engaged. These may be considered as an earnest of greater future exploits, to which his aspiring and enterprising genius would naturally have carried him, when in a situation to which his high rank would have entitled him in more mature life.

If we were to look for a character in this war, parallel to that of general Wolfe in the former war, I question if we could find any thing more resembling it than that of col. Humberstone.

Authentic ACCOUNT of CATHARINE the FIRST, Empress of RUSSIA.

[From Mr. COXE's Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.]

“ **M**ANY authors have expressed great surprize at the contradictory reports relative to the origin of so extraordinary a personage as Catharine I. But when we consider the lowness of her extraction, the variety of uncommon adventures which beset her during the early period of her life, her equivocal situation with general Bauer and prince Menzikof, before her connexion with Peter the Great; and that she did not excite the public curiosity until she became the favourite of that emperor, when she and her friends could prevent, as much as possible, all enquiries into her former situation; I am so far from being surprized that we know so little, that I rather wonder we know so much about her birth and early adventures. To expect that the history of a person of low extraction, who gradually rose to the most exalted station, should contain no uncertain and discordant accounts, is to expect impossibilities. All that remains, therefore, is, without prejudice or partiality, to examine and compare the various histories of Catharine I. and to collect from the whole the most rational and probable narrative.

“ Catharine was the natural daughter of a country girl, and was born at Ringen, a small village upon the lake Virtcherve, near Dorpt, in Livonia. The year of her birth is uncertain; but, according to her own account, she came into the world on the 5th of April, 1687. Her original name was Martha, which she changed for Catharine when she embraced the

Greek religion. Count Rosen, a lieutenant-colonel in the Swedish service, who owned the village of Ringen, supported, according to the custom of the country, both the mother and the child; and was, for that reason, supposed by many persons to have been her father. She lost her mother when she was but three years old; and, as count Rosen died about the same time, she was left in so destitute a situation, that the parish-clerk of the village received her into his house. Soon afterwards Gluck, Lutheran minister of Marienburgh, happening, in a journey through those parts, to see the foundling, took her under his protection, brought her up in his family, and employed her in attending his children. In 1701, and about the fourteenth year of her age, she espoused a dragoon of the Swedish garrison of Marienburgh. Many different accounts are given of this transaction: one author of great credit affirms that the bride and bridegroom remained together eight days after their marriage; another, of no less authority, asserts, on the contrary, that, the morning of the nuptials her husband being sent with a detachment for Riga, the marriage was never consummated. Thus much is certain, that the dragoon was absent when Marienburgh surrendered to the Russians; and Catharine, who was reserved for a higher fortune, never saw him more.

“ General Bauer, upon the taking of Marienburgh, saw Catharine among the prisoners; and, being smitten with her youth and beauty,

took her to his house, where she superintended his domestic affairs, and was supposed to be his mistress. Soon afterwards she was removed into the family of prince Menzikof, who was no less struck with the attractions of the fair captive: with him she lived until 1704, when, in the seventeenth year of her age, she became the mistress of Peter the Great, and won so much upon his affections, that he espoused her on the 29th of May, 1711. The ceremony was secretly performed at Jawerof in Poland, in the presence of general Bruce; and on the 20th of February, 1712, it was publicly solemnized with great pomp at Petersburg.

“Catharine, by the most unwearied assiduity and unremitted attention, by the softness and complacency of her disposition, but, above all, by an extraordinary liveliness and gaiety of temper, acquired a wonderful ascendancy over the mind of Peter. The latter was subject to occasional horrors, which at times rendered him gloomy and suspicious, and raised his passions to such an height, as to produce a temporary madness. In these dreadful moments Catharine was the only person who durst venture to approach him; and such was the kind of fascination she had acquired over his senses, that her presence had an instantaneous effect; and the first sound of her voice composed his mind and calmed his agonies. From these circumstances she seemed necessary, not only to his comfort, but even to his very existence; she became his inseparable companion on his journeys into foreign countries, and even in all his military expeditions.

“The peace of Pruth, by which the Russian army was rescued from certain destruction, has been wholly

attributed to Catharine, though she was little more than an instrument in procuring the consent of Peter. The latter, in his campaign of 1711 against the Turks, having imprudently led his troops into a disadvantageous situation, took the desperate resolution of cutting his way through the Turkish army in the night. With this resolution he retired to his tent in an agony of despair, and gave positive orders that no one should be admitted under pain of death. In this important juncture the principal officers and the vice chancellor Shaffirof assembled in the presence of Catharine, and drew up certain preliminaries in order to obtain a truce from the grand vizier. In consequence of this determination, plenipotentiaries were immediately dispatched, without the knowledge of Peter, to the grand vizier, and a peace obtained upon more reasonable conditions than could have been expected. With these conditions Catharine, notwithstanding the orders issued by Peter, entered his tent, and prevailed upon him to sign them. Although the honour of this peace, says Gordon, was wholly attributed to Catharine, yet, as he justly remarks, the generals, together with the vice-chancellor Shaffirof, had been the main springs that directed this machine. Catharine, however, by her conduct on this occasion, acquired great popularity; and the emperor particularly specifies her behaviour at Pruth as one of the reasons which induced him to crown her publicly at Moscow with his own hand. This ceremony was performed in 1724, and, although designed by Peter only as a proof of his affection, was the principal cause of her subsequent elevation.

“Some authors have asserted that Peter placed the crown upon her

her head as a prelude to his future intention in her favour, and even absolutely appointed her his successor : but their assertions are without the least foundation ; for no traces were ever discovered that he had made such a disposition, either by will or otherwise. Nothing indeed affords a stronger proof to the contrary than the very manifesto of Catharine's accession, in which she rests her right solely upon her coronation at Moscow, and upon the resolutions of the senate, the clergy, and the body of the generals. From these considerations, let us inquire by what extraordinary means a woman of her low birth could succeed in setting aside the grandson of Peter the Great, who was the lineal heir of the Russian empire ; and ascend the throne, to which she could have no pretensions but by the express appointment of Peter. Her influence continued undiminished until a short time before the death of that emperor, when some circumstances happened which occasioned such a coolness between them as would probably have ended in a total rupture, if his death had not fortunately intervened. The original cause of this misunderstanding arose from the following discovery of a secret connection between Catharine and her first chamberlain, whose name was Mons. The emperor, who was suspicious of this connection, quitted Petersburg under pretence of removing to a villa for a few days, but privately returned to his winter palace in the capital. From thence he occasionally sent one of his confidential pages with a complimentary message to the empress, as if he had been in the country, and with secret orders to observe her motions. From the page's information the emperor, on the third night, sur-

prized Catharine in an arbour of the garden with her favourite Mons ; while his sister, Madame Balke, who was first lady of the bed-chamber to the empress, was, in company with a page, upon the watch without the arbour.

Peter, whose violent temper was inflamed by this discovery, struck Catharine with his cane, as well as the page, who endeavoured to prevent him from entering the arbour, and then retired without uttering a single word either to Mons or his sister. A few days after this transaction these persons were taken into custody, and Mons was carried to the winter palace, where no one had admision to him but Peter, who himself brought him his provisions. A report was at the same time circulated, that they were imprisoned for having received bribes, and making their influence over the empress subservient to their own mercenary views. Mons being examined by Peter, in the presence of major-general Ushakof, and threatened with the torture, confessed the corruption which was laid to his charge. He was beheaded ; his sister received five strokes of the knout, and was banished into Siberia : two of her sons, who were chamberlains, were also degraded, and sent as common soldiers among the Russian troops in Persia. On the day subsequent to the execution of the sentence, Peter conveyed Catharine in an open carriage under the gallows, to which was nailed the head of Mons. The empress, without changing colour at this dreadful sight, exclaimed, "What a pity it is that there is so much corruption among courtiers !"

" This event happened in the latter end of the year 724, and as it was soon followed by Peter's death, and as Catharine, upon her accession,

accession, recalled Madame Balke, it has been suspected that she shortened the days of her husband by poison. But, notwithstanding the critical situation for Catharine in which he died, and her subsequent elevation, this charge is totally destitute of the least shadow of proof: for the circumstances of Peter's disorder were too well known, and the peculiar symptoms of his last illness sufficiently account for his death, without the necessity of recurring to poison.

“ Peter having, in the year 1724, decreed that the reigning sovereign should have the power of appointing his successor, ought, in common prudence, to have provided one in case of his sudden death; but he was seized with his last illness before he had performed that necessary duty. The disorder with which he was attacked was a strangury, which at first did not carry with it any alarming symptoms of immediate danger; but suddenly increasing to a violent degree, it occasioned such excruciating tortures, as, in a short time, totally deprived him of his senses. In a lucid interval he demanded pen and paper, and endeavoured to write, but he could only trace characters that were not legible. He then called for his daughter Anne; but, before she arrived, his speech and his understanding entirely forsook him, and he remained in a state of perfect imbecility, but still breathing, for six and thirty hours before he expired.

“ From this account, drawn from the most unquestionable authorities, it is evident that he did not appoint his heir; and, though some persons have concluded that he purposed entailing the crown upon his grandson Peter II. yet it is most probable that he had destined his eldest daughter Anne to be his suc-

cessor, but was prevented by the suddenness of his death from carrying that design into execution. But, without dwelling upon facts which are foreign to the present history, let us hasten to the election of Catharine.

“ While Peter was yet lying in the agonies of death, several opposite parties were caballing to dispose of the crown. At a considerable meeting of many among the principal nobility, it was secretly determined, on the moment of his dissolution, to arrest Catharine, and to place Peter Alexievitch upon the throne. Bassevitz, apprized of this resolution, repaired in person to the empress, although it was already night. “ My grief and consternation, replied Catharine, render me incapable of acting myself: do you and prince Menzikof consult together, and I will embrace the measures which you shall approve in my name.” Bassevitz, finding Menzikof asleep, awakened and informed him of the pressing danger which threatened the empress and her party. As no time remained for long deliberation, the prince instantly seized the treasure, secured the fortrefs, gained the officers of the guards by bribes and promises, also a few of the nobility, and the principal clergy. These partizans being convened in the palace, Catharine made her appearance: she claimed the throne in right of her coronation at Moscow; she exposed the ill effects of a minority; and promised, that, “ so far from depriving the great-duke of the crown, she would receive it only as a sacred deposit, to be restored to him when she should be united, in another world, to an adored husband, whom she was now upon the point of losing.”

“ The pathetic manner with which

which she uttered this address, and the tears which accompanied it, added to the previous distribution of large sums of money and jewels, produced the desired effect: at the close of this meeting the remainder of the night was employed in making the necessary preparations to insure her accession in case of the emperor's death.

“ Peter at length expired in the morning of the 28th of January, O. S. This event being made known, the senate, the generals, the principal nobility and clergy, hastened to the palace to proclaim the new sovereign. The adherents of the great-duke seemed secure of success, and the friends of Catharine were avoided as persons doomed to destruction. At this juncture Bassevitz whispered one of the opposite party, “ The empress is mistress of the treasure and the fortresses; she has gained over the guards and the synod; and many of the chief nobility; even here she has more followers than you imagine; advise therefore your friends to make no opposition as they value their heads.” This information being rapidly circulated, Bassevitz gave the appointed signal, and the two regiments of guards, who had been gained by a largess to declare for Catharine, and had already surrounded the palace, beat to arms. “ Who has dared, exclaimed prince Repnin, the commander in chief, “ to order out the troops without my knowledge?” “ I, returned general Butturlin, without pretending to dispute your authority, in obedience to the commands of my most gracious mistress.” This short reply was followed by a dead silence. In this moment of suspense and anxiety Menzikof entered, preceding Catharine, supported by the duke of Holstein. She attempted to speak, but was pre-

vented by sighs and tears from giving utterance to her words: at length, recovering herself, “ I come, she said, notwithstanding the grief which now overwhelms me, to assure you, that, submissive to the will of my departed husband, whose memory will be ever dear to me, I am ready to devote my days to the painful occupations of government, until Providence shall summon me to follow him.” Then, after a short pause, she artfully added, “ If the great-duke will profit by my instructions, perhaps I shall have the consolation, during my wretched widowhood, of forming for you an emperor worthy of the blood and the name of him whom you have now irretrievably lost.” “ As this crisis, replied Menzikof, is a moment of such importance to the good of the empire, and requires the most mature deliberation, your majesty will permit us to confer without restraint, that this whole affair may be transacted without reproach, as well in the opinion of the present age, as in that of posterity.” “ Acting as I do, answered Catharine, more for the public good than for my own advantage, I am not afraid to submit all my concerns to the judgment of such an enlightened assembly: you have not only my permission to confer with freedom, but I lay my commands upon you all, to deliberate maturely on this important subject, and promise to adopt whatever may be the result of your decisions.” At the conclusion of these words the assembly retired into another apartment, and the doors were locked.

“ It was previously settled by Menzikof and his party that Catharine should be empress; and the guards, who surrounded the palace with drums beating and colours flying,

ing, effectually vanquished all opposition. The only circumstance, therefore, which remained, was to give a just colour to her title by persuading the assembly that Peter intended to have named her his successor. For this purpose Menzikof demanded of that emperor's secretary, whether his late master had left any written declaration of his intentions. The secretary replied, "That a little before his last journey to Moscow he had destroyed a will; and that he had frequently expressed his design of making another, but had always been prevented by the reflection, that if he thought his people, whom he had raised from a state of barbarism to an high degree of power and glory, could be ungrateful, he would not expose his final inclinations to the insult of a refusal; and that if they recollected what they owed to his labours, they would regulate their conduct by his intentions, which he had disclosed with more solemnity than could be manifested by any writing." An altercation now began in the assembly; and some of the nobles having the courage to oppose the accession of Catharine, Theophanes, archbishop of Plescos, called to their recollection the oath which they had all taken in 1722 to acknowledge the successor appointed by Peter; and added, that the sentiments of that emperor delivered by the secretary were in effect an appointment of Catharine. The opposite party, however, denied these sentiments to be so clear as the secretary chose to insinuate; and insisted, that as their late monarch had failed to nominate his heir, the election of the new sovereign should revert to the state. Upon this the archbishop farther testified, that, the evening before the coronation of the empress at Moscow,

Peter had declared, in the house of an English merchant, that he should place the crown upon her head with no other view than to leave her mistress of the empire after his decease. This attestation being confirmed by many persons present, Menzikof cried out, "What need have we of any testament! A refusal to conform to the inclination of our great sovereign, thus authenticated, would be both unjust and criminal. Long live the empress Catharine!" These words being instantaneously repeated by the greatest part of those who were present, Menzikof, saluting Catharine by the title of empress, paid his first obeisance by kissing her hand; and his example was followed by the whole assembly. She next presented herself at the window to the guards, and to the people, who shouted acclamations of "Long live Catharine!" while Menzikof scattered amongst them handfuls of money. Thus, says a contemporary, the empress was raised to the throne by the guards, in the same manner as the Roman emperors by the prætorian cohorts, without either the appointment of the people or of the legions.

"The reign of Catharine may be considered as the reign of Menzikof, that empress having neither inclination or abilities to direct the helm of government; and she placed the most implicit confidence in a man who had been the original author of her good fortune, and the sole instrument of her elevation to the throne.

"During her short reign her life was very irregular: she was extremely averse to business; would frequently, when the weather was fine, pass whole nights in the open air; and was particularly intemperate in the use of tokay-wine.

These

These irregularities, joined to a cancer and a dropsy, hastened her end; and she expired on the 17th of May, 1727, a little more than two years after her accession to the throne, and in about the 40th year of her age.

“As the deaths of sovereigns in despotic countries are seldom imputed to natural causes, that of Catharine has also been attributed to poison; as if the disorders which preyed upon her frame were not sufficient to bring her to her grave. Some assert, that she was poisoned in a glass of spirituous liquor; others, by a pear given her by general Diever. Suspicions also fell upon prince Menzikof: who, a short time before her decease, had a trifling misunderstanding with her, and who was accused of hastening her death, that he might reign with still more absolute power during the minority of Peter II. But these reports deserve not the least credit, and were merely dictated by the spirit of party, or by popular rumour.

“Catharine was in her person under the middle size, and in her youth delicate and well-formed, but inclined to corpulency as she advanced in years. She had a fair complexion, dark eyes, and light hair, which she was always accustomed to die with a black colour. She could neither read nor write: her daughter Elizabeth usually signed her name for her, and particularly to her last will and testament; and count Osterman generally put her signature to the public decrees and dispatches. Her abilities have been greatly exaggerated by her panegyrists. Gordon, who had frequently seen her, seems, of all writers, to have represented her character with the greatest justice, when he says, “She was a very

pretty well-lookt woman, of good sense, but not of that sublimity of wit, or rather that quickness of imagination, which some people have believed. The great reason why the tzar was so fond of her, was her exceeding good temper; she never was seen peevish or out of humour; obliging and civil to all, and never forgetful of her former condition; withal, mighty grateful.” Catharine maintained the pomp of majesty with an air of ease and grandeur united; and Peter used frequently to express his admiration at the propriety with which she supported her high station, without forgetting that she was not born to that dignity.

“The following anecdotes will prove that she bore her elevation meekly; and was never, as Gordon asserts, forgetful of her former condition. When Wurmb, who had been tutor to Gluck’s children at the time that Catharine was a domestic in that clergyman’s family, presented himself before her after her marriage with Peter had been publicly solemnized, she recollected and addressed him with great complacency, “What, thou good man, art thou still alive! I will provide for thee.” And she accordingly settled upon him a pension. She was no less attentive to the family of her benefactor Gluck, who died a prisoner at Moscow: she pensioned his widow; made his son a page; portioned the two eldest daughters; and advanced the youngest to be one of her maids of honour. If we may believe Weber, she frequently inquired after her first husband, and, when she lived with prince Menzikof, used secretly to send him small sums of money, until, in 1705, he was killed in a skirmish with the enemy. In a conference with general Schlippenback,

back, who, in 1702, commanded the Swedish army, when she was taken captive by the Russians, she asked him "whether her spouse John was not a brave soldier?" Schlippenback returning, "Am not I one also?" Her majesty answered in the affirmative; but, repeating the question, he replied, "Yes, please your majesty; and I may boast to have had the honour of having him under my command."

But the most noble part of her character was her peculiar humanity and compassion for the unfortunate. Motraye has paid an handsome tribute to this excellence. "She had, in some sort, the government of all

his (Peter's) passions; and even saved the lives of a great many more persons than Le Fort was able to do: she inspired him with that humanity, which, in the opinion of his subjects, nature seemed to have denied him. A word from her mouth in favour of a wretch, just going to be sacrificed to his anger, would disarm him; but if he was fully resolved to satisfy that passion, he would give orders for the execution when she was absent, for fear she should plead for the victim." In a word, to use the expression of the celebrated Munich, "*Elle étoit proprement la médiatrice entre le monarque et ses sujets.*"

MANNERS

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

Of the MANNERS of the EARLY GREEKS.

[From Mr. MITFORD's History of Greece.]

“THE manners of a people receive their tone from a great variety of circumstances; climate; soil; extent of territory; population; religion; government, monarchical or republican, vigorous and permanent, or weak and changeable; system of jurisprudence; administration of justice, ready and certain, or feeble and irregular; science; arts; commerce, communication with strangers. We find accordingly the manners of the Homeric age distinguished from those of subsequent times in Greece by many characteristic lines; and we may observe throughout a strong oriental tinge, which afterward very much faded away. Migrations from the East into Greece had ceased before Homer; but the eastern merchants still ingrossed the little commerce of the Grecian towns. Afterward, whether from a republican jealousy of foreigners; whether from a republican industry with increased population; whether from a republican frugality, with the naturally attending disposition to decry foreign luxuries; or whether the propensity to piracy among the Greeks, with increased naval strength, deterred commerce, the intercourse between the two countries lessened greatly. The most striking features in the Homeric manners are that licentiousness, and that hospitality, together with that union, at first view

so strange to us, of the highest dignities with the meanest employments, which have prevailed in the East so remarkably through all ages. These are, however, not the peculiar growth of any soil and climate. The two first are the seldom failing produce of defective government; and the other will everywhere be found in an unimproved state of society. The resemblance borne till within this century by the manners of the Highland Scots to those of the Orientals in these particulars is striking. But in Greece, though the ties of blood had such weight with the people among themselves, yet we find nothing of clanship, nothing of that devoted attachment of vassals to the family of a chief, which distinguished many of the Orientals, as well as our northern Highlanders. While the claims of hereditary royalty were established in general opinion, some degree of respect would adhere to the known posterity of a popular leader; but superior personal qualities were always necessary to maintain even the possession of rank and wealth.

“There is a passage in the *Odysee* which illustrates remarkably at the same time the government, the morality, and the religion of the age. It was proposed among the suitors of Penelope to kill her son Telemachus, and divide his property. One only of them hesitated.

‘To kill a person of royal race,’ he says, ‘is no light matter. Let us therefore consult the gods. If the laws of the great Jupiter approve it, myself will be among the first both to persuade and to strike the stroke: but if the gods forbid, I advise to forbear.’ The person thus represented seriously expressing doubt whether the foulest murder might not be committed with approbation of the deity, is described as of high birth, respectable character, and superior understanding. But murders were so common that, without peculiar circumstances of enormity, they scarcely left a stain upon the character of the perpetrator. Some of the favourite personages of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as the author of the *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* has observed, had been guilty of this crime, and had fled their country in consequence: not however to escape public justice; but to avoid the revenge of the relations of the deceased. Private revenge we know was formerly almost the only restraint upon the most atrocious crimes against individuals in our own country, and still more in the rest of western Europe; in so much that, in the weakness of public justice, private revenge even received the sanction, and was put under the guidance of the law. Hence it was that among the early Greeks, as in general through the East, a numerous progeny was so particularly esteemed a great blessing to parents. A numerous family was always a powerful family: it could do justice to itself; and, if unanimously so inclined, injure others with impunity. But “cruelty, violence and oppression,” says the writer just mentioned, who had studied oriental manners from the life, ‘are so evidently the result of

defective government, that it is unnecessary to look for any other general cause of the scenes of this sort with which Homer abounds in common with other ancient writers, and agreeably to the present manners of the East. For when every man is in great measure judge in his own cause, vices of this class are not only more frequent, but less criminal than in a civilized state, where the individual transfers his resentments to the community, and private injury expects redress from public justice. Where the legislature does not engage for our personal security, we have a right to use such means as are in our power to destroy the aggressor who would destroy us. In such cases bodily strength and courage must decide most contests; while, on the other hand, craft, cunning, and surprize are the legitimate weapons of the weak against the strong. We accordingly find, that both the ancient and the modern history of the East is a continued scene of bloodshed and treachery.” These very just reflections may teach us to exercise our pity and spare our censure on human nature in such unfortunate circumstances.

“Hospitality,” says the same writer, who had enjoyed such peculiar means of information on the subject, “prevails in most countries, and in the different provinces of each country, very much in proportion to the idleness, poverty, and insecurity which attend a defective police. It is some consolation, in so wretched a state of society, that this virtue should be most cultivated where it is most wanted. In Arabia, the rights of hospitality, so properly called, the point of honour of the East, are the happy substitute of positive law; which in some degree supplies the place of justice;

connecting, by a voluntary intercourse of good offices, those vagabond tribes, who despise legislation, deny the perfect rights of mankind, and set the civil magistrate at defiance: a strong instance of that sympathizing principle in the social constitution of our nature, which the wisest government will encourage, and which the most depraved cannot suppress." In confirmation of these judicious remarks, we find it established as a principle in Homer, that "to those not totally void of the feelings of humanity, the guest and the suppliant should be as a near relation:" and he gives them a divine right to kind treatment, alledging, that "the stranger and the poor are from Jove." The liberties taken by suppliant strangers, and the confidence reposed in them, were consonant to these principles. Ulysses, saved alone from shipwreck on an unknown coast, goes without introduction to the palace of the king of the country, which is represented as singularly rich and splendid, enters the apartments, and finding the king and queen at supper with the principal nobles, abruptly addresses his supplication to the queen. Not only kindness but honour is immediately shown to him; he is lodged in the palace; and the next day the king, recommending him to favour in an assembly of the people, declares at the same time that he knows not who he was. It seems, indeed, to have been a general point of civility, not hastily to ask any stranger who he was. Telemachus and Mentor, landing in the port of Pylus, find the venerable Nestor, prince of the country, with the assembled Pylian people on the shore, in the midst of the ceremony of a magnificent public sacrifice. The strangers are no sooner perceived approaching than

the Pylians crowd to meet them, salute them in terms of friendship, and invite them to partake of the feast which always followed a sacrifice, and which indeed seem to have been an essential part of the ceremony. They were, however, not left to the civility of the multitude. Peisistratus, son of Nestor, advancing before the rest, to lead them by the hand, and placed them at table by his royal father and his elder brother. When the meal was over, Nestor spoke in the following remarkable terms: "Now the strangers have satisfied themselves with eating, it will be proper to ask them who they are, and whence they come. Strangers, who are you, and whence come you, navigating the watery ways? Is it for any business, or do you roam at large, as pirates over the sea; those who wander risking their own lives, and bringing evil upon others?" Thucydides, than whom none could be better qualified to judge, believed this to be a faithful picture of the manners of his ancestors; and he observes upon it, that Nestor's question was in the common way of inquiry, and not at all implying doubt whether the strangers were worthy of his hospitality, or fit company for his table, though they might be pirates. Telemachus and Peisistratus afterward going as hereditary guests, but not personally known, to Menelaus king of Sparta, neither announce themselves, nor does any one enquire who they are. The king, only informed by one of his household that unknown strangers just arrived in a chariot are waiting without, expresses displeasure at the mention of a doubt whether they were to be treated in the palace or provided elsewhere; orders that they should be immediately introduced into the hall where he was sitting at a public supper with

with his court, places them by himself at table, and then tells them that, after they have supped, he will ask them who they are, and whence they came. In the same manner, in a former part of the poem, Telemachus himself is represented expressing indignation at the least delay of civility to a stranger whom he observes at the gate of his father's palace; goes out himself to receive him, and tells him that he shall first sup, and then declare his errand. From these offices of hospitality, once performed, new and still more sacred rights arose, which did not expire with the persons who gave origin to them, but descended to all the posterity of either party. A man was peculiarly bound to show kindness to an hereditary guest; to one who had entertained any of his ancestors, or who had been entertained by them.

“How necessary this generous point of honour was, to alleviate the miseries to which mankind in that unsettled state of law and government were liable, we may gather from many lively and affecting pictures scattered through Homer's poems. Beside the general incompetency of governments to secure internal order, the best regulated were in perpetual danger of ruin from foreign enemies; and this ruin was cruel, was complete. “These are the evils,” we are told in the Iliad, “that follow the capture of a town: the men are killed; the city is burnt to the ground; the women and children of all ranks are carried off for slaves.” “Wretch that I am,” says the venerable Priam, “what evil does the great Jupiter bring on me in my old age! My sons slain, my daughters dragged into slavery; violence pervading even the chambers of my pa-

lace; and the very infants dashed against the ground in horrid sport of war. I myself, slain in the vain office of defence, shall be the prey of my own dogs, perhaps in my very palace-gates!”

“Where such was war, the manners of warriors, even of the noblest characters, could not be without stains of barbarism and illiberality. We find, in the Iliad, men of highest rank, meeting in battle, address each other in language the most grossly insulting: they threaten, they revile, and sometimes jest in a very unseemly manner on the misfortunes of their adversaries. “You whom the Greeks so honour above others,” says Hector to Diomed, “are no better than a woman. Go, wretch!” Then follows the reason of this personal anger: “You think to storm our city, and carry off our women in your ships.” After this the added threat however will not appear unreasonable: “My arm,” continues Hector, “shall first send you to the infernal deities.” With minds thus heated, and manners thus roughened, it is no wonder if we find chiefs of the same nation and army use great illiberality of language one to another. Of this, not to mention a dispute so extreme as that between Agamemnon and Achilles, Hector in a speech to Polydamas, and Oilean Ajax to Idomeneus, afford remarkable examples.

“It was little usual to give quarter. “Why so tender-hearted?” says Agamemnon to Menelaus, seeing him hesitate while a Trojan of high rank, who had had the misfortune to be disabled by being thrown from his chariot, was begging for life? “Are you and your house so beholden to the Trojans? Let not one of them escape destruction from our hands; no, not the child within his mother's

womb

womb. Let all perish unmourned ; let not a vestige of them be seen remaining.' The poet gives the sanction of his own approbation to this inhumanity in a prince by no means generally characterised inhuman : ' It was justly spoken,' says Homer ; ' and he turned his brother's mind.' Menelaus, accordingly, pushed away the noble suppliant, and the king of men himself was the executioner who put the unresisting wretch to death. Hector, in whom we find so many amiable qualities, was not less infected with this barbarous spirit of his age. When he had killed Patroclus, and stripped him on the spot of his divine armour, he postponed the most pressing and most important concerns, equally of himself and of his country, to the gratification of weak revenge ; losing sight of all the greater objects of battle while he struggled for the naked corse, with intention to complete its contumely by giving it to be devoured by Trojan dogs ; and to make his vengeance lasting by depriving it of those funeral rites which were, in the opinion of the times, necessary to the repose of souls after death. We must not therefore wonder that the common Greeks should delight in wounding the dead body of Hector himself when he was soon after slain ; nor ought we to attribute peculiar ferocity to the character of Achilles for the indignities with which he treated it ; since both the morality and the religion of his age, far from condemning such conduct, evidently taught him to consider it as directed, not indeed by humanity, but by social affection, and enforced by that piety, such as it was, which the gods of his country required. When the unfortunate monarch of Troy came afterward in person to

beg the body of his heroic son, we find the conduct of Achilles marked by a superior spirit of generous humanity. Yet in the very act of granting the pious request, he doubts if he is quite excusable to the soul of his departed friend, for remitting the extremity of vengeance which he had meditated, and restoring the corse to receive the rites of burial. Agreeably to this cruel spirit of warfare, the token of victory was the head of the principal person of the vanquished slain fixed on a post. The milder temper of a more civilized age abolished this custom, and it became usual for the conqueror only to suspend a suit of armour on a post ; which, thus adorned, was termed a trophy. Perhaps firearms have contributed to humanize war. The most cruel strokes to individuals are now generally in a great measure the effect of chance ; for it seldom can be ascertained from what hand precisely they come, and revenge thus wants its object. Other favourable circumstances it is true have assisted ; but this, it may fairly be presumed, has had its share in making revenge alien to modern warfare.

" While such were the horrors of war continually threatening, not frontier provinces of extensive realms, but every man's door, we may wonder at any progress that civility and the arts of peace had made among mankind ; that wealth, grandeur, elegance, and almost that any thing beyond mere necessities of life, were thought worth any pains to acquire. But, amid the alarms of violence and oppression, the spirit of hospitality, so generally diffused, often alleviated misfortune ; and even in the crash of nations, many individuals, if they could save only their lives

from the general ruin, were at no loss for resources. This extensive communication of the rights of hospitality was of powerful effect to humanize a savage people, to excite a relish for elegance in style of living, and to make the more refined joys of society more eagerly sought, as well as more easily obtained. There was in Homer's time great difference in the possessions of individuals: some had large tracts of land with numerous herds and flocks; others had none. This state of things is generally favourable to the arts; a few, who have a superabundance of wealth, being better able, and generally more willing, to encourage them than numbers who have only a competency. The communication of the rights of hospitality would also assist toward the preservation of property to those families which had once acquired it. A sort of association was thus formed, which in some degree supplied the want of a regular administration of law. Without some security thus derived we should scarcely have found distinction of rank so strongly marked as it is in Homer. A man of rank, it appears, might be known by his gait and manners under every disguise of a mean habit, and mean employment. This could never be without a wide distinction existing through successive generations. A youth is described elegant in his dress, and delicate in his person; 'such,' says the poet, 'as the sons of princes usually are.' It is remarkable that the youth thus described, was in the employment of a shepherd. Strength, however, and activity always go to the description of Homer's men of rank: but luxury, such as it was in those days, never is mentioned as unbecoming a hero; though it was more

particularly the privilege of the aged. The wealthy, as we have already observed, had houses built of freestone, spacious, and with many apartments on different floors; and we find all the offices to be expected in a great family performed with much regularity. The directions which Penelope's housekeeper gives to the menial servants for the business of the day might still serve in the East without variation: 'Go quickly,' she said, 'some of you sweep the house, and sprinkle it; and let the crimson carpets be spread upon the seats; let all the tables be well rubbed with sponges, and wash carefully the bowls and the cups. Some of you go immediately to the fountain for water.' No less than twenty went on this errand. The whole number of maid-servants were fifty; not, however, all employed in household business, but probably most of them in the manufacture of cloth, and making of clothes for the family. Men-servants waited at meals; and those of Ulysses's household are described as comely youths, handsomely clothed, and always neat in their appearance. Servants of both sexes seem to have been all slaves.

"It appears indeed, as we have already remarked, that since the age of Hercules and Theseus, considerable progress had been made in establishing the powers of government over Peloponnesus at least, and giving security to the country. No apprehension of such dangers as Theseus found in the way from Træzene to Athens is mentioned in the account of Telemachus's journey from Pylos to Sparta. Without attendants Telemachus and Peisistratus set out in a chariot drawn by two horses. They carry with them provisions for the day.

day. In the evening they arrive at Phæraæ, where they are entertained by Diocles, a chief of the country. The next evening they arrive at Sparta; and their return affords no more variety of story.

“Homer has left us many pictures of his heroes in their hours of relaxation with the goblet circulating. It has indeed been very anciently observed, that he shows himself strongly disposed to social and convivial enjoyment. Horace has aggravated the remark into a reproach. Yet allowing for the peculiarities of the manners of the heroic ages, most of which are still found in the East, there is great elegance in Homer’s convivial meetings. Once he makes express mention of drunkenness: but the anecdote forms a strong lesson to deter from that vice; showing, by a terrible example, that persons of the highest rank and most respectable character, if they yield to intemperance, reduce themselves for the time to a level with the lowest and most profligate, and are liable to every indignity. But at the feasts of the great the song of the bard seldom failed to make a principal part of the entertainment. The bard indeed seems to have been a person of importance in the household establishment of every wealthy chief. His knowledge and memory, in the deficiency of books, were to supply the place of a library: his skill in music and poetry were to convey the instruction in the most agreeable manner, and inform, even when pleasure was the only apparent object. In one instance Homer attributes extraordinary authority to the bard. Ægistheus could not accomplish his purpose of possessing himself of the person of Clytemnestra and the principal sway in the Argian go-

vernment, till he had removed the bard whom Agamemnon had appointed to be chief counsellor to the queen in his absence.

“Women in the Homeric age enjoyed more freedom, and communicated more in business and amusement among men, than in subsequent ages has been usual in those eastern countries; far more than at Athens in the flourishing times of the commonwealth. In the *Iliad* we find Helen and Andromache appearing frequently in company with the Trojan chiefs, and entering freely into the conversation. Attended only by one or two maid-servants, they walk thro’ the streets of Troy as business or fancy lead them. Penelope, persecuted as she is by her suitors, does not scruple occasionally to show herself among them; and scarcely more reserve seems to have been imposed on virgins than on married women. Equally indeed Homer’s elegant eulogies and Hesiod’s severe sarcasm prove women to have been in their days important members of society. The character of Penelope in the *Odyssey* is the completest panegyric upon the sex that ever was composed; and no language can give a more elegant or a more highly coloured picture of conjugal affection than is displayed in the conversation between Hector and Andromache in the sixth book of the *Iliad*. Even Helen, in spite of her failings, and independently of her beauty, steals upon our hearts, in Homer’s description, by the modesty of her deportment and the elegance of her manners. On all occasions indeed Homer shows a disposition to favour the sex: civility and attention to them he attributes most particularly to his greatest characters, to Achilles, and still more remarkably to

Hector. The infinite variety of his subjects, and the historical nature of his poems, led him necessarily to speak of bad women: but even when the black deed of Clytemnestra calls for his utmost reprobation, still his delicacy toward the sex leads him to mention it in a manner that might tend to guard against that reproach which would be liable to involve all for the wickedness of one. With some things of course widely differing from what prevails in distant climates and distant ages, we yet find in general the most perfect decency and even elegance of manners in Homer's descriptions of the intercourse of men and women. Of this Helen's conversations on the walls of Troy in the *Iliad*, and in her court at Sparta in the *Odyssey*, afford remarkable examples. One office of civility indeed, which we find usually performed by women in the heroic age, may excite our wonder: the business of attending men in bathing seems to have been peculiar to women; and, in compliment to men of rank, was performed by virgins of the highest rank. When Telemachus visited Nestor at Pylus, the office of washing and clothing him was assigned to the beautiful Polyaste, the virgin-daughter of the venerable monarch. When Ulysses appeared as an unknown stranger in his own palace, the queen Penelope, uninformed who or what he was, merely in pursuance of the common rights of hospitality, directed her young maids to attend him to the bath. Ulysses refused the honour, and desired an old woman; but the poet seems to have thought it necessary that he should apologize very particularly for such a singularity. Repugnant as these circumstances appear to common notions of eastern

jealousy, yet customs not absolutely dissimilar are still found among the Arabs. Indeed the general sentiments of the Turks toward the female sex are a strange compound of the grossest sensuality with the most scrupulous decency. For the credit of Homer, however, and of his age, it should be observed, that, among all his variety of pictures of human passion, not a hint occurs of this unnatural sensuality which afterwards so disgraced Grecian manners.

“ It was customary in the heroic age, as indeed at all times in Greece, for ladies of the highest rank to employ themselves in spinning and needlework, and in at least directing the business of the loom; which was carried on, as till lately in the Highlands of Scotland, for every family within itself. It was praise equally for a slave and a princess to be skilful in works of this kind. In Homer's time washing also was employment for ladies. The princess Nausicaa, the young and beautiful daughter of the opulent king of Phæacia, a country famed more for luxury than industry, went with her maids, in a carriage drawn by mules, to a fountain in a sequestered spot at some distance from the city, to wash the clothes of the family.

“ It is matter of no small curiosity to compare the manners and principles of the heroic age of Greece with those of our Teutonic ancestors. There are strong lines of resemblance, and there are at the same time strong characteristic touches by which they stand distinguished. Greece was a country holding out to its possessors every delight of which humanity is capable; but where, through the inefficacy of law, the instability of governments, and the character of the times

times, happiness was extremely precarious, and the change frequent from the height of bliss to the depth of misery. Hence, rather than from his natural temper, Homer seems to have derived a melancholy tinge widely diffused over his poems. He frequently adverts, in general reflections, to the miseries of mankind. That earth nourishes no animal more miserable than man, is a remark which he puts into the mouth of Jupiter himself. His common epithet for war and battle is "tearful." With the northern bards, on the contrary, war and battle were subjects of highest joy and merriment: and this idea was supported in fact, we are well assured, to a most extraordinary degree. Yet there was more generosity and less cruelty in the Gothic spirit of

war than in the Grecian. Whence this arose; what circumstances gave the weaker sex so much more consequence among the Teutonic nations than among the Greeks; how the spirit of gallantry, so little known to this elegant and polished people, should arise and gain such universal influence among the fierce unlettered savages of the North; that gallantry which, with many fantastical and some mischievous effects, has produced many so highly salutary and honourable to mankind, will probably ever remain equally a mystery in the history of man, as why perfection in the sciences and every elegant art should be confined to the little territory of Greece, and those nations which have derived it thence."

ACCOUNT of the INHABITANTS of POLAND.

[From Mr. COXE's Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark.]

"I consider Polish liberty as the source of Polish wretchedness; and Poland appears to me, as far as I can judge by the specimens which fell under my observation, of all countries the most distressed. Nor indeed do the natives themselves attempt to palliate or deny this melancholy fact. Upon expressing my surprize at one instance of the abuse of liberty, to which I had been myself a witness, to a person well versed in the laws of the country, he returned for answer, "If you knew the confusion and anarchy of our constitution, you would be surprized at nothing: many grievances necessarily exist even in the best regulated states; what then must be the case in our's, which of all governments is the most detestable?"

Another, lamenting the dreadful situation of his country, said to me, "The name of Poland still remains, but the nation no longer exists: an universal corruption and venality pervades all ranks of people. Many of the first nobility do not blush to receive pensions from foreign courts. One professes himself publicly, an Austrian, a second a Prussian, a third a Frenchman, and a fourth a Russian."

"The present situation of the Polish nation impressed my mind with the most pathetic ideas of fallen greatness; and I could not consider, without a mixture of regret and sympathy, a people, who formerly gave law to the North, reduced to so low a state of insignificance and domestic misery. The nation has

few manufactures, scarcely any commerce; a king almost without authority; the nobles in a state of uncontrouled anarchy; the peasants groaning under a yoke of feudal despotism far worse than the tyranny of an absolute monarch. I never before observed such an inequality of fortune, such sudden transition from extreme riches to extreme poverty: wherever I turned my eyes, luxury and wretchedness were constant neighbours. In a word, the boasted Polish liberty is not enjoyed in the smallest degree by the bulk of the people, but is confined among the nobles or gentry. The truth of these remarks will best appear from the following account of the inhabitants.

“ The inhabitants of Poland are nobles, clergy, citizens, and peasants.

“ I. The nobles are divided into two classes; the members of the senate, and of the equestrian order. Having, upon a former occasion, described the powers which senators enjoy in their collective capacity, it will be unnecessary to repeat them in this place.

“ We should be greatly deceived if we were to understand the word *noble* in our sense of that term. In the laws of Poland a noble is a person who possesses a freehold estate, or who can prove his descent from ancestors formerly possessing a freehold, following no trade or commerce, and at liberty to choose the place of his habitation. This description includes all persons above burghers and peasants. The members of this body below the rank of senators are called, in a collective state, the equestrian order; and in their individual capacities, nobles, gentlemen, freemen, or land-holders, which appellations are synonymous.

“ All the nobles or gentry are, in the strict letter of the law, equal by birth; so that all honours and titles are supposed to add nothing to their real dignity. By means of their representatives in the diet, they have a share in the legislative authority, and, in some cases, as in the election of a king, they assemble in person, when each noble is capable of being elected a nuntio, of bearing the office of a senator, and of presenting himself as a candidate upon a vacancy in the throne. No noble can be arrested without being previously convicted, except in cases of high treason, murder, and robbery on the highway, and then he must be surprised in the fact; nor can he be capitally punished but by order of the diet. The definition of a noble being thus applied not only to persons actually possessing land, but even to the descendants of former landholders, comprehends such a large body of men, that many of them are in a state of extreme indigence; and as, according to the Polish law, they lose their nobility if they follow trade or commerce, the most needy generally devote themselves to the service of the richer nobles, who, like the old feudal barons, are constantly attended by a large number of retainers. As all nobles, without any distinction, enjoy the right of voting, as well for the choice of nuntio, as at the election of a king, their poverty and their number are frequently productive of great inconvenience. Hence the king, who has justly conceived a great veneration for the English constitution, wished to introduce into the new code a law similar to our's relating to county elections, that no person should be entitled to a vote in the choice of a nuntio but those who possessed a certain qualification in land. This pro-

proposition, however, has been received with such marks of dissatisfaction, that we may conclude it will never be allowed to pass into a law.

“ II. The clergy. Miciſlaus, the first sovereign of Poland who embraced Christianity, granted several immunities and estates to the clergy. His successors and the rich nobles followed his example; and the riches of this body continued increasing, as well from royal as private donations, until the diet, apprehensive lest in process of time the greatest part of the estates should pass into the hands of the clergy, forbade by different laws, and particularly in 1669, the alienation of lands to the church, under penalty of forfeiture: and under the present reign several estates have been confiscated which had been bestowed upon the clergy since that period.

“ From the time of the first establishment of the catholic religion by cardinal Ægidius, nuntio from pope John XII. the bishops have been admitted into the senate as king's counsellors. They were usually appointed by the king, and confirmed by the pope; but since the creation of the permanent council, they are nominated by his majesty out of three candidates chosen by the council: a bishop, the moment he is appointed, is of course entitled to all the privileges of a senator. The archbishop of Gnesna is primate, as we have before observed, the first senator in rank, and viceroy during an interregnum.

“ The ecclesiastics are all free-men, and, in some particular instances, have their own courts of justice, in which the canon law is practised. Of these courts of justice peculiar to the clergy there are three sorts; 1. The consistorial, under the jurisdiction of each bishop in

his diocese; 2. The metropolitan, under the primate, to which an appeal lies from the bishop's court; 3. That of the pope's nuntio, which is the supreme ecclesiastical judicature within the kingdom, to which an appeal may be made both from the decision of the bishop and of the primate. In cases of divorce, dispensations for marriages, and in other instances, the parties, as in all catholic countries, must apply to the pope; by which means no inconsiderable portion of money is absorbed by the see of Rome.

“ In most civil affairs the clergy are judged in the ordinary courts of justice. In criminal causes, an ecclesiastic is first arrested by the civil powers, then judged in the consistory, and, if convicted, he is remitted to the civil power, in order to undergo the penalty annexed to the crime of which he has been found guilty. One great ecclesiastical abuse, which has been abolished in most other catholic countries, still exists in this kingdom: when the pope sends a bull into Poland, the clergy publish and carry it into execution, without the confirmation or approbation of the civil power. Before 1538 ecclesiastics were allowed to hold civil employments, but in that year priests were declared incapable of being promoted to secular offices. They were also exempted from paying any taxes; but this exemption has been wisely taken off, and they are now rated in the same manner as the laity, with this difference, that their contributions are not called taxes, but charitable subsidies.

“ III. The next class of people are the burghers, inhabiting towns, whose privileges were formerly far more considerable than they are at present.

“ The history of all countries,

in which the feudal system has been established, bears testimony to the pernicious policy of holding the lower classes of men in a state of slavish subjection. In process of time a concurrence of causes contributed gradually to soften the rigour of this servitude with regard to the burghers, in several of the feudal kingdoms. Among other circumstances tending to their protection, the most favourable was the formation of several cities into bodies politic, with the privilege of exercising municipal jurisdiction. This institution took its rise in Italy, the first country in Europe which emerged from barbarism; and was from thence transferred to France and Germany. It was first introduced into Poland about 1250, during the reign of Boleslaus the Chaste, who, being instructed in the Teutonic or German laws by Henry the Bearded, duke of Wratislaw, granted first to Cracow, and afterwards to several other towns, the privileges possessed by the German cities: this body of rights is called in the statutes of Poland *Jus Magdeburgicum et Teutonicum*; and the cause assigned for its introduction is, that no city could flourish and increase under the feudal laws. In the thirteenth and following centuries the kings and great barons built several towns, to all which they granted a charter of incorporation, conceived in the following terms: "*Transfero hanc villam ex jure Polonico in jus Teutonicum.*" The beneficial tendency of this political regulation soon appeared. By a sudden increase of population and wealth, the burghers of some of the principal free towns acquired such a degree of importance and consideration, as to give their assent to treaties, and send deputies to the national assembly: a noble was not degraded by

being a burgher, and a burgher was capable of being an officer of the crown. A treaty which Casimir the Great entered into with the knights of the Teutonic order, was not only signed by the king and the principal nobles, but also by the burghers of Cracow, Posen, Sandomir, and other towns; and under the same monarch Wiernesk, burgomaster of Cracow, was submarshal and treasurer of the crown.

"The burghers enjoyed the privileges just mentioned during the Jaghellon line, as appears from the different acts of Sigismund I. and his son Sigismund Augustus. During the reign of the former the nobles endeavoured to exclude the deputies of Cracow from the diet; but that monarch not only confirmed the right of that city to send representatives, but even decreed, that the citizens were included within the class of nobles.

"When the crown became wholly elective, the burghers suffered continual encroachments on their privileges at every nomination of a new sovereign: they lost the right of possessing lands, excepting within a small distance of their towns, of sending deputies to the diets, and were of course excluded from all share of the legislative authority. The principal cause of this exclusion was, that as the burghers were not obliged, by the nature of their tenures, to march against the enemy, but were only under the necessity of furnishing arms and waggon for the use of the army; they incurred, therefore, the contempt of the warlike gentry, who, in the true spirit of feudal arrogance, considered all occupations, but that of war, as beneath a freeman, and all persons, not bound to military services, as unqualified for the administration of public affairs.

"The

“ The burghers, however, still enjoy a considerable portion of freedom, and possess the following immunities : they elect their own burgomaster and council ; they regulate their interior police, and have their own criminal courts of justice, which decide without appeal. A burgher, when plaintiff against a noble, is obliged to carry the cause into the courts of justice belonging to the nobles, where the judgment is final : when defendant, he must be cited before the magistrates of his own town, from whence an appeal lies only to the king in the assessorial tribunal. To this exemption from the jurisdiction of the nobles, though only in one species of causes, the burghers owe whatever degree of independence they still retain ; as without this immunity they would long ago have been reduced to a state of vassalage.

“ IV. The peasants in Poland, as in all feudal governments, are serfs or slaves ; and the value of an estate is not estimated so much from its extent, as from the number of its peasants, who are transferred from one master to another like so many head of cattle.

“ The peasants, however, are not all in an equal state of subjection : they are distinguished into two sorts ; 1. German ; 2. Natives.

“ During the reign of Boleslaus the Chaste, and more particularly in that of Casimir the Great, many Germans settled in Poland, who were indulged in the use of the German laws ; and their descendants still continue to enjoy several privileges not possessed by the generality of Polish peasants. The good effects of these privileges are very visible in the general state of their domestic œconomy : their villages are better built, and their fields better cultivated, than those which

belong to the native Poles : they possess more cattle, pay their quit-rents to their lords with greater exactness ; and, when compared with the others, are cleaner and neater in their persons.

“ 2. The slavery of the Polish peasants is very ancient, and was always extremely rigorous. Until the time of Casimir the Great, the lord could put his peasant to death with impunity, and, when the latter had no children, considered himself as the heir, and seized all his effects. In 1347 Casimir prescribed a fine for the murder of a peasant, and enacted, that, in case of his decease without issue, his next heir should inherit. The same sovereign also decreed, that a peasant was capable of bearing arms as a soldier, and that therefore he ought to be considered as a free man. But these and other regulations, by which that amiable monarch endeavoured to alleviate the miseries of the vassals, have proved ineffectual against the power and tyranny of the nobles, and have been either abrogated or eluded. That law, which gives the property of a peasant dying without issue to the next of kin, was instantly rendered nugatory by an old Polish maxim, “ That no slave can carry on any process against his master ;” and even the fine for his murder was seldom levied, on account of the numerous difficulties which attend the conviction of a noble for this or any other enormity. So far indeed from being inclined to soften the servitude of their vassals, the nobles have ascertained and established it by repeated and positive ordinances. An able Polish writer, in a benevolent treatise addressed to the chancellor Zamoiski, observes, that in the statutes of Poland there are above one hundred laws unfavourable to the

the peasants, which, among other grievances, erect summary tribunals subject to no appeals, and impose the severest penalties upon those who quit their villages without leave. From these numerous and rigorous edicts to prevent the elopement of the peasants, the same humane author justly infers the extreme wretchedness of this oppressed class of men, who cannot be detained in the place of their nativity but by the terror of the severest punishment.

“ The native peasants may be divided into two sorts: 1. Peasants of the crown; 2. Peasants belonging to individuals.

“ 1. Peasants of the crown are those who are settled in the great fiefs of the kingdom, or in the royal demesnes, and are under the jurisdictions of the starosts. If the crown-peasants are oppressed by these judges, they may lodge a complaint in the royal courts of justice; and, should the starost endeavour to obstruct the process, the king can order the chancellor to issue a safe-conduct, by which he takes the injured person under his protection: and although in most cases the corrupt administration of justice, and the superior influence of the starosts, prevent a complainant from obtaining any effectual redress even in the king's courts; yet, the very possibility of procuring relief is some check to injustice, and some alleviation of distress.

“ 2. Peasants belonging to individuals are at the absolute disposal of their master, and have scarcely any positive security, either for their properties or their lives. Until 1768 the statutes of Poland only exacted a fine from a lord who killed his slave; but in that year a decree passed, that the murder of a

peasant was a capital crime; yet, as the law in question requires such an accumulation of evidence as is seldom to be obtained, it has more the appearance of protection than the reality.

“ How deplorable must be the state of that country, when a law of that nature was thought requisite to be enacted, yet is found incapable of being enforced. The generality, indeed, of the Polish nobles are not inclined either to establish or give efficacy to any regulations in favour of the peasants, whom they scarcely consider as entitled to the common rights of humanity. A few nobles, however, of benevolent hearts and enlightened understandings, have acted upon different principles, and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has showed this project to be no less judicious than humane, no less friendly to their own interests than to the happiness of their peasants: for it appears that in the districts, in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages is considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion.

“ The first noble who granted freedom to his peasants was Zamoisli, formerly great chancellor, who in 1760, enfranchised six villages in the palatinate of Masovia. These villages were, in 1777, visited by the author of the Patriotic Letters, from whom I received the following information: On inspecting the parish-registers of births from 1750 to 1760, that is, during the ten years of slavery immediately preceding their enfranchisement, he found the number of births 434; in the first ten years of their freedom, from 1760 to 1770, 620; and from 1770

to the beginning of 1777, 585 births. By these extracts it appeared that

“ During the first period there were only 43 births	} each year.
second period 62	
third period 77	

If we suppose an improvement of this sort to take place throughout the kingdom, how great would be the increase of national population!

“ The revenues of the six villages, since their enfranchisement, have been augmented in a much greater proportion than their population. In their state of vassalage Zamoiski was obliged, according to the custom of Poland, to build cottages and barns for his peasants, and to furnish them with seed, horses, ploughs, and every implement of agriculture: since their attainment of liberty they are become so easy in their circumstances, as to provide themselves with all these necessities at their own expence; and they likewise cheerfully pay an annual rent, in lieu of the manual labour, which their master formerly exacted from them. By these means the receipts of this particular estate have been nearly tripled.

“ Upon signing the deed of enfranchisement of the six villages, their benevolent master intimated some apprehensions to the inhabitants, lest, encouraged by their freedom, they should fall into every species of licentiousness, and commit more disorders than when they were slaves. The simplicity and good sense of their answer is remarkable, “ When we had no other property,” returned they, “ than the stick which we hold in our hands, we were destitute of all encouragement to a right conduct; and, having nothing to lose, acted on all occasions in an inconsiderate man-

ner: but as soon as our houses, our lands, and our cattle, are our own, the fear of forfeiting them will be a constant restraint upon our actions.” The sincerity of this assertion was manifested by the event. While they were in a state of servitude, Zamoiski was occasionally obliged to pay fines for disorders committed by his peasants, who, in a state of drunkenness, would attack and sometimes kill passengers: since their freedom he has seldom received any complaints of this sort against them. These circumstances decisively confute the ill-grounded surmises entertained by many Poles, that their vassals are too licentious and ungovernable not to make an ill use of freedom. Zamoiski, pleased with the thriving state of the six villages, has enfranchised the peasants on all his estates.

“ The example of Zamoiski has been followed by Chreptowitz, vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and the abbé Bryzotowski, with similar success. I was informed by a person who had visited the abbé’s estate at Pawlowo near Vilna, that the happy countenance and comfortable air of these peasants made them appear a different race of men from the wretched tenants of the neighbouring villages. The peasants, penetrated with a sense of their master’s kindness, have erected, at their own expence a pillar with an inscription expressive of their gratitude and affection.

“ Prince Stanislaus, nephew to the king of Poland, has warmly patronized the plan of giving liberty to the peasants. His own good sense and natural humanity, improved during his residence in England by a view of that equal liberty which pervades every rank of men, have raised him above the prejudices too prevalent among his countrymen:

he has enfranchised four villages not far from Warsaw, in which he has not only emancipated the peasants from their slavery, but even condescends to direct their affairs. I had the honour of holding several conversations with him upon this subject. He explained to me in the most satisfactory manner, that the grant of freedom was no less advantageous to the lord than to the peasant, provided the former is willing to superintend their conduct for a few years, and to put them in a way of acting for themselves; for such is the ignorance of the generality among the boors, arising from the abject slavery in which they are held, and so little have they been usually left to their own discretion, that few at first are equal to the proper management of a farm. From a conviction of these facts, the prince, whose knowledge and benevolence I shall ever revere, continues his attention to their concerns: he visits their cottages, suggests improvements in agriculture, instructs them in the mode of rearing cattle and bees, and points out the errors into which ignorance and incapacity occasionally betray them.

“The example of this prince, great by his rank, but still greater by his humanity, can scarcely fail of producing its due effect, especially as he intends giving to the public his arrangements and regulations, and will show how much he has increased his estate and the happiness of his peasants. Still, however, the condition of these peasants is not permanent; for though a lord grants their freedom, yet he cannot entail it upon them, as his successor may again reduce them to their original state of vassalage. It is, however, in agitation to secure the perpetuity of their liberty, when they

are once rendered free: but this attempt is of so delicate a nature, that it must be introduced with great caution, and can only be the work of time.

“V. In giving an account of the different classes of men who inhabit this country, I ought not to omit the Jews, as they form no inconsiderable part of its present inhabitants. This people date their introduction into Poland about the time of Casimir the Great, and as they enjoy privileges which they scarcely possess in any other country excepting England and Holland, their numbers have surprizingly increased. Lengnich, whom I have often quoted, says of them, that they “monopolize the commerce and trade of the country, keep the inns and taverns, are stewards to the nobility; in short, they seem to have so much influence, that nothing can be bought or sold without the intervention of a Jew.” Under John Sobieski they were so highly favoured, that his administration was invidiously called a Jewish junto: he farmed to the Jews the royal demesnes, and put such confidence in them as raised great discontent among the nobility. After his death, an antient law of Sigismund I. was revived and inserted in the *Pacta Conventa* of Augustus II. that no Jew or person of low birth should be capable of farming the royal revenues.

“In some towns, as at Casimir, Posen, &c. the Jews are permitted to settle: but in other places they are only allowed to reside during the time of fairs, or when the dietines are assembled; but the laws are seldom put in force against them. I endeavoured to obtain a probable account of their number, but I found this to be no easy matter, although all Jews, as well male as female,

pay an annual poll-tax, and therefore must be registered. According to the last capitation there were 166,871 Jews in Poland, exclusively of Lithuania, who paid that tax: but this cannot be their full complement, as it is their interest to diminish their number; and it is a well-known fact, that they conceal their children as much as possible. Perhaps the following calculations will assist us in this research. Of 2,580,796 inhabitants in Austrian Poland, 144,200, or about an eighteenth, were Jews. The eighteenth of the present population of Poland will give near 500,000: allowing therefore, for omissions in the capitation, as well as for those who migrated into Poland from the Russian dismembered province, we may fairly estimate the number of Jews at 600,000.

“ Before the late partition Poland contained about 14,000,000 of inhabitants. As far as I could collect from various conversations with several intelligent Poles, its present population amounts to 9,000,000.

“ While I am giving my principal attention to the history and constitution of Poland, I cannot but remark, that the feudal laws formerly so universal, and of which some traces are still to be discovered

in most countries, have been gradually abolished in other nations, and given place to a more regular and just administration; yet in Poland a variety of circumstances has concurred to prevent the abolition of those laws, and to preserve that mixture of liberty and oppression, order and anarchy, which so strongly characterized the feudal government. We may easily trace in this constitution all the striking features of that system. The principal are, an elective monarchy with a circumscribed power; the great officers of state possessing their charges for life, and independently of the king's authority; royal fiefs; the great nobility above controul; the nobles or gentry alone free and possessing lands; feudal tenures, military services, territorial jurisdiction; commerce degrading; oppressed condition of the burghers; vassalage of the peasants. In the course of this book I have had occasion to make mention of most of these evils, as still existing in Poland, and they may be considered as the radical causes of its decline; for they have prevented the Poles from adopting those more stable regulations, which tend to introduce order and good government, to augment commerce, and to increase population.”

DESCRIPTION of the SHEPHERD's LIFE and MANNERS of the Inhabitants of SANENLAND, in the Canton of BERNE, SWITZERLAND.

[From the Observations on the Present State of Denmark, Russia, and Switzerland.]

“ **T**HE shepherd's life, in Sanenland, may be said to hold a middle rank, between that of cultivators and wandering Tartars, or Arabians. Five or six times a-

year each family changes its habitation; and every week one meets the father of his household, with his wife and children, and, preceding them, herds, a cheese, kittle, and

and some wooden utenfils, travelling like an ancient patriarch in search of a new residence.

“ In no country, I believe, are to be seen so many cots and houses. Where there are buildings erected for the cows, every man, in moderate circumstances, prides himself on having a house apart; and scarcely any of the meadows, as their product is generally consumed in it, is without both, or at least one, of these wooden dwellings. The hay occupies the upper part, and the cattle the lower; and to guard against the fatal effects of a sudden inundation, they are all made to take to pieces, and each beam and plank numbered according to its particular place.

“ The meadows, in some of the vallies, are sometimes twice mowed, and then fed. In others, particularly that of Giettaz, some are mowed, and others only pastured. The mountain herbage for the cattle continues ten or twenty weeks, according to its height and situation. On those parts that are too steep for the access of their flocks, they cut the grass, and leave the hay bound together in different bundles, till the beginning of the snow season. The shepherd then fastens a long pole under one heap, to prevent its rolling over, sets himself on the top of it, and in a moment slides to the bottom, with the rest piled on a sledge, that he thus accompanies, and to which he gives direction.

“ When their winter forage is finished, they betake themselves to the lowest parts of the mountains, and having there consumed all their stock, proceed with their flocks towards the summits. Their march begins with the most pleasing solemnity. First goes the most beautiful cow of the herd, priding herself in a magnificent collar and bell;

by her side, walks the master of the family. Then follow his attendants, with the rest of the flocks. Shepherds and cattle are all bedecked with garlands of flowers; every part resounds with the jingling of bells, lowing of cows, and cheerful notes of the herdsmen. The smaller flocks follow after, and then the wife and children close the procession. Towards the end of August, they again descend towards the lower parts, pasture the last grass in the vallies, sometimes return again to the mountain side to consume the remains of fodder; and, at last, retire to their warm retreats in the vale, to wait the return of spring, and the same circle of pleasure.

“ But this innocent and happy shepherd's life favours no invention; the wants which the passions and riches of mankind have created, has been ever the mother of arts; and the extended societies of men have favoured the discoveries and researches of genius! Solitude, and a similar mode of living, serve to perpetuate the same customs and manners in a continued series of happiness. And, perhaps, we may consider this race of men, as left on the earth to support the dignity of our nature, and now and then at times to correct, and rule over, an enervated and degenerated race of beings.

“ The cultivation of meadow-land is not known here; the earth is never disturbed, and a thousand prejudices combat against this profitable and useful piece of labour. The marshy grounds are never drained, and one frequently finds stagnated water on the sides of slopes and declivities. To the management of the water, as far as relates to the carrying it over the grounds, they are no strangers; but with the proper preparation of the land, the mode

mode of draining, and the most useful parts of this curious and interesting detail, they are totally unacquainted. The first and general process of these operations is familiar likewise to the Venetians, and the plains of Lombardy; but it is in Argau and Emmenthal alone, where the Bernians seem to have brought the system to perfection. Here nothing is omitted; the proper time for overflowing, the situation of the land, the nature of the water and soil, and the quantity of moisture proportioned to it accordingly, the mixture of suitable manure to enrich their qualities, with various other particulars, are the happy fruits of long attention and labour.

“ The people of Sanen content themselves with dunging their meadows in the winter, which they lay on without any proportion; and by observing no fixed rules about their watering, some meadows remain too dry, while others are totally drowned, and the land is deprived of half its produce.

“ All sorts of greens come here a fortnight, sometimes a month, later than elsewhere; but they have generally more taste. In the very cold vallies, where, in the month of April, the snow continues some feet deep, it is not unusual to strew fresh mould on its surface, which soon melts it; and, in a little time, one may see various gardens cultivated and planted in the midst of large tracts of snow.

“ Potatoes were introduced here with much pains, and against much opposition; those that grow on the mountains are much preferable to those of the vallies. It is now a favourite food of the people; and being tythe-free, has, in many places, been substituted for the use of corn.

“ The Alpine bean is delicious, and, perhaps, the plant that may be called here the most profitable. It is ground into flour, of which they make bread; its leaves serve to feed the sheep, and its stalk is used to litter their stables.

“ Since the introduction of the commerce of cheese, the cultivation of corn has been yearly decreasing; and now there is not a plough to be found in the country. Here and there little patches of ground are sown with hemp and flax, and others with wheat and barley. The land is once dunged, then turned up with a spade, and frequently produces an increase from six to twelve, in wheat; and in barley, from eight to twenty: oats and rye are quite unknown; and even the small quantity of corn that is sowed, is owing to the want of straw for their beds.

“ Whilst the inaccessible recesses of their mountains seemed to cut off all communication with the rest of mankind, the hoarding up of their cheese was, among them, the only sign of wealth and riches. I received one in a present, made in 1643, but it was hard and tasteless as a stick. Wheat bread was seldom baked; and that of the country was a thick dry barley cake, which would keep the whole year round, and when sopped in the first whey, was considered as a delicacy. A quantity of this is even now taken by every family to the mountains.

“ Hemp and flax thrive wonderfully, though there is seldom more sown than is consumed in domestic uses. The commerce of linen cloth is entirely neglected; and this offers such various employment for the poor, that I could wish to see their charity changed into the price of labour, and new sources of nourishment opened, instead of the present ones

ones exhausted by the repeated demands of idleness, poverty, and pilgrimage.

“ The cultivation of fruit-trees is little attended to ; and the operations of the dairy seem to have rendered them indifferent to all others. Plum, cherry, pear and apple trees, are scattered here and there, but are no where collected into an orchard. Since a very cold winter that destroyed many of them, they have never been replaced by new plants ; and every part of the country partakes of this prejudicial neglect. Their wood is equally serviceable, their shade less hurtful than that of the fir ; and its neighbourhood affects no other sort of cultivation.

“ In the German parts of Sannenland, they boil cherries with cloves and cinnamon to a degree of paste, which will keep good for thirty years. Mixed with a few grains of mustard seed, and other spices, they use it as a sweet mustard ; and beaten together with spices and juniper berries, they allow it to ferment in water, and drink it as a red beer.

“ But it is difficult to say how far nature in some respects, and

their happiness and ignorance in others, check the progress of the advantages these people might enjoy. For want of some regulation about their woods, whole forests are cut, and used for palings, to inclose their meadows : these soon grow rotten and useless even for fuel ; and they have not learnt to repair their loss, with the raspberry and currant bush, which, together with the wild rose, every where offer their impenetrable brambles.

“ Madder grows here wild and high ; the *Miagnum fativum*, and the *Lathyrus tuberosus*, whose root is so commonly eat in Berlin. Cloves and Mastricht is very frequent. The *Chycorea intybus*, and scabiosa *Alpium*, is roasted by a slow fire, and then ground and drank as coffee.

“ If we compare, however, this land with other more fertile districts, though it may appear to be far behind them in culture and population, yet the comparison will certainly end in its favour. Deserts have been changed into meadows, and rich pastures have succeeded to barren woods. Laws do much, my friend ; genius still more ; but manners more than all.”

The MANNER of LIFE of the different INHABITANTS of VIRGINIA.

[From Captain SMYTH's Tour in the United States of America.]

“ TO give an idea of the manner in which a white man spends his time in this country, a description is necessary of each degree in life.

“ The gentleman of fortune rises about nine o'clock : he perhaps may make an excursion to walk as far as his stables to see his horses,

which is seldom more than fifty yards from his house ; he returns to breakfast, between nine and ten, which is generally tea or coffee, bread and butter, and very thin slices of venison ham, or hung beef. He then lies down on a pallat, on the floor, in the coolest room in the house, in his shirt and trousers only, with

with a negro at his head, and another at his feet, to fan him, and keep off the flies. Between twelve and one he takes a draught of bomb, or toddy, a liquor composed of water, sugar, rum, and nutmeg, which is made weak, and kept cool: he dines between two and three, and at every table, whatever else there may be, a ham and greens or cabbage, is always a standing dish: at dinner he drinks cyder, toddy, punch, port, claret, and madeira, which is generally excellent here. Having drank some few glasses of wine after dinner, he returns to his pallat, with his two blacks to fan him, and continues to drink toddy, or sangaree, all the afternoon: he does not always drink tea: between nine and ten in the evening, he eats a light supper of milk and fruit, or wine, sugar, and fruit, &c. and almost immediately retires to bed, for the night; in which, if it be not furnished with musketoe curtains, he is generally so molested with the heat, and harrassed and tormented with those pernicious insects the musketoes, that he receives very little refreshment from sleep.

“ This is his general way of living in his family, when he has no company. No doubt many differ from it, some in one respect, some in another; but more follow it than do not.

“ The lower, and many of the middling classes, live very differently. A man in this line rises in the morning about six o'clock; he then drinks a julap, made of rum, water, and sugar, but very strong; then he walks, or more generally rides, round his plantation, views all his stock, and all his crop, breakfasts about ten o'clock, on cold turkey, cold meat, fried homminy, toast and cyder, ham, bread, and butter, tea, coffee, or chocolate,

which last, however, is seldom tasted but by the women. The rest of the day he spends much in the same manner before described in a man of the first rank; only cyder supplies the place of wine at dinner, and he eats no supper; they never even think of it. The women very seldom drink tea in the afternoon; the men never.

“ The poor negro slaves alone work hard, and fare still harder. It is astonishing, and unaccountable to conceive what an amazing degree of fatigue these poor, but happy, wretches do undergo, and can support. He is called up in the morning at day-break, and is seldom allowed time enough to swallow three mouthfuls of homminy, or hoe-cake, but is driven out immediately to the field to hard labour; at which he continues, without intermission, until noon; and it is observed, as a singular circumstance, that they always carry out a piece of fire with them, and kindle one just by their work, let the weather be ever so hot and sultry. About noon is the time he eats his dinner, and he is seldom allowed an hour for that purpose. His meal consists of homminy and salt, and, if his master be a man of humanity, he has a little fat, skimmed milk, rusty bacon, or salt herring to relish his homminy, or hoe-cake, which kind masters allow their slaves twice a week: but the number of those, it is much to be lamented, are very few; for the poor slave generally fares the worse for his master's riches, which consisting of land and negroes, their numbers increase their hardships, and diminish their value to the proprietor; the expence precluding an extension of indulgence and liberality.

“ They then return to severe labour, which continues in the field

until dusk in the evening, when they repair to the tobacco-houses, where each has his task in stripping allotted him, that employs him for some hours. If it be found, next morning, that he has neglected, slighted, or not performed his labour, he is tied up, and receives a number of lashes, on his bare back, most severely inflicted, at the discretion of those unfeeling sons of barbarity, the overseers, who are permitted to exercise an unlimited dominion over them.

“ It is late at night before he returns to his second scanty meal, and even the time taken up at it encroaches upon his hours of sleep, which, altogether, do never exceed eight in number for eating and repose.

“ But instead of retiring to rest, as might naturally be concluded he would be glad to do, he generally sets out from home, and walks six or seven miles in the night, be the weather ever so sultry, to a negroe dance, in which he performs with astonishing agility, and the most vigorous exertions, keeping time and cadence, most exactly, with the music of a banjor (a large hollow instrument with three strings), and a quaqu (somewhat resembling a drum), until he exhausts himself, and scarcely has time, or strength, to return home before the hour he is called forth to toil next morning.

“ When he sleeps, his comforts are equally miserable and limited; for he lies on a bench, or on the ground, with only an old scanty single blanket, and not always even that, to serve both for his bed and his covering. Nor is his clothing less niggardly and wretched, being nothing but a shirt and trousers, made of coarse thin hard hempen stuff in the summer, with the addi-

tion of a fordid woollen jacket, breeches, and shoes, in the winter.

“ The female slaves fare, labour, and repose, just in the same manner: even when they breed, which is generally every two or three years, they seldom lose more than a week's work thereby, either in the delivery, or suckling the child.

“ In submission to injury and insults, they are likewise obliged to be entirely passive, nor dare any of them resist, or even defend himself against the whites, if they should attack him without the smallest provocation; for the law directs a negroe's arm to be struck off, who raises it against a white person, should it be only in his own defence, against the most wanton and wicked barbarity and outrage.

“ Yet, notwithstanding this degrading situation, and rigid severity to which fate has subjected this wretched race, they are certainly devoid of care, and actually appear jovial, contented, and happy. Fortunately it is indeed for them, that they are blessed with this easy, satisfied disposition of mind; else human nature, unequal to the weight, must sink under the pressure of such complicated misery and wretchedness.

“ Having had occasion more than once to mention homminy, hoe-cake, &c. it may not be improper at this time to observe, that homminy is an American dish, made of Indian corn, freed from the husks, boiled whole, along with a small proportion of a large kind of French beans, until it becomes almost a pulp: it is in general use, and to my taste, very agreeable. Hoe-cake is Indian corn, ground into meal, kneaded into dough, and baked on a hot, broad, iron hoe. This is also in common use, and, to my palate, extremely harsh and unpleasant.”

General CHARACTER and great HOSPITALITY of the VIRGINIANS.

[From the same Work.]

“ **T**HE Virginians are generous, extremely hospitable, and possess very liberal sentiments.

“ There is a greater distinction supported between the different classes of life here, than perhaps in any of the rest of the colonies; nor does that spirit of equality, and levelling principle, which pervades the greatest part of America, prevail to such an extent in Virginia.

“ However, there appear to be but three degrees of rank amongst all the inhabitants, exclusive of the negroes.

“ The first consists of gentlemen of the best families and fortunes in the colony, who are here much more respectable and numerous than in any other province in America. These in general have had a liberal education, possess enlightened understandings, and a thorough knowledge of the world, that furnishes them with an ease and freedom of manners and conversation, highly to their advantage in exterior, which no vicissitude of fortune or place can divest them of; they being actually, according to my ideas, the most agreeable and best companions, friends, and neighbours, that need be desired.

“ The greater number of them keep their carriages, and have handsome services of plate; but they all, without exception, have studs, as well as sets of elegant and beautiful horses.

“ Those of the second degree in rank are very numerous, being perhaps half the inhabitants, and consist of such a variety, singularity, and mixture of characters, that the

exact general criterion and leading feature can scarcely be ascertained.

“ However, they are generous, friendly, and hospitable in the extreme; but mixed with an appearance of rudeness, ferocity, and haughtiness, which is in fact only a want of polish, occasioned by their deficiencies in education; and in knowledge of mankind, as well as by their general intercourse with slaves, over whom they are accustomed to exercise an harsh and absolute command.

“ Many of them possess fortunes superior to some of the first rank, but their families are not so ancient, nor respectable; a circumstance here held in some estimation.

“ They are all excessively attached to every species of sport, gaming, and dissipation, particularly horse-racing, and that most barbarous of all diversions, that peculiar species of cruelty, cock-fighting.

“ In short, take them all together, they form a strange combination of incongruous contradictory qualities, and principles directly opposite; the best and the worst, the most valuable and the most worthless, elegant accomplishments and savage brutality, being in many of them most unaccountably blended.

“ Yet indeed, notwithstanding this apparent inconsistency of character, principle, and conduct, numbers of them are truly valuable members of society, and few, or none, deficient in the excellencies of the intellectual faculties, and a natural genius, which, though in a great measure unimproved, is gene-

rally bright and splendid in an uncommon degree.

“ The third, or lower class of the people (who ever compose the bulk of mankind), are in Virginia more few in number, in proportion to the rest of the inhabitants, than perhaps in any other country in the universe. Even these are kind, hospitable, and generous ; yet illiberal, noisy, and rude.

“ They are much addicted to inebriety, and averse to labour.

“ They are likewise over-burdened with an impertinent and insuperable curiosity, that renders them peculiarly disagreeable and troublesome to strangers : yet these undesirable qualities they possess by no means in an equal degree with the generality of the inhabitants of New England, whose religion and government have encouraged, and indeed instituted and established, a kind of inquisition, of forward impertinence and prying intrusion, against every person that may be compelled to pass through that troublesome, illiberal country : from which description, however, there are no doubt many exceptions.

“ To communicate an idea of the general hospitality that prevails in Virginia, and indeed through all the southern provinces, it may not be improper to represent some peculiar customs that are universal : for instance :

“ If a traveller, even a negroe, observes an orchard full of fine fruit, either apples or peaches, in, or near his way, he alights, without ceremony, and fills his pockets, or even a bag, if he has one, without asking permission ; and if the proprietor should see him, he is not in the least offended, but makes him perfectly welcome, and assists him in choosing out the finest fruit.

“ But this is less to be admired

at, when it is considered that there is no sale here for any kind of fruit ; and the finest peaches imaginable are so abundant, that the inhabitants daily feed their hogs with them during the season.

“ In the time of pressing cyder, if a traveller should call, to enquire his way, he is generally offered as much fine cyder as he can drink, is frequently requested to stay all night, and made heartily drunk into the bargain, if he chooses it.

“ When a person of more genteel figure than common calls at an ordinary (the name of their inns), for refreshment and lodging for a night, as soon as any of the gentlemen of fortune in the neighbourhood hears of it, he either comes for him himself, or sends him a polite and pressing invitation to his house, where he meets with entertainment and accommodation, infinitely superior, in every respect, to what he could have received at the inn. If he should happen to be fatigued with travelling, he is treated in the most hospitable and genteel manner ; and his servants and horses also fare plentifully, for as long a time as he chooses to stay. All this is done with the best grace imaginable, without even a hint being thrown out of a curiosity or wish to know his name.

“ However, it must be acknowledged, that many of the second, and almost all the lower class of the people, are ignorant in the extreme.

“ Their sentiments, and all their ideas are illiberal, narrow, and contracted ; occasioned by their inactive situation, confined to a small compass, and very limited sphere of knowledge, wherein the same objects are ever presented to their view, without any variation, change, or novelty ; being thereby precluded from

from a more general intercourse with the world, and the different members of society at large.

“ About the commencement of the late unfortunate disturbances, and inauspicious hostilities, the American congress pretended to have a calculation made of the numbers of all the inhabitants in each province and colony included within their domination, which they published.

“ But I have always concluded that ostensible enumeration of theirs to be greatly exaggerated, purpose-

ly to magnify their resources, numbers, and prowess.

“ In that ostentatious calculation, Virginia was represented to contain six hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; of which nearly two thirds are blacks.

“ I computed the true number of souls in Virginia to be then about five hundred thousand in the whole, with a similar proportion of slaves included; and they have certainly decreased in population since that time.

General ACCOUNT of the CHARACTERS, DISPOSITIONS, and NUMBERS of the INDIANS in NORTH AMERICA.

[From the same Work.]

“ **T**HE general character of the Indians is, that they are crafty, sensible, resolute, very suspicious, and very vindictive.

“ An Indian will travel on foot five hundred miles, through the woods, in night and darkness, secreting himself during the day, to revenge an injury done to his relation, or to any one of his tribe.

“ However in every thing, but their cruel and revengeful disposition, I admire and respect the real character of the native uncivilized and uncorrupted Indians.

“ Their sentiments, with all the disadvantages of poor inexpressive language, and of, what is worse, a flat, dull, and deficient interpretation, contain and convey the most elevated, noble, spirited, and just ideas, delivered in that beautiful and elegant simplicity and allegorical figures of explanation, which add dignity and grace to the subject, and are so much admired in the Bible and sacred scriptures of

the Christians, in the Jewish Talmud, the Mahometan Alcoran, and in all the oriental writings.

“ Their sensual appetites however they have no great command of, especially inebriation, which they are particularly addicted to.

“ But the truth is, they are corrupted by the whites; for they copy after, and fall into our vices; their appearing in the most conspicuous point of view: and I am afraid that our external virtues are so few, and even these so difficult to be discovered, that the poor Indians cannot distinguish any of them to follow after.

“ They have also been so treacherously and barbarously massacred by the whites, and so often deceived by them, that the memory thereof is carefully preserved, and handed down from father to son, in order to keep the rising race sufficiently on their guard against our future snares and treacherous designs.

“ This I look upon to be the true cause of the great caution, and complete dissimulation the Indians are become so perfectly masters of.

“ Indeed they have arrived at so eminent a degree of duplicity, and disguising their sentiments and intentions, that without the assistance of the arts of writing, reading, or committing their thoughts and transactions to record, they far excel us at our own weapons of subtilty, craft, and precaution.

“ In short, they are zealous steady friends; but rigorous implacable enemies, until satisfaction or reparation be made them for the injury they think they have sustained.

“ However let their inclinations at this present time be either amicable or hostile, they all are not now sufficiently powerful, either to contend against the whites in arms, or to do them any other material injury.

“ Whites who behave to them with uprightness and affability are greatly respected by them, and obtain an amazing influence over them.

“ But they must first be sufficiently convinced of the integrity and disinterestedness of the person; after which they are more at the command of such a man than of one of their own chiefs.

“ Kings they have none, and the principal men of their nation become such by their merit alone. Than this there is no other precedence, or difference of rank among Indians.

“ They enjoy the sweets of liberty and freedom in the truest sense, and certainly are not guilty of the many iniquitous and scandalous vices that disgrace Christianity and Europeans.

“ Their numbers on this side the Mississippi are considerable.

“ From the Gulf of Mexico to the Lakes of Canada inclusive, it is computed there may be about thirty-five thousand warriors.

“ Beyond the Mississippi they are much more numerous, and many people, that have travelled there, say they are very open and hospitable.

“ The little intercourse between them, in that distant country, and Europeans, renders them less suspicious, less subtle and designing, and not so cruel and vindictive as those on the eastern side of that extensive river, whose greater experience, communication and transactions with the whites produce those pernicious effects. A reproach more severe upon us than on them.

“ Here I must beg leave to make one particular observation; lest, from what has been said, it should be thought that the Indians have a particular dislike to Europeans more than to the whites born in America: but the very reverse of this is the truth, for it is the white natives of the country that the Indians have the greatest aversion to, and by whom they have been so often most treacherously and barbarously used.

“ The white Americans also have the most rancorous antipathy to the whole race of Indians; and nothing is more common than to hear them talk of extirpating them totally from the face of the earth, men, women, and children.

“ The Indians indeed do not appear to entertain any dislike to the British or French, I mean those that are natives of Europe; nor have the real British or French any particular aversion to them, as the British Americans have.

“ The

“ The names of the different Indian nations in North America, with the numbers of their fighting men, from the best authority I have been able to collect, are as follow :

Names of the Nations.	Situation.	Warriors.
The Choctaws or Flatheads	} On the Mobile and Mississippi	4500
The Natches		150
The Chickesaws		750
The Cherokees, behind South-Carolina		2500
The Catawbias, between North and South-Carolina		150
The Piantias, a wandering tribe on both sides of the Mississippi		800
The Kasquasquias, or Illinois in general, on the Illinois river, and between the Ouabache and the Mississippi	}	600
The Piankishaws		250
The Ouachtenons	} On the Ouabache	400
The Kikapous		300
The Shawnese, on the Siotto		500
The Delawares, on the west of the Ohio		300
The Miamis, on the Misamis river, falling into Lake Erie and the Miniamis	}	350
The upper Creeks, back of Georgia		
The middle Creeks, behind West-Florida	}	4000
The lower Creeks, in East-Florida		
The Caoutas, on the east of the river Alibamous		700
The Alibamous, on the west of the Alibamous		600
The Akanfaws, on the Akanfaw river falling into the Mississippi on the west side	}	2000
The Ajoues, north of the Missouri		1000
The Paddoucas, west of the Mississippi		500
The white Panis	} South of the Missouri	2000
The freckled or pricked Panis		2000
The Canfes	} South of the	1600
The Ofages		600
The Grandes Eaux	} Missouri	1000
The Missouri, upon the river Missouri		3000
The Sioux of the woods	} towards the heads of the Mississippi	1800
The Sioux of the meadows		2500
The Blancs, Barbus, or white Indians with beards		1500
The Affiniboils	} far north near the lakes of the same name	1500
The Christaneaux		3000
The Ouiscanfins, on a river of that name that falls into the Mississippi on the east side	}	550
The Mascoutens		500
The Sakis	} South of Puans Bay	400
The Mehecouakis		250
Folle Avoine, or the Wildoat Indians	} Near Pucans Bay	350
The Pucans		700
The Powtewatamis; near St. Joseph's River, and Detroit		350
The Messesagues, or River Indians, being wandering tribes on the Lakes Huron and Superior	}	2000

Names of the Nations.	Situation.	Warriors.
The Ottahwas	} Near the Lakes Superior and Michigan	900
The Chipwas		5000
The Wiandots, near Lake Erie		300
The Six Nations, or as the French call them, the Iroquois, on the frontiers of New-York, &c.	}	1500
The Round-headed Indians, near the head of the Ottahwa River		2500
The Algonquins, near the above		300
The Nipissins, near the above also		400
The Chalas	} St. Laurence Indians, on the back of Nova-Scotia, &c.	530
The Ameliftes		550
The Michmacks		700
The Abenauquis		350
The Conawaghrunas, near the falls of St. Lewis		200
Total amount		58930

“ This being the whole number of men fit for bearing arms, from hence we may be enabled to form some idea of the number of all the Indian inhabitants, men, women and children, on the continent of North America; which calculation, however, I am ready to confess can be but rather a vague conjecture.

“ There being fifty-eight thousand nine hundred and thirty warriors, it is computed that about one-third of the same number more are old men unfit for bearing arms, which makes the number of males come to maturity amount to about eighty-eight thousand five hundred and seventy; and multiplied by six will produce five hundred and thirty-one thousand four hundred and

twenty, which I consider as the whole number of souls, viz. men, women, and children, of all the Indian nations that are come in any degree within our knowledge throughout the continent of North America.

“ It is a most melancholy consideration to reflect, that these few are all that remain of the many millions of natives, or aboriginal inhabitants with which this vast continent was peopled when first discovered by the Whites; and that even these will soon be extinct and totally annihilated, considering the amazingly rapid depopulation they have hitherto experienced, since that (to them) fatal period, or æra of the first arrival of the Whites in America.”

Various PARTICULARS concerning the MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the INHABITANTS of the SANDWICH Islands.

[From the Third Volume of Captain Cook's Voyage, to the Pacific Ocean.]

“ THE inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands are undoubtedly of the same race with those of New Zealand, the Society and Friendly Islands, Easter Island, and the Marquesas; a race that possesses, with-

without any intermixture, all the known lands between the latitudes of 47° South, and 20° North, and between the longitudes of 184° and 260° East. This fact, which, extraordinary as it is, might be thought sufficiently proved by the striking similarity of their manners and customs, and the general resemblance of their persons, is established, beyond all controversy, by the absolute identity of their language.

“ From what continent they originally emigrated, and by what steps they have spread through so vast a space, those who are curious in disquisitions of this nature, may perhaps not find it very difficult to conjecture. It has been already observed, that they bear strong marks of affinity to some of the Indian tribes, that inhabit the Ladrões and Caroline Islands; and the same affinity may again be traced amongst the Battas and the Malays. When these events happened, is not so easy to ascertain: it was probably not very lately, as they are extremely populous, and have no tradition of their own origin, but what is perfectly fabulous; whilst, on the other hand, the unadulterated state of their general language, and the simplicity which still prevails in their customs and manners, seem to indicate, that it could not have been at any very distant period.

“ The natives of these islands are, in general, above the middle size, and well made: they walk very gracefully, run nimbly, and are capable of bearing great fatigue; though, upon the whole, the men are somewhat inferior, in point of strength and activity, to the Friendly islanders, and the women less delicately limbed than those of Otaheite. Their complexion is rather darker than that

of the Otaheiteans, and they are not altogether so handsome a people. However, many of both sexes had fine open countenances; and the women, in particular, had good eyes and teeth, and a sweetness and sensibility of look, which rendered them very engaging. Their hair is of a brownish black, and neither uniformly straight, like that of the Indians of America, nor uniformly curling, as amongst the African negroes, but varying, in this respect, like the hair of Europeans. One striking peculiarity, in the features of every part of this great nation, I do not remember to have seen any where mentioned, which is, that, even in the handsomest faces, there is always a fulness of the nostril, without any flatness or spreading of the nose, that distinguishes them from Europeans. It is not improbable that this may be the effect of their usual mode of salutation, which is performed by pressing the ends of their noses together.

“ The same superiority that is observable in the persons of the Erees, through all the other islands, is found also here. Those whom we saw were, without exception, perfectly well formed; whereas the lower sort, besides their general inferiority, are subject to all the variety of make and figure that is seen in the populace of other countries. Instances of deformity are more frequent here than in any of the other islands. Whilst we were cruising off Owbyhee, two dwarfs came on board, one an old man, four feet two inches high, but exactly proportioned, and the other a woman, nearly of the same height. We afterward saw three natives, who were hump-backed, and a young man, born without hands or feet. Squinting is also very common

common amongst them; and a man, who, they said, had been born blind, was brought to us to be cured. Besides these particular imperfections, they are, in general, very subject to boils and ulcers, which we attributed to the great quantity of salt they eat with their flesh and fish. The Erees are very free from these complaints; but many of them suffer still more dreadful effects from the immoderate use of the ava.

“ It may be thought extremely difficult to form any probable conjectures respecting the population of islands, with many parts of which we are but imperfectly acquainted. There are, however, two circumstances, that take away much of this objection: the first is, that the interior parts of the country are entirely uninhabited; so that, if the number of the inhabitants along the coast be known, the whole will be pretty accurately determined. The other is, that there are no towns of any considerable size, the habitations of the natives being pretty equally dispersed in small villages round all their coasts. It is on this ground that I shall venture at a rough calculation of the number of persons in this group of islands.

“ The bay of Karakakooa, in Owhyhee, is three miles in extent, and contains four villages of about eighty houses each; upon an average, in all three hundred and twenty; besides a number of straggling houses; which may make the whole amount to three hundred and fifty. From the frequent opportunities I had of informing myself on this head, I am convinced that six persons to a house is a very moderate allowance; so that, on this calculation, the country about the bay contains two thousand one

hundred souls. To these may be added fifty families, or three hundred persons, which I conceive to be nearly the number employed in the interior parts of the country amongst their plantations; making in all two thousand four hundred. If, therefore, this number be applied to the whole extent of coast round the island, deducting a quarter for the uninhabited parts, it will be found to contain one hundred and fifty thousand. By the same mode of calculation, the rest of the islands will be found to contain the following numbers:

Owhyhee	150,000
Mowee	65,400
Woahoo	60,200
Atooi	54,000
Morotoi	36,000
Oneeheow	10,000
Ranai	20,400
Oreehoua	4,000

Total of inhabitants 400,000

“ I am pretty confident, that, in this calculation, I have not exceeded the truth in the total amount.

“ Notwithstanding the irreparable loss we suffered from the sudden resentment and violence of these people, yet, in justice to their general conduct, it must be acknowledged, that they are of the most mild and affectionate disposition; equally remote from the extreme levity and fickleness of the Otaheiteans, and the distant gravity and reserve of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands. They appear to live in the utmost harmony and friendship with one another. The women, who had children, were remarkable for their tender and constant attention to them; and the men would often lend their assistance in those domestic offices, with

with a willingness that does credit to their feelings.

“ It must, however, be observed, that they fall very short of the other islanders in that best test of civilization, the respect paid to the women. Here they are not only deprived of the privilege of eating with the men, but the best sorts of food are tabooed, or forbidden them. They are not allowed to eat pork, turtle, several kinds of fish, and some species of the plantains; and we were told that a poor girl got a terrible beating for having eaten, on board our ship, one of these interdicted articles. In their domestic life they appear to live almost entirely by themselves, and though we did not observe any instances of personal ill treatment, yet it was evident they had little regard or attention paid them.

“ The great hospitality and kindness with which we were received by them, have been already frequently remarked; and indeed they make the principal part of our transactions with them. Whenever we came on shore, there was a constant struggle who should be most forward in making us little presents, bringing refreshments, or shewing some other mark of their respect. The old people never failed of receiving us with tears of joy; seemed highly gratified with being allowed to touch us, and were constantly making comparisons between themselves and us, with the strongest marks of humility. The young women were not less kind and engaging, and, till they found, notwithstanding our utmost endeavours to prevent it, that they had reason to repent of our acquaintance, attached themselves to us without the least reserve.

“ In justice, however, to the sex, it must be observed, that these

ladies were probably all of the lower class of the people; for I am strongly inclined to believe, that, excepting the few, whose names are mentioned in the course of our narrative, we did not see any woman of rank during our stay amongst them.

“ Their natural capacity seems, in no respect, below the common standard of mankind. Their improvements in agriculture, and the perfection of their manufactures, are certainly adequate to the circumstances of their situation, and the natural advantages they enjoy. The eager curiosity with which they attended the armourer's forge, and the many expedients they had invented, even before we left the islands, for working the iron they had procured from us into such forms as were best adapted to their purposes, were strong proofs of docility and ingenuity.

“ Our unfortunate friend, Kaneena, possessed a degree of judicious curiosity, and a quickness of conception, which was rarely met with amongst these people. He was very inquisitive after our customs and manners; asked after our king; the nature of our government; our numbers; the method of building our ships; our houses; the produce of our country; whether we had wars, with whom, and on what occasions, and in what manner they were carried on; who was our God; and many other questions of the same nature, which indicated an understanding of great comprehension.

“ We met with two instances of persons disordered in their minds, the one a man at Owhyhee, the other a woman at Oneecheow. It appeared, from the particular attention and respect paid to them, that the opinion of their being inspired by the Divinity, which obtains

tains among most of the nations of the East, is also received here.

“ Though the custom of eating the bodies of their enemies be not known, by positive evidence, to exist in any of the South Sea islands, except New Zealand, yet it is extremely probable that it was originally prevalent in them all. The sacrificing human victims, which seems evidently to be a relic of this horrid practice, still obtains universally amongst these islanders; and it is easy to conceive why the New Zealanders should retain the repast, which was probably the last act of these shocking rites, longer than the rest of their tribe, who were situated in more mild and fruitful climates. As the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands certainly bear a nearer resemblance to those of New Zealand, both in their persons and disposition, than to any other people of this family, so it was strongly suspected by Mr. Anderson, that, like them, they still continue to feast on human flesh. The evidence, on which he founds this opinion, has been stated very fully in the tenth chapter of the third book; but, as I always entertained great doubts of the justice of his conclusions, it may not be improper to take this occasion of mentioning the grounds on which I venture to differ from him. With respect to the information derived from the natives themselves, I shall only observe, that great pains were taken, by almost every officer on board, to come at the knowledge of so curious a circumstance; and that, except in the two instances mentioned by Mr. Anderson, we found them invariably denying the existence of any such custom amongst them. It must be allowed, that Mr. Anderson’s knowledge of their language,

which was superior to that of any other person in either ship, ought certainly to give his opinion great weight: at the same time I must beg leave to remark, that, being present when he examined the man who had the small piece of salted flesh wrapped in cloth, it struck me very forcibly, that the signs he made use of meant nothing more than that it was intended to be eat, and that it was very pleasant or wholesome to the stomach. In this opinion I was confirmed by a circumstance which came to our knowledge after the death of my worthy and ingenious friend, viz. that almost every native of these islands carried about with him, either in his calibash, or wrapped up in a piece of cloth, and tied about his waist, a small piece of raw pork, highly salted, which they considered as a great delicacy, and used now and then to taste of. With respect to the confusion the young lad was in (for he was not more than sixteen or eighteen years of age), no one could have been surprised at it, who had seen the eager and earnest manner in which Mr. Anderson questioned him.

“ The argument drawn from the instrument made with shark’s teeth, and which is nearly of the same form with those used at New Zealand for cutting up the bodies of their enemies, is much more difficult to controvert. I believe it to be an undoubted fact, that this knife, if it may be so called, is never used by them in cutting the flesh of other animals. However, as the custom of offering human sacrifices, and of burning the bodies of the slain, is still prevalent here, it is not improbable that the use of this instrument is retained in those ceremonies. Upon the whole, I am strongly inclined to think, and

particularly from this last circumstance, that the horrid practice in question has but lately ceased amongst these and other islands of the South Sea. Omai, when pressed on this subject, confessed, that, in the rage and fury of revenge, they would sometimes tear the flesh of their enemies that were slain with their teeth; but positively denied that they ever eat it. This was certainly approaching as near the fact as could be: but, on the other hand, the denial is a strong proof that the practice has actually ceased; since in New Zealand, where it still exists, the inhabitants never made the smallest scruple of confessing it.

“ The inhabitants of these islands differ from those of the Friendly Isles, in suffering, almost universally, their beards to grow. There were indeed a few, amongst whom was the old king, that cut it off entirely; and others that wore it only upon the upper lip. The same variety in the manner of wearing the hair is also observable here as among the other islanders of the South Sea; besides which they have a fashion, as far as we know, peculiar to themselves. They cut it close on each side the head, down to the ears, leaving a ridge, of about a small hand's breadth, running from the forehead to the neck; which, when the hair is thick and curling, has the form of the crest of the ancient helmet. Others wear large quantities of false hair, flowing down their backs in long ringlets, like the figure of the inhabitants of Horn Island, as seen in Dalrymple's Voyages; and others, again, tie it into a single round bunch on the top of the head, almost as large as the head itself; and some into five or six distinct bunches. They daub their hair

with a grey clay, mixed with powdered shells, which they keep in balls, and chew into a kind of soft paste, when they have occasion to make use of it. This keeps the hair smooth, and, in time, changes it to a pale yellow colour.

“ Both sexes wear necklaces, made of strings of small variegated shells; and an ornament, in the form of the handle of a cup, about two inches long, and half an inch broad, made of wood, stone, or ivory, finely polished, which is hung about the neck, by fine threads of twisted hair, doubled sometimes an hundred fold. Instead of this ornament some of them wear, on their breast, a small human figure, made of bone, suspended in the same manner.

“ The fan, or fly-flap, is also an ornament used by both sexes. The most ordinary kind are made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, tied loose, in bunches, to the top of a smooth polished handle. The tail feathers of the cock, and of the tropic-bird, are also used in the same manner; but the most valuable are those which have the handle made of the arm or leg bones of an enemy slain in battle, and which are preserved with great care, and handed down, from father to son, as trophies of inestimable value.

“ The custom of tattowing the body they have in common with the rest of the natives of the South Sea Islands; but it is only at New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands that they tattow the face. There is also this difference between the two last, that in the former it is done in elegant spiral volutes, and in the latter in straight lines, crossing each other at right angles. The hands and arms of the women are also very neatly marked, and they have a singular custom amongst them,

them, the meaning of which we could never learn, that of tattowing the tip of the tongues of the females.

“ From some information we received, relative to the custom of tattowing, we were inclined to think that it is frequently intended as a sign of mourning on the death of a chief, or any other calamitous event; for we were often told that such a particular mark was in memory of such a chief; and so of the rest. It may be here too observed, that the lowest class are often tattowed with a mark that distinguishes them as the property of the several chiefs to whom they belong.

“ The dress of the men generally consists only of a piece of thick cloth called the maro, about ten or twelve inches broad, which they pass between the legs, and tie round the waist. This is the common dress of all ranks of people. Their mats, some of which are beautifully manufactured, are of various sizes, but mostly about five feet long, and four broad. These they throw over their shoulders, and bring forward before; but they are seldom used, except in time of war, for which purpose they seem better adapted than for ordinary use, being of a thick and cumbersome texture, and capable of breaking the blow of a stone, or any blunt weapon. Their feet are generally bare, except when they have occasion to travel over the burnt stones, when they secure them with a sort of sandal, made of cords, twisted from the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Such is the ordinary dress of these islanders; but they have another, appropriated to their chiefs, and used on ceremonious occasions, consisting of a feathered cloak and helmet, which,

in point of beauty and magnificence, is perhaps nearly equal to that of any nation in the world. As this dress has been already described with great accuracy and minuteness, I have only to add, that these cloaks are made of different lengths, in proportion to the rank of the wearer, some of them reaching no lower than the middle, others trailing on the ground. The inferior chiefs have also a short cloak, resembling the former, made of the long tail-feathers of the cock, the tropic and man of war birds, with a broad border of the small red and yellow feathers, and a collar of the same. Others again are made of feathers entirely white, with variegated borders. The helmet has a strong lining of wickerwork, capable of breaking the blow of any warlike instrument, and seems evidently designed for that purpose.

“ These feathered dresses seemed to be exceedingly scarce, appropriated to persons of the highest rank, and worn by the men only. During the whole time we lay in Karakakooa Bay we never saw them used but on three occasions; in the curious ceremony of Terreeboo's first visit to the ships; by some chiefs, who were seen among the crowd on shore, when captain Cook was killed; and afterward, when Eappo brought his bones to us.

“ The exact resemblance between this habit and the cloak and helmet formerly worn by the Spaniards, was too striking not to excite our curiosity to inquire whether there were any probable grounds for supposing it to have been borrowed from them. After exerting every means in our power of obtaining information on this subject, we found that they had no immediate knowledge of any other nation what-

ever;

ever; nor any tradition remaining among them of these islands having been ever visited before by such ships as ours. But, notwithstanding the result of these inquiries, the uncommon form of this habit appears to me a sufficient proof of its European origin; especially when added to another circumstance, that it is a singular deviation from the general resemblance in dress which prevails amongst all the branches of this tribe, dispersed through the South Sea. We were driven indeed, by this conclusion, to a supposition of the shipwreck of some buccaneer, or Spanish ship, in the neighbourhood of these islands. But when it is recollected, that the course of the Spanish trade from Acapulco to the Manillas, is but a few degrees to the Southward of the Sandwich Islands, in their passage out, and to the Northward, on their return, this supposition will not appear in the least improbable.

“ The common dress of the women bears a close resemblance to that of the men. They wrap round the waist a piece of cloth, that reaches half way down the thighs; and sometimes, in the cool of the evening, they appeared with loose pieces of fine cloth thrown over their shoulders, like the women of Otaheite. The pau is another dress very frequently worn by the younger part of the sex. It is made of the thinnest and finest sort of cloth, wrapt several times round the waist, and descending to the leg, so as to have exactly the appearance of a full short petticoat. Their hair is cut short behind, and turned up before, as is the fashion among the Otaheiteans and New Zealanders; all of whom differ, in this respect, from the women of the Friendly Islands, who wear their hair long. We saw, indeed, one woman in Ka-

rakakooa Bay, whose hair was arranged in a very singular manner: it was turned up behind, and brought over the forehead, and then doubled back, so as to form a sort of shade to the face, like a small bonnet.

“ Their necklaces are made of shells, or of a hard, shining, red berry. Besides which, they wear wreaths of dried flowers of the Indian mallow; and another beautiful ornament, called craie, which is generally put about the neck, but is sometimes tied like a garland round the hair, and sometimes worn in both these ways at once, as may be seen in the print of the woman of the Sandwich Islands. It is a ruff of the thickness of a finger, made, in a curious manner, of exceedingly small feathers, woven so close together as to form a surface as smooth as that of the richest velvet. The ground was generally of a red colour, with alternate circles of green, yellow, and black. Their bracelets, which were also of great variety, and very peculiar kinds, have been already described.

“ At Atooi, some of the women wore little figures of the turtle, neatly formed of wood or ivory, tied on their fingers in the manner we wear rings. Why this animal is thus particularly distinguished, I leave to the conjectures of the curious. There is also an ornament made of shells, fastened in rows on a ground of strong netting, so as to strike each other when in motion; which both men and women, when they dance, tie either round the arm or the ankle, or below the knee. Instead of shells they sometimes make use of dogs teeth, and a hard red berry, resembling that of the holly.

“ There remains to be mentioned another ornament. It is a kind of mask,

mask, made of a large gourd, with holes cut in it for the eyes and nose. The top was stuck full of small green twigs, which, at a distance, had the appearance of an elegant waving plume; and from the lower part hung narrow stripes of cloth, resembling a beard. We never saw these masks worn but twice, and both times by a number of people together in a canoe, who came to the side of the ship, laughing and drolling, with an air of masquerading. Whether they may not likewise be used as a defence for the head against stones, for which they seem best designed, or in some of their public games, or be merely intended for the purposes of mummery, we could never inform ourselves.

“ It has already been remarked, in a few instances, that the natives of the Sandwich Islands approach nearer to the New Zealanders, in their manners and customs, than to either of their less distant neighbours of the Society or Friendly Islands. This is in nothing more observable than in their method of living together in small towns or villages, containing from about one hundred to two hundred houses, built pretty close together, without any order, and having a winding path leading through them. They are generally flanked, toward the sea, with loose detached walls, which probably are meant both for the purposes of shelter and defence. The figure of their houses has been already described. They are of different sizes, from eighteen feet by twelve, to forty-five by twenty-four. There are some of a larger kind; being fifty feet long and thirty broad, and quite open at one end. These, they told us, were designed for travellers or strangers, who were only making a short stay.

“ In addition to the furniture of their houses, which has been accurately described by captain Cook, I have only to add, that at one end are mats on which they sleep, with wooden pillows, or sleeping stools, exactly like those of the Chinese. Some of the better sort of houses have a court-yard before them, neatly railed in, with smaller houses built round it, for their servants. In this area they generally eat, and sit during the day-time. In the sides of the hills, and among the steep rocks, we also observed several holes or caves, which appeared to be inhabited: but as the entrance was defended with wicker-work, and we also found, in the only one that was visited, a stone fence running across it within, we imagine they are principally designed for places of retreat, in case of an attack from an enemy.

“ The food of the lower class of people consists principally of fish, and vegetables; such as yams, sweet potatoes, taro, plantains, sugar-canes, and bread-fruit. To these the people of a higher rank add the flesh of hogs and dogs, dressed in the same manner as at the Society Islands. They also eat fowls of the same domestic kind with ours; but they are neither plentiful, nor much esteemed by them. It is remarked by captain Cook, that the bread-fruit and yams appeared scarce amongst them, and were reckoned great rarities. We found this not to be the case on our second visit; and it is therefore most probable, that, as these vegetables were generally planted in the interior parts of the country, the natives had not had time to bring them down to us, during the short stay we made in Wymoa Bay. Their fish they salt, and preserve in gourd-shells; not, as we at first imagin-

ed,

ed, for the purpose of providing against any temporary scarcity, but from the preference they give to salted meats. For we also found, that the Erees used to pickle pieces of pork in the same manner, and esteemed it a great delicacy.

“ Their cookery is exactly of the same sort with that already described, in the accounts that have been published of the other South Sea islands; and though captain Cook complains of the sourness of their tarrow puddings, yet, in justice to the many excellent meals they afforded us in Karakakooa Bay, I must be permitted to rescue them from this general censure, and to declare that I never eat better even in the Friendly Islands. It is however remarkable, that they had not got the art of preserving the bread-fruit, and making the sour paste of it called Maihee, as at the Society Islands; and it was some satisfaction to us, in return for their great kindness and hospitality, to have it in our power to teach them this useful secret. They are exceedingly cleanly at their meals; and their mode of dressing both their animal and vegetable food, was universally allowed to be greatly superior to ours. The chiefs constantly begin their meal with a dose of the extract of pepper-root, brewed after the usual manner. The women eat apart from the men, and are tabooed, or forbidden, as has been already mentioned, the use of pork, turtle, and particular kinds of plantains. However, they would eat pork with us in private; but we could never prevail upon them to touch the two last articles.

“ The way of spending their time appears to be very simple, and to admit of little variety. They rise with the sun; and, after enjoying the cool of the evening, re-

tire to rest a few hours after sunset. The making of canoes and mats forms the occupations of the Erees; the women are employed in manufacturing cloth; and the Tow-tows are principally engaged in the plantations and fishing. Their idle hours are filled up with various amusements. Their young men and women are fond of dancing; and, on more solemn occasions, they have boxing and wrestling matches, after the manner of the Friendly Islands; though, in all these respects, they are much inferior to the latter.

“ Their dances have a much nearer resemblance to those of the New Zealanders than of the Otaheiteans or Friendly Islanders. They are prefaced with a slow, solemn song, in which all the party join, moving their legs, and gently striking their breasts, in a manner, and with attitudes, that are perfectly easy and graceful; and so far they are the same with the dances of the Society Islands. When this has lasted about ten minutes, both the tune and the motions gradually quicken, and end only by their inability to support the fatigue; which part of the performance is the exact counterpart of that of the New Zealanders; and (as it is among them) the person who uses the most violent action, and holds out the longest, is applauded as the best dancer. It is to be observed, that, in this dance, the women only take a part, and that the dancing of the men is nearly of the same kind with what we saw of the small parties at the Friendly Islands; and which may, perhaps, with more propriety, be called the accompaniment of songs, with corresponding and graceful motions of the whole body. Yet as we were spectators of boxing exhibitions, of the same kind

kind with those we were entertained with at the Friendly Islands, it is probable that they had likewise their grand ceremonious dances, in which numbers of both sexes assisted.

“ Their music is also of a ruder kind, having neither flutes nor reeds, nor instruments of any other sort, that we saw, except drums of various sizes. But their songs, which they sung in parts, and accompany with a gentle motion of the arms, in the same manner as the Friendly Islanders, had a very pleasing effect.

“ It is very remarkable that the people of these islands are great gamblers. They have a game very much like our draughts; but, if one may judge from the number of squares, it is much more intricate. The board is about two feet long, and is divided into two hundred and thirty-eight squares, of which there are fourteen in a row, and they make use of black and white pebbles, which they move from square to square.

“ There is another game, which consists in hiding a stone under a piece of cloth, which one of the parties spreads out, and rumples in such a manner, that the place where the stone lies is difficult to be distinguished. The antagonist, with a stick, then strikes the part of the cloth where he imagines the stone to be; and as the chances are, upon the whole, considerably against his hitting it, odds, of all degrees, varying with the opinion of the skill of the parties, are laid on the side of him who hides.

“ Besides these games, they frequently amuse themselves with racing-matches between the boys and girls; and here again they wager with great spirit. I saw a man in a most violent rage, tearing his

hair, and beating his breast, after losing three hatchets at one of these races, which he had just before purchased from us with half his substance.

“ Swimming is not only a necessary art, in which both their men and women are more expert than any people we had hitherto seen, but a favourite diversion amongst them. One particular mode, in which they sometimes amused themselves with this exercise, in Karakakooa Bay, appeared to us most perilous and extraordinary, and well deserving a distinct relation.

“ The surf, which breaks on the coast round the bay, extends to the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from the shore, within which space, the surges of the sea, accumulating from the shallowness of the water, are dashed against the beach with prodigious violence. Whenever, from stormy weather, or any extraordinary swell at sea, the impetuosity of the surf is increased to its utmost height, they choose that time for this amusement, which is performed in the following manner. Twenty or thirty of the natives, taking each a long narrow board, rounded at the ends, set out together from the shore. The first wave they meet they plunge under, and suffering it to roll over them, rise again beyond it, and make the best of their way by swimming out into the sea. The second wave is encountered in the same manner with the first; the great difficulty consisting in seizing the proper moment of diving under it, which, if missed, the person is caught by the surf, and driven back again with great violence; and all his dexterity is then required to prevent himself from being dashed against the rocks. As soon as they have gained, by these repeated efforts,

forts, the smooth water beyond the surf, they lay themselves at length on their board, and prepare for their return. As the surf consists of a number of waves, of which every third is remarked to be always much larger than the others, and to flow higher on the shore, the rest breaking in the intermediate space, their first object is to place themselves on the summit of the largest surge, by which they are driven along with amazing rapidity toward the shore. If by mistake they should place themselves on one of the smaller waves, which breaks before they reach the land, or should not be able to keep their plank in a proper direction on the top of the swell, they are left exposed to the fury of the next, and, to avoid it, are obliged again to dive and regain the place from which they set out. Those who succeed in their object of reaching the shore, have still the greatest danger to encounter. The coast being guarded by a chain of rocks, with here and there a small opening between them, they are obliged to steer their board through one of these, or, in case of failure, to quit it, before they reach the rocks, and, plunging under the wave, make the best of their way back again. This is reckoned very disgraceful, and is also attended with the loss of the board, which I have often seen, with great terror, dashed to pieces; at the very moment the islander quitted it. The boldness and address, with which we saw them perform these difficult and dangerous manœuvres, was altogether astonishing, and is scarcely to be credited.

“ An accident, of which I was a near spectator, shews at how early a period they are so far familiarized to the water, as both to lose all fears

of it, and to set its dangers at defiance. A canoe being overfet, in which was a woman with her children, one of them, an infant, who, I am convinced, was not more than four years old, seemed highly delighted with what had happened, swimming about at its ease, and playing a hundred tricks, till the canoe was put to rights again.

“ Besides the amusements I have already mentioned, the young children have one, which was much played at, and shewed no small degree of dexterity. They take a short stick, with a peg sharpened at both ends, running through one extremity of it, and extending about an inch on each side; and throwing up a ball made of green leaves moulded together, and secured with twine, they catch it on the point of the peg; and immediately throwing it up again from the peg; they turn the stick round, and thus keep catching it on each peg alternately, without missing it, for a considerable time. They are not less expert at another game of the same nature, tossing up in the air, and catching in their turns a number of these balls; so that we frequently saw little children thus keep in motion five at a time. With this latter play the young people likewise divert themselves at the Friendly Islands.

“ The great resemblance which prevails in the mode of agriculture and navigation, amongst all the inhabitants of the South Sea islands, leaves me very little to add on those heads. Captain Cook has already described the figure of the canoes we saw at Atooi. Those of the other islands were precisely the same; and the largest we saw was a double canoe belonging to Terrecoboo, which measured seventy feet

in length, three and a half in depth, and twelve in breadth; and each was hollowed out of one tree.

“The progress they have made in sculpture, their skill in painting cloth, and their manufacturing of mats, have been all particularly described. The most curious specimens of the former, which we saw during our second visit, are the bowls, in which the chiefs drink *ava*. These are usually about eight or ten inches in diameter, perfectly round, and beautifully polished. They are supported by three, and sometimes four small human figures, in various attitudes. Some of them rest on the hands of their supporters, extended over the head; others on the head and hands; and some on the shoulders. The figures, I am told, are accurately proportioned, and neatly finished, and even the anatomy of the muscles, in supporting the weight, well expressed.

“Their cloth is made of the same materials, and in the same manner, as at the Friendly and Society Islands. That which is designed to be painted, is of a thick and strong texture, several folds being beat and incorporated together; after which it is cut in breadths, about two or three feet wide, and is painted in a variety of patterns, with a comprehensiveness and regularity of design, that bespeaks infinite taste and fancy. The exactness with which the most intricate patterns are continued, is the more surprising, when we consider that they have no stamps, and that the whole is done by the eye, with pieces of bamboo cane dipped in paint; the hand being supported by another piece of the cane, in the manner practised by our painters. Their colours are extracted from the same berries, and other

vegetable substances, as at Otaheite, which have been already described by former voyagers.

“The business of painting belongs entirely to the women, and is called *kipparee*; and it is remarkable, that they always gave the same name to our writing. The young women would often take the pen out of our hands, and shew us, that they knew the use of it as well as we did; at the same time telling us, that our pens were not so good as theirs. They looked upon a sheet of written paper as a piece of cloth striped after the fashion of our country; and it was not without the utmost difficulty that we could make them understand, that our figures had a meaning in them which theirs had not.

“Their mats are made of the leaves of the *pandanus*, and, as well as their cloths, are beautifully worked in a variety of patterns, and stained of different colours. Some have a ground of pale green, spotted with squares, or romboids, of red; others are of a straw colour, spotted with green; and others are worked with beautiful stripes, either in straight or waving lines of red and brown. In this article of manufacture, whether we regard the strength, fineness, or beauty, they certainly excel the whole world.

“Their fishing-hooks are made of mother-of-pearl, bone, or wood, pointed and barbed with small bones, or tortoise-shell. They are of various sizes and forms; but the most common are about two or three inches long, and made in the shape of a small fish, which serves as a bait, having a bunch of feathers tied to the head or tail. Those with which they fish for sharks are of a very large size, being generally six or eight inches long. Con-

sidering

considering the materials of which these hooks are made, their strength and neatness are really astonishing; and, in fact, we found them, upon trial, much superior to our own.

“ The line which they use for fishing, for making nets, and for other domestic purposes, is of different degrees of fineness, and is made of the bark of the tounta, or cloth tree, neatly and evenly twisted, in the same manner as our common twine, and may be continued to any length. They have a finer sort, made of the bark of a small shrub called areemah; and the finest is made of human hair; but this last is chiefly used for things of ornament. They also make cordage of a stronger kind, for the rigging of their canoes, from the fibrous coatings of the cocoa-nuts. Some of this we purchased for our own use, and found it well adapted to the smaller kinds of running rigging. They likewise make another sort of cordage, which is flat, and exceedingly strong, and used principally in lashing the roofing of their houses, or whatever they wish to fasten tight together. This last is not twisted like the former sorts, but is made of the fibrous strings of the cocoa-nut's coat, plaited with the fingers, in the manner our sailors make their points for the reefing of sails.

“ The gourds, which grow to so enormous a size, that some of them are capable of containing from ten to twelve gallons, are applied to all manner of domestic purposes; and in order to fit them the better to their respective uses, they have the ingenuity to give them different forms, by tying bandages round them during their growth. Thus some of them are of a long cylindrical form, as best

adapted to contain their fishing-tackle; others are of a dish form, and these serve to hold their salt, and salted provisions, their puddings, vegetables, &c. which two sorts have neat close covers, made likewise of the gourd; others again are exactly the shape of a bottle with a long neck, and in these they keep their water. They have likewise a method of scoring them with a heated instrument, so as to give them the appearance of being painted, in a variety of neat and elegant designs.

“ Amongst their arts, we must not forget that of making salt, with which we were amply supplied during our stay at these islands, and which was perfectly good of its kind. Their salt-pans are made of earth, lined with clay; being generally six or eight feet square, and about eight inches deep. They are raised upon a bank of stones near the high water mark, from whence the salt water is conducted to the foot of them in small trenches, out of which they are filled, and the sun quickly performs the necessary process of evaporation. The salt we procured at Atooi and Oneeheow, on our first visit, was of a brown and dirty sort; but that which we afterward got in Karakakooa Bay, was white, and of a most excellent quality, and in great abundance. Besides the quantity we used in salting pork, we filled all our empty casks, amounting to sixteen puncheons, in the Resolution only.

“ Their instruments of war are spears; daggers, called pahooas; clubs; and flings. The spears are of two sorts, and made of a hard solid wood, which has much the appearance of mahogany. One sort is from six to eight feet in length, finely polished, and gradually increasing

creasing in thickness from the extremity till within about half a foot of the point, which tapers suddenly, and is furnished with four or six rows of barbs. It is not improbable that these might be used in the way of darts. The other sort, with which we saw the warriors at Owhyhee and Atooi mostly armed, are twelve or fifteen feet long, and, instead of being barbed, terminate toward the point, like their daggers.

“The dagger, or pahooa, is made of heavy black wood, re-

sembling ebony. Its length is from one to two feet, with a string passing through the handle, for the purpose of suspending it to the arm.

“The clubs are made indifferently of several sorts of wood. They are of rude workmanship, and of a variety of shapes and sizes.

“The slings have nothing singular about them, and in no respect differ from our common slings, except that the stone is lodged on a piece of matting instead of leather.”

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

On the AUTHORITY of HOMER, as an HISTORIAN.

[From Mr. MITFORD's History of Greece.]

“ **S**UCH then were the Trojan war and its consequences, according to the best of the unconnected and defective accounts remaining, among which those of Homer have always held the first rank. The authority, however, of the great poet as an historian has in modern times been variously estimated. Among the ancients it was less questioned. As it is of the highest importance to the history of the early ages that it should have its due weight, I will mention here some of the principal circumstances of proof in its favour: others will occur hereafter. In Homer's age then, it should be remembered, poets were the only historians; from which though it does not at all follow that poets would always scrupulously adhere to truth, yet it necessarily follows, that veracity in historical narration would make a large share of a poet's merit in public opinion: a circumstance which the common use of written records and prose histories instantly and totally altered. The probability, and the very remarkable consistency of Homer's historical anecdotes, variously dispersed as they are among his poetical details and embellishments, form a second and powerful

testimony. Indeed the connection and the clearness of Grecian history through the very early times of which Homer has treated, appear extraordinary, when compared with the darkness and uncertainty that begin in the instant of our losing his guidance, and continue through ages. In confirmation then of this presumptive evidence, we have very complete positive proof of the only point that could admit of it, his geography; which has wonderfully stood the most scrupulous inquiries from those who were every way qualified to make them. From all these, with perhaps other considerations, followed what we may add in the fourth place, the credit paid to Homer's history by the most judicious prose-writers of antiquity, and among the early ones particularly by Thucydides. But the very fame of the principal persons and events celebrated by Homer seems to have led some to question their reality. Perhaps it may not be an improper digression here to bring to the reader's recollection a passage in the history of the British islands, bearing so close an analogy to some of the most remarkable circumstances in Homer's history, that, it affords no inconsiderable

derable collateral support to that poet's authority as a faithful relater of facts, and painter of manners. Exploits like that of Paris were, in the twelfth century, not uncommon in Ireland. In a lower line they have been frequent there still in our days; but in that age popular opinion was so favourable to them, that even princes, like Jason and Paris, gloried in such proofs of their gallantry and spirit. Dermot, king of Leinster, accordingly formed a design on Dervorghal, a celebrated beauty, wife of O'Ruark, king of Leitrim; and, between force and fraud, he succeeded in carrying her off. O'Ruark resented the affront, as might be expected. He procured a confederacy of neighbouring chieftains, with the king of Connaught, the

most powerful prince of Ireland, at their head. Leinster was invaded, the princess was recovered, and, after hostilities continued with various success during many years, Dermot was expelled from his kingdom. Thus far the resemblance holds with much exactness. The sequel differs: for the rape of Dervorghal, beyond comparison inferior in celebrity, had yet consequences far more important than the rape of Helen. The fugitive Dermot, deprived of other hope, applied to the powerful monarch of the neighbouring island, Henry the Second; and in return for assistance to restore him to his dominions, offered to hold them in vassalage of the crown of England. The English conquest of Ireland followed.

On the ACCEPTATION of the Word "TYRANT," among the ANCIENT GRECIANS.

[From the same Work.]

THE term Tyrant, among the Greeks, had a very different signification from what it now bears in all modern languages. It meant a citizen of a republic, who by any means acquired sovereignty over his fellow-citizens. Many of the Grecian tyrants were men of extraordinary virtue, who used their power in strict conformity to established law, and very advantageously for the people they governed. Thus they differed widely from Tyrants in the modern acceptation of the word. But some even were raised to the dignity of tyrant by a voluntary decree of the people themselves. Plutarch mentions particularly Tynnondas thus elected by the Eubœans, and Pitticus by the Mytilenæans; and he says the Athe-

nians would so have elected Solon. Usurper therefore is not a convertible term: though in general the Grecian tyrants were usurpers. Without a favouring party among the people, no man could rise to the tyranny: therefore a man of universal bad character could not become a tyrant. But the violence of faction among the Greeks was extreme: enormous severities were frequently practised against a defeated party: perhaps most enormous when the prevailing one was not headed by a tyrant; who might have authority to restrain private malice and check popular fury. A citizen, however, irregularly raised to sovereignty over his fellow-citizens, would often find himself very insecure in his exaltation. Popular favour

favour, and party favour, which is a more confined popular favour, are extremely liable to fluctuate. But firmness is necessary to command; and even great abilities united with fortunate circumstances would with difficulty, in such a situation, avoid the necessity of occasional severity; weak minds and morose tempers would naturally fall into cruelty. The outcry against tyrants then has been first raised by the disappointment of faction; for among the ancients the appellation was arbitrarily applied; the person to whom

it was given being often really no more than the leader of a faction; and sometimes, as we have just seen, a sovereign by the best of all rights, the voice of the people. But most commonly tyrants were more or less usurpers of power which the laws of their country forbade; and too frequent severities were used, sometimes atrocious crimes perpetrated, to acquire that power or to retain it. Hence alone the modern acceptance of the term Tyrant, from which it is necessary to distinguish the ancient."

OF CHRIST'S KIRK of the GREEN.

[From the Historical and Critical Dissertation on the Life and Writings of JAMES the First, King of SCOTLAND, prefixed to the Poetical Remains of that Monarch.]

"THIS ancient poem has, by men of taste, always been esteemed a valuable relique of the old Scottish poetry. For the poetical language of the time, the ludicrous descriptions, and the free vein of genuine wit and humour which runs through it, it is, even at this day, read with pleasure. It must be valuable, were its only merit that of being descriptive of the humour and manners of the country 350 years ago.

"I am aware, that the generality of late writers have attributed this poem to that gallant prince James V. who was also a poet. I shall examine this point; and I hope I shall be able, notwithstanding many great authorities to the contrary, to make it evident, that James I. was the author of Christ's Kirk of the Green.

"I shall begin, by stating the authorities which give this poem to king James V.

"The oldest of these, so far as I have been able to discover, is that of bishop Edmund Gibson, who, Anno 1691, published an edition at Oxford of the poem of Christ's Kirk of the Green, with learned notes. The title which the bishop gives his book, is "Christ's Kirk on the Green, composed, as is supposed, by king James V."—And, in an elegant Latin preface to this poem, he thus writes, "Gratulor tibi lector, et Musis, regem in Parnasso, non infeliciter somniantem.—De Jacobi, ejus nominis apud Scotos Quinti, familia, eruditione, scientia militari, consulendi sunt historicorum annales. Principem autem hunc poemum deperiisse, nil mirum: commune id illi, cum augustissimis aliis viris, qui haud pauci carmen in deliciis habuere."

"The next authority is the editor of the last edition of Gavin Douglas's Translation of Virgil's *Æneis*, published at Edinburgh,

1710, who, in his preface, thus mentions this poem; "with notes published at Oxford some years ago, by a celebrated writer on the famous poem of king James V. entitled, *Christ's Kirk on the Green*."

"On the same side is Tanner, bishop of St. Asaph, who, in his *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, sub voce *Jacobi Quinti, Regis Scotiae*, mentions the poem of *Christ's Kirk of the Green* as written by that prince, and adds, "Edidit, notisque illustravit cl. Edmond Gibson, Oxon. 1691." Tanner's *Bibliotheca* was published so late as the year 1748.

"These are the only ancient and positive authorities that I have seen, which attribute this poem to king James V. I shall sum up the whole arguments on that side of the question from an author of still greater weight than any of the above, that is, the learned Sir David Dalrymple, lord Hailes, whose opinion, although he candidly does not decide, is on the same side with the above authors.

"Lord Hailes argues thus,

"First, Major, in his life of king James I. mentions several pieces written by that prince, but says nothing of *Christ's Kirk of the Green*.

"Secondly, The poem mentions "*Peebles at the Play*," which lord Hailes is of opinion relates to a more modern æra than the age of king James I.; And,

"Lastly, Bishop Gibson and bishop Tanner, and the editor of *Gavin Douglas's Virgil*, all agree in attributing the poem of *Christ's Kirk of the Green* to king James V.

"I shall attempt to answer these arguments in their order; and to the first,

"That Major, who mentions two or three pieces, said to be composed by king James I. does not

mention the poem of *Christ's Kirk*, is an argument entirely negative, and can infer no direct conclusion that king James I. might not have been the author of that poem, as well as of several other pieces not mentioned by Major, of which, for certain, he was the author, viz. *Rythmi Latini, et de Musica*, mentioned by Dempster, and some other poems mentioned by other authors. Major does not pretend to give a full enumeration of the works of James, but, after mentioning two or three of his pieces, adds, "*Et plurimi codices, adhuc apud Scotos*."

"To the second, as to the æra of the plays of Peebles: The anniversary games or plays at Peebles are of so high antiquity, that, at this day, it is only from tradition, joined to a few remains of antiquity, that we can form any conjecture respecting the age of their institution, or even trace the vestiges of what these games were. Any argument, therefore, deduced from the æra of the institution of the plays at Peebles, inclines to the opposite side from lord Hailes. That this town, situated on the banks of the Tweed, in a pastoral country, abounding with game, was much resorted to by our ancient Scottish princes, is certain. King Alexander III. is said to have had a hunting feat here; the place where it stood is still pointed out. We are told by Boetius, that the monastery of Cross Church, now in ruins, was built by that prince; and anciently our princes occasionally took up their residence in the religious houses. Contiguous to it is a piece of ground, of old surrounded with walls, and still called the King's Orchard; and on the opposite side of the river is the King's Green. The plays were probably

probably the golf, a game peculiar to the Scots, foot-ball, and shooting for prizes with bow and arrow. The shooting butts still remain. Archery, within the memory of man, was kept up at Peebles; and an ancient silver prize arrow, with several old medallions appended to it, as I am informed, is still preserved in the town-house of Peebles.

“ And to the last argument, to wit, the authorities of bishops Gibson and Tanner, and the editor of Gavin Douglas's Virgil, all of whom attribute the above poem to king James V. All these writers are so modern, and so remote from the age of James I. or even of James V. that they can prove nothing. The oldest of these writers, bishop Gibson, did not publish his book till the year 1691, that is, 149 years after the death of king James V. and 250 years after the death of king James I. Besides Gibson, upon whose bare assertion the other two later writers professedly rely, speaks but dubiously; his words, as on the title page of the poem, are, “ Composed, as it is supposed, by king James V.”

“ Having thus shown the insufficiency of the arguments and authorities which attribute this poem to king James V. I now proceed to prove that it was undoubtedly the work of king James I.

“ The most ancient testimony for this opinion, is that of Mr. George Banantyne, to whose taste and industry we owe a MS. collection of many fine old Scottish poems prior to the year 1568, which is the date of his manuscript.

“ In Banantyne's book, the first poem in point of antiquity, is Christ's Kirk of the Green, which at the end of it, as was the fashion of the

time, bears this signature, “ Quod king James I.”

“ Banantyne's manuscript was finished in 1568, within 26 years of the death of James V. Banantyne may then be reckoned to have been contemporary with that prince. His testimony, therefore, not only proves negatively that king James V. was not the author, but likewise, that universal tradition and report, in this last prince's time, attributed this poem to his royal ancestor king James I.

“ Farther, although it may not be easy to ascertain the age of any writing from its language, yet I apprehend there arises strong internal evidence from the poem itself, that it belongs to an age more ancient than that of king James V.

“ King James I. was carried to England in the year 1404, and remained at the courts of king Henry IV. V. and VI. until the year 1423, when he returned to his own kingdom; some years after which, we may conjecture this poem to have been written. If it is compared with any of the poems of the age of king James V. that is, a century later, we shall find the language of the first much more antiquated and difficult to be understood than that of the latter. Let us make the comparison.

“ In the miscellany of ancient poems, called the Ever Green, collected chiefly from Banantyne's manuscript, the first in the book is, Christ's Kirk of the Green, and next to it are two poems, the Thistle and the Rose, and Virtue and Vice. The first made by Dunbar, upon the marriage of king James IV. and Margaret his queen, on her coming to Scotland, and before James V. was born. The other poem is written by Bellenden, dean

of Murray, and addressed to king James V. then a youth. Let these two poems be compared with Christ's Kirk of the Green, and I apprehend that no person who is versant in the Scottish language will have any difficulty in pronouncing Christ's Kirk to be the most ancient of the three poems. To any Scotsman, who is tolerably acquainted with the orthography of the Scottish language about 200 years ago, there can be no difficulty in understanding every phrase, nay almost every word used in the two poems of Dunbar and Bellenden, written in king James IV. and V.'s time; while in the more ancient poem of Christ's Kirk, he must, in almost every stanza, meet with some phrase or word, the true meaning of which he must be at a loss to explain.

"I am willing, at the same time, to allow, that, in a ludicrous poem, describing the humour of the country, several words used by the vulgar may affectedly have been introduced; yet, after all, this will not reconcile or make up for the apparent antiquity of phrase, as well as of words, which runs through the whole of the poem of Christ's Kirk of the Green.

"I shall conclude with another argument that arises from the poem itself, which, in my apprehension, is decisive of the point in question.

"Whoever reads the poem of Christ's Kirk, simply as a piece of wit and humour, comes very far short, I imagine, of the patriotic design and intention of its author. I shall endeavour to illustrate this.

"In the time of James I. archery, as a military art, was practised over all Europe. The English archers were remarkably expert in the use of the bow and arrow;

they were commonly stationed in the van of the army, and began the fight by a flight of arrows; and, when the enemy was thrown into disorder, they rushed in upon them with their battle axes. The celebrated victory gained by king Henry V. at Azincourt, was decided by the English archers.

"King James, on his return to his own kingdom, among many other abuses of the late weak government, under his uncles the dukes of Albany, while he was a prisoner in England, found, that the practice of archery had been greatly neglected among his subjects. As this appeared to be an object of much importance to the state, James, in his very first parliament, passes an act, ordaining "Every person after twelve years of age to busk (i. e. equip) himself as an archer: that bow marks be maid near every paroch kirk, whar-in on holydays, men may cum and schutte at least thrice about, and have usage of archerie; and wha fa uses not the said archerie, the laird of the land, or the sherriff, shall raise of him a wedder." We find another statute in the third parliament of the same monarch, appointing waipon-schawing four times in the year, with bow and arrow.

"James did not allow the matter to rest here; he knew that ridicule often has a stronger effect in exposing ignorance and correcting abuses, than penalties enjoined by law.

"His poem of Christ's Kirk, is almost one continued ironical satire upon the aukward management of the bow, and the neglect into which archery had then fallen in Scotland. To make his subjects sensible of the disgrace they incurred by their shameful ignorance of the use of their

their arms, and to re-establish the discipline of the bow amongst them, was an object worthy the care of this wise and warlike monarch. The continuator of Fordun's *Scoti-Chronicon* remarks, that, notwithstanding his attention to this, after his death, archery declined: "Post cujus mortem (Jacobi Primi) lugubrem, omnes quasi indifferenter arcus et arcilia rejecerunt, et cum lanceis equitare se dederunt: Ita quod nunc in curia magnatis, ubi sunt centum homines, et octoginta lanceas, vix sex reperiunt arcitenentes."

"A remarkable discovery, made a little before this time, hastened the downfall of archery, I mean the invention of gunpowder, and the use of artillery.

"The first siege of importance in which cannon seems to have been employed, was the famous siege of Orleans by the English, in which the earl of Salisbury, the English general, was killed by a cannon-ball. Artillery, in a few years after, was introduced into Scotland. Of this we have a melancholy proof in the death of king James II. and of the want of skill at that time in the management of artillery; that prince being killed, at the siege of Roxburgh castle, by the bursting of an over-loaded cannon.

"The use of cannon preceded that of musketry for many years,

while archery in England, and on the continent, still continued to make a considerable figure in the military art. At length, the introduction of hand fire-arms, the hagbutt, arquebuses, and match-lock, put an end to archery, and to the use of the bow in war, about the end of the 15th century.

"The 94th act of king James V. mentions that the schott of guns, hagbutts, and other small artaillarie, were comounlie used in war in all countries. That statute, therefore, enacts, That every landed man of 100*l.* shall have a hagbutt, with calmes for casting bullets, and with powder convenient for use.

"From this it appears obvious, that the use of the bow in war was, in the reign of James V. quite laid aside. The fine irony then, so proper for ridiculing the shameful want of skill in archery, which runs through the poem of *Christ's Kirk*, is lost, if applied to any other æra than that of James I.; more particularly so, if applied to that of James V. when fire-arms were introduced and encouraged by the public laws of the kingdom. From the whole of this evidence, I think there can remain no difficulty in agreeing to the positive testimony of Banantyne, the contemporary of king James V. that his ancestor king James I. was the author of *Christ's Kirk of the Green*."

Of the POEM made by King JAMES the First, on JANE, afterwards his QUEEN, while he was a Prisoner in England.

[From the same Dissertation.]

"THIS ancient poem, though mentioned by several writers of the life of James I. and well known in his time, yet has lain hid for these three centuries, and probably would have shared the same fate with most of his other compositions, now lost, but for the pre-

preservation of one single manuscript copy of it, which is now in the Bodleian library at Oxford. The title which this manuscript bears is "The Quair Maid be king James of Scotland the First, callit The King's Quair. Maid quha his Ma. was in England."

"From the title of the poem, it may be presumed that, in the age in which it was composed, it was held in estimation by the public. The word *Quair*, in the old English language, signifies a book: hence, by way of eminence, this poem was distinguished by the title of the King's Book; and, in that age, it must have been considered as a great work.

"As to its merit, the public, after due consideration of the age in which it was written, just beginning to emerge from that darkness that had long obscured the western hemisphere, will judge. Thus far may, I think, be said, that, for the invention and fancy, the genuine simplicity of sentiment, and the descriptive poetry which runs through it, it is a remarkable work.

"The design, or theme, is the royal poet's love for his beautiful mistress Jane, with whom he became enamoured while a prisoner at the castle of Windsor. The recollection of the misfortunes of his youth, his early and long captivity, the incident which gave rise to his love, its purity, constancy, and happy issue, are all set forth by way of allegorical vision, according to the reigning taste of the age of king James I. as we find from the poems of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, his contemporaries

"The taste for poetical allegory and vision was derived from the Provençal writers, which probably was introduced into England by Richard I. who ranks among the

most eminent of the Troubadours. It was highly in fashion in the age of Lydgate, Gower, and Chaucer, and continued to be so down to the age of Spencer, and the end of queen Elizabeth's reign. Every story had its moral, and was told in the way of allegory and vision. The machinery of these poems were fiery dragons, giants, and fairies; the scenery enchanted forests, castles, and lakes. The virtues, vices, and passions were personified, and the mythology was a mixture of the Greek, Roman, Arabian, and Christian. The advancement of learning has long banished this false taste; and it cannot be denied, that perhaps the meanest modern composition, even the flimsy flowers of a monthly miscellany, will better stand the test of criticism; yet how fleetly do these short-lived embryos vanish, never to appear again, at the approach of the great visionary figures, called up by our old bards! How is the imagination carried away, in their lofty flights into the regions of fancy, adorned with the glow of genuine poetry!

"In pursuing the several parts of the allegorical vision in king James's poem, perhaps it may appear prolix, a fault which attends almost every allegorical poem. It might be imputed to prejudice, were I to rank our royal poet with Chaucer, his contemporary, whose genius, like the morning-star, broke out after a long obscure night!

"Chaucer, the father of English poetry, as he may be styled the first, so he is the best poet of his time. His universal genius has comprehended, in his *Canterbury Tales*, the various manners and humours of every rank of men in his age and country, from his accomplished knight, who had served in the holy wars, down to the reeve, plough-

ploughman, and miller: And he has shewn the extent of his genius and learning, in almost every species of poetry, from his heroic poem of Palamon and Arcite to his ballads.—Having said this in preference of Chaucer,

“ I may, however, be allowed to compare the episode of the Court of Venus, in the following poem of James, with the Court of Love of Chaucer; in which view, if I am able to judge, our poet will lose nothing by the comparison, particularly in the portraiture of the mistress of each poet. The Jane of King James is painted with as much beauty, and with more tender delicacy, than the buxom Rosal of Chaucer.

“ It must be confessed, that many of the beauties of this ancient poem must escape us, from the mutability of the language in the space of near 400 years; an imperfection attendant on every living language. What Waller says, in his elegant verses on Chaucer, in the last century, may, with equal force, be applied to the poetical remains of king James I. of Scotland:

“ Poets, that lasting marble seek,
Must carve in Latin, or in Greek:
We write in sand; our language grows;
And, like the tide, our work overflows.
Chaucer his sense can only boast,
The glory of his numbers lost!
Years have defac'd his matchless strain,
And yet he did not write in vain.”

OBSERVATIONS on the ANTIQUITY of the SCOTTISH MUSIC.

[From the Dissertation on the Scottish Music, annexed to the Poetical Remains of James the First, King of Scotland]

“ FROM their artless simplicity, it is evident, that the Scottish melodies are derived from very remote antiquity. The vulgar conjecture that David Rizio was either the composer or reformer of the Scottish songs, has of late been so fully exposed, that I need say very little to confute it. That the science of music was well understood, and that we had great masters, both theorists and performers, above a century before Rizio came to Scotland, I shall immediately show. He is by no contemporary writer said to have been a composer. He is not even extolled as a great performer; nor does tradition point him out as the author of any one particular song; and, although we should allow him to have had ability, the short time he was in Scotland,

scarcely three years, was too busy with him to admit of such amusement.—Let us endeavour to trace back our music to its origin.

“ The origin of music in every country, is from the woods and lawns.

“ The simplicity and wildness of several of our old Scottish melodies, denote them to be the production of a pastoral age and country, and prior to the use of any musical instrument beyond that of a very limited scale of a few natural notes, and prior to the knowledge of any rules of artificial music. This conjecture, if solid, must carry them up to a high period of antiquity.

“ The most ancient of the Scottish songs still preserved, are extremely simple, and void of all art. They consist of one measure only,
and

and have no second part, as the later or more modern airs have. They must, therefore, have been composed for a very simple instrument, such as the shepherd's reed or pipe, of few notes, and of the plain diatonic scale, without using the semitones, or sharps and flats. The distinguishing strain of our old melodies is plaintive and melancholy; and what makes them soothing and affecting, to a great degree, is the constant use of the concordant tones, the third, and fifth of the scale, often ending upon the fifth, and some of them on the sixth of the scale. By this artless standard some of our old Scottish melodies may be traced; such as *Gil Morice*—*There cam a ghost to Marg'et's door—O laddie, I man loo' thee—Hap me wi' thy pettycoat—I mean the old sets of these airs, as the last air, which I take to be one of our oldest songs, is so modernized as scarcely to have a trace of its ancient simplicity. The simple original air is still sung by nurses in the country, as a lullaby to still their babes to sleep. It may be said, that the words of some of these songs denote them to be of no very ancient date: but it is well known, that many of our old songs have changed their original names, by being adapted to more modern words. Some old tunes have a second part; but it is only a repetition of the first part on the higher octave; and these additions are probably of more modern date than the tunes themselves.*

“ That the science of music, and the rules of composition, were known amongst us before the 15th century, is certain. King James the First of Scotland is celebrated by all the Scottish historians, not only as an excellent performer, but as a great theorist in music, and a composer of airs to his own verses.

“ *Hic etenim in musica (says Fordun) in artis perfectione, in tympano et choro, in psalterio et organo, ad summæ perfectionis magisterium, natura creatrix, ultra humanam æstimationem, ipsum vivaciter decoravit.*’ *Scotichron. vol. ii. lib. 16. cap. 28.*—Fordun has a whole chapter, the 29th of his History, on king James's learning and knowledge in the ancient Greek, as well as in the more modern scales of music, which, for its curiosity, is worthy to be read by the modern theorists in music.

“ The next authority is John Major, who celebrates king James I. as a poet, a composer, and admirable performer of music. Major affirms, that, in his time, the verses and songs of that prince were esteemed amongst the first of the Scottish melodies. I shall give the whole passage:

“ *In vernacula lingua artificiosissimus compositor; cujus codices plurimi, et cantilenæ memoriter adhuc apud Scotos inter primos habentur.—Artificiosam cantilenam (composuit) Yas sen, &c. et jucundum artificiosumque illum cantum, at Beltayn, quem alii de Dalketh et Gargeil mutare studuerunt, quia in arce, aut camera, clausus servabatur, in qua mulier cum matre habitabat.*

“ It is a pity that neither the words nor the music of these celebrated ballads have come down to us. According to the historian, the last must have been full of humour, and extremely popular; his words may imply, that several parodies or imitations of the subject had been made, which time has likewise deprived us of.

“ Amongst the number of our old Scottish melodies, it is, I think, scarcely to be doubted, that many of king James's compositions, which
were

were esteemed among the first of the age, are still remaining, and make a part of our finest old melodies: but as no tradition down to our time has ascertained them, they, in all probability, pass undistinguished under other names, and are adapted to modern words. There can be little doubt, however, that most of James's compositions have shared the same fate with many other old airs. Tassoni, the Italian poet, as afterwards mentioned, says expressly, that "king James composed many sacred pieces of vocal music," which are now lost. All our old heroic ballads, such as *Hardiknute*, and others, were undoubtedly sung to chants composed for them, which are now lost. Among those still preserved, are the episodes of *Osian*, which are at this day sung in the Highlands. Gill Morrice—*The Flowers of the Forest*—*Hero and Leander*, &c. are still sung to their original pathetic strains. These, however, are but a few of many old ballads whose airs are now unknown. In the MS. collection of Scottish Poems, made by Banatyne before the year 1568, the donation of the earl of Hyndford to the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh, the favourite poem, "*The Cherry and the Slae*", and likewise a poem of sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, father to the famous secretary Maitland, are entitled, "To be sung to the tune of the Banks of Helicon." This must have been a well-known tune 200 years ago, as it was sung to such popular words; but it is now lost. It cannot exist under other words, as the metrical stanza of the *Cherry and the Slae* is so particular, that I know no air at this day that could be adapted to it. We find also, in old books, many names of songs, yet neither of the verses or tunes do we know any thing at

1784.

this day. Gavin Douglas, in his prologue to the 12th *Æneid*, recites the beginning words of three well-known songs in his time, 1480, thus:

"The schip sailis over the salt fame,
Will bring thir merchandis and my le-
man hame."

"—— I will be blyith and licht,
My hert is lent upon sa gudly wicht."

"—— I come hidder to wow."

And, in the prologue to 13th *Æneid*,

"—— The jolly day now dawis."

"In the same way a great many of king James I.'s poetical pieces are now lost, or, perhaps, as his poem of *Christ's Kirk of the Green*, may erroneously be ascribed to others.

"It may be suspected, from the above high-strained authorities, that his countrymen have rather allowed themselves to be carried too far in displaying the qualifications of their king. I shall, however, produce the testimony of a foreigner, a celebrated author, who does James still more honour than the writers of his own country; and, singular as the proposition may appear, I shall endeavour to prove, that the Scottish melodies, so far from being either invented or improved by an Italian master, were made the models of imitation in the finest vocal compositions of one of the greatest masters of composition in Italy.

"The celebrated Carlo Gesualdo, prince of Venosa, formerly Venusium, famous as the place of birth of Horace, flourished about the middle or towards the end of the 16th century, and died in 1614. Blancanus, in his *Chronologia-Mathematicorum*, thus distinguishes him: "The most noble Carolus Gesualdus, prince of Venusium, was the prince of musicians of our
H age:

age: he having recalled the rythme into music, introduced such a style of modulation, that other musicians yielded the preference to him; and all singers and players on stringed instruments, laying aside that of others, every where eagerly embraced his music.—He is also celebrated by Merfennus, Kircher, and almost all the writers of that age, as one of the most learned and greatest composers of vocal music in his time.

“To apply this account of the prince of Venosa to the present subject—Alessandro Tassoni, in his *Penfieri Diversi*, lib. 10. thus expresses himself: “We may reckon among us moderns James king of Scotland, who not only composed many sacred pieces of vocal music, but also, of himself, invented a new kind of music, plaintive and melancholy, different from all other; in which he has been imitated by Carlo Gesualdo, prince of Venosa, who in our age has improved music with new and admirable inventions.”

“How perfectly characteristic, this, of the pathetic strains of the old Scottish songs! What an illustrious testimony to their excellency!

“Some of the dilettanti, in the Italian music of the present times, may perhaps sneer at being told, that the Italians, the restorers of music, owe the improvement of their music to the early introduction of Scottish melody into it: yet nothing is more certain, not only from the candid acknowledg-

ment of Tassoni, but from the testimony of the Italian music itself before the prince of Venosa's time.”

“In the state of music in Italy, we may suppose the Scottish melodies of king James I. had found their way into that country. Is it, then, to be wondered at, that such a genius as the prince of Venosa should be struck with the genuine simplicity of strains which spoke directly to the heart, and that he should imitate and adopt such new and affecting melodies, which he found wanting in the music of his own country? The sweet, natural, and plaintive strains of the old song Waly waly up the bank—Will ye go to the ewe-bughts, Marion—Be constant ay—and many other of our old songs about that age, must touch the heart of every genius, of whatever country, and might enrich the compositions of the greatest foreign master.

“*Purpureus late qui splendeat unus et
alter
Adfuitur pannus.*”

“I hope we shall no longer hear the absurd tale, that the Scottish music was either invented or improved by an Italian, when we see it proved, by so great an authority as Tassoni, that the Scottish melodies, above two centuries ago, and in his time, had been adopted into the finest vocal compositions of one of the greatest masters and reformers of Italian music, the prince of Venosa.”

ACCOUNT of the PROGRESS of SONG-WRITING in this COUNTRY, from the Reign of QUEEN ELIZABETH to the present Time.

[From the Historical Essay on National Song; prefixed to the "Select Collection of English Songs."]

“ **W**E now arrive at the time of queen Elizabeth, in which we are to look for the origin of the modern English song; not a single composition of that nature, with the smallest degree of poetical merit, being discoverable at any preceding period, and consequently none earlier is to be found in the collection herewith given to the public.

“ We may venture to place Marlow at the head of the numerous song-writers of this reign; not more by reason of his priority, than on account of his merit. And yet his Pastoral Invitation is the only song of his which has descended to us; possibly, which he wrote. But the beautiful and characteristic simplicity of this little piece is fully sufficient to justify the preference here given him on the score of merit. Wither; better known in the political, as well as poetical annals of the two following reigns, must be esteemed a songster of this: Both he and Marlow are happily imitated by Raleigh: Spenser has inserted a pastoral song in his Eclogues. Drayton, a smooth and poetic writer, has left us two or three tolerable songs; but his excellence is in his larger works: The genius of Shakspeare was as universal as it was, sublime: his lyric productions are superior to those of his contemporaries; and than some of them nothing better has since appeared. How much ought we to regret the valuable time he sacrificed to the false taste of his age, in the compe-

sition of above 150 sonnets (the most difficult and insipid metrical structure ever invented), which, though from the pen of this immortal bard, we can scarcely endure to read.

“ Sir Philip Sidney wrote a number of things in and out of the Arcadia, which were then esteemed songs; but they are all too much in the affected and unnatural manner of the Italian and Spanish poets to deserve this character at present. His friend, lord Brooke, has, however, left us one piece, which will be always accepted as a good song. And some of the performances of Francis Davison appear the effusions of a real poetical genius, and deserve much praise.

“ The queen herself had a turn for poetry, which she did not disdain to cultivate. Specimens of her talents are preserved in some contemporary publications; but none of them appears to be a perfect song.

“ Vere earl of Oxford, master Edwards of the queen's chapel, George Gaiscoigne, Nicholas Breton, and many other distinguished and inferior poets, are among the song-writers of this reign.

“ It is likewise to the age of this princess we are to refer the origin of the English ballad. That the common people of this, like those of almost every other country, have always, even in their rudest state, had songs to celebrate or record national or local occurrences, by whomsoever they may have been

composed, is an incontrovertible fact. Unfortunately, however, of these pieces not more than two, both already noticed, are known to exist. All the rest, not having been collected or entered in large volumes, nor ever printed, are irrecoverably lost. What a treasure would it be to possess a collection of the vulgar songs composed and sung during the civil wars of York and Lancaster, in which almost every moment afforded some great, noble, interesting, or pathetic subject for the imagination of the poet! How delightful, how instructive, would be the perusal of such a little history of that turbulent and bloody period! The ponderous tomes of Lydgate and Occleve have descended to us in the highest preservation: one would gladly sacrifice the whole for a single page! But the songs of which we are speaking appear to have borne so little resemblance to the style and manner of the old ballads with which we are now acquainted, and from which a part of the present collection is formed, that we may fairly infer that not one of the latter existed before the reign of the above princess. The learned and ingenious bishop Percy has, indeed, published a work, in which a considerable number of songs and ballads, that have never otherwise appeared, are ascribed to a very remote antiquity; an antiquity altogether incompatible with the style and language of the compositions themselves, most of which, one may be allowed to say, bear the strongest intrinsic marks of a very modern date. But the genuineness of these pieces cannot be properly investigated or determined without an inspection of the original manuscript, from which they are said to be extracted. As to the ancient black

letter copies of the more common English ballads, of which there are several collections extant, not more than three are so old as the sixteenth century, nor double the number of a more early date than the reign of king Charles II. The rest, to the amount of many hundreds, appear to have been printed between the Restoration and the commencement of the present century. It is not, however, meant by this to insinuate that none of those in the two last descriptions are of equal antiquity, in point of composition, with those in the first: the contrary is certain. That these ballads were originally composed for public singers by profession, and perhaps immediately for printers, booksellers, or those who vended such like things, is highly probable. But whether they were, in every case, first published in single sheets, and not till afterwards collected into Garlands, or whether they made their first appearance in such collections, does not clearly appear. Thomas Deloney and Richard Johnson, writers by profession of amusing books for the populace, were famous ballad-makers about this period. And could we be assured that they were the real authors of the Garlands, or collections published under their respective names, we might be able to refer most of the ballads in the present collection to the one or to the other. Elderton has been pronounced peerless in the composition of ballads. From him the laurel descended to Martin Parker, the last, perhaps, who was any way celebrated on this account.

“ The reign of queen Elizabeth is also the age of madrigals, catches, and glees: but as these, though somewhat partaking of the nature of song, claim a much nearer affinity with

with Euterpe than with Polyhymnia, it will be sufficient to have just mentioned them.

“ Among the songsters of James the First’s time, one is pleased to meet the name of that elegant writer and accomplished gentleman sir Henry Wotton. Dr. Donne’s imitation of Marlow, and other pieces, intitle him to a place in the list. And of the following song by Ben Jonson, Anacreon, had Anacreon written in English, need not have been ashamed.

“ Drink to me only with thine eyes,
And I will pledge with mine,
Or leave a kiss but in the cup,
And I’ll not look for wine :
The thirst that from the soul doth rise
Doth ask a drink divine,
But might I of Jove’s nectar sup,
I would not change for thine.

“ I sent thee late a rosy wreath,
Not so much honouring thee,
As giving it a chance that there
It could not wither’d be :
But thou thereon did’st only breathe,
And sent’st it back to me,
Since when it grows and smells, I swear,
Not of itself, but thee.”

“ The facetious bishop Corbett is likewise an author of this reign. His *Fairies Farewell* and *Distracted Puritan* have much humour and merit. The poems of Carew afford many excellent songs : a little more simplicity might have considerably increased the number. Bishop King, whom it would be injustice to forget, must have written toward the end of this reign.

“ Waller, born in 1605, may be esteemed the first song-writer, as well as the best poet of the reign of Charles I. Milton has left us a few songs, which would have appeared to possess more merit if they had fallen from an author of less dignity. Suckling’s *chef-d’œuvre* is his “ I’ll tell thee, Dick.” It is to be regretted that the poetical ex-

cellence of this celebrated composition should be degraded by grossness of sentiment and impurity of language. Butler and sir John Denham chiefly signalized themselves in spirited attacks on the gloomy and barbarous Roundheads. Indeed the Rebellion and Usurpation form the epoch of satyric songs ; with which the Cavaliers seem, until the Restoration, to have kept up a constant poetic fire, which, if it did not any great execution, at least kept the attention of loyalty awake, and, in some measure, no doubt, contributed to that happy event.

“ Cowley, who commenced author at a very early age, is likewise to be considered as a song-writer of this reign. His *Chronicle* is an admirable performance, and, had his judgment and taste been equal to his vivacity and wit, would not have been the only song he had left us to commend. Lovelace, L’Estrange, and Shirley, were also writers of songs in this reign.

“ The reign of Charles the Second is the Augustan age of song ; no period having produced so great a number of excellent writers in this species of poetry. This prince was not only the admirer and patron of the art, he cultivated it himself. We have a song of his, beginning

“ I pass all my hours in a shady old grove,”

which, though by no means remarkable for poetical merit, has certainly enough for the composition of a king. Dryden was undoubtedly great in every species of poetry ; but the songs of Etherege, Eaton, Sedley, Rochester, Dorset, and Sheffield (afterwards duke of Bucks), are master-pieces in this ; some of them being absolutely without equal in the language. Amongst these is to be ranked Dorset’s incomparable Address to the Ladies,

written at sea, on the eve of an engagement.

“ Otway’s pathetic Remonstrance to his inexorable Mistress would have entitled him to the character of an elegant writer, even if it had been his only composition. Scroop, Walsh, and many other song-writers of merit, are to be singled out of

“ The mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease.”

Mrs. Behn deserves a more particular acknowledgement. And we should do injustice to a laborious, and, according to his own account, most successful and happy writer, were we to omit the honoured name of Tom D’Urfey, who, besides that he composed more songs perhaps than all his contemporaries put together; most of them being great favourites with the nation, and many of them still remaining so, particularly his loyal ode of “ Joy to great Cæsar;” which, once echoed by all ranks, is yet frequently chanted with delight; and, as Mr. Addison pleasantly observes, gave the Whigs (to whom honest Tom was a sworn foe, till he lived to see them get into power) a blow they were never able to recover during that reign; was a very good musician, and possessed an excellent voice, with which he had frequently the high honour to entertain his majesty at Newmarket and elsewhere; the good-natured monarch familiarly condescending to hold the paper, and accompany his artful strains, or beat the time by gentle taps upon his shoulder.

“ The short time of the misguided and unfortunate James might pass unnoticed. We only discover, in the party songs of this period, the most rancorous hatred displayed in the grossest scurrility. But what an astonishing effect these vul-

gar and despicable rhapsodies had upon the temper of the times, we may, in some measure, conjecture from the brags of that unprincipled character, lord (afterwards marquis of) Wharton, who was wont to boast, that by the most foolish of them all he had rhimed the king out of his dominions.

“ James was not insensible to the powers of poetry and wit; he had conceived a great friendship for Wycherly, on whom he bestowed many favours. We mention this poet as a song-writer: but all his performances, as such, however well adapted to the licentious manners and too luxuriant wit of his age, are now deservedly neglected.

“ The Revolution, one may be certain, did not take place without giving rise to numbers of songs and ballads both for and against that important event. But all of them are too strongly tinged with the venom of party to retain the least appearance of merit.

“ The prince who obtained possession of the vacant throne was too much of the phlegmatic Dutchman to be sensible of the merit, or susceptible of the power of poetry, music, or song. Even the harp of Orpheus would have made no impression upon him. Her majesty, however, as we learn from a curious anecdote, had not sacrificed to a throne her infantine relish for the homely English ballad.

“ Prior is the first poet of eminence we meet with after this period. His songs are numerous; most of them are spirited, ingenious, and witty; a few are tender, sentimental, and pathetic; all excellent of their kind. Lansdown, a writer of name, has left us some indifferent songs. Congreve, gay, sprightly, and licentious, too frequently suffered his wit to surprise his judgment.

ment. The little piece, however, beginning

“False though she be to me and love,”

is no unpleasing proof of what he was capable of. The songs of Rowe, on the contrary, are all soft, tender, and plaintive. The consequence is, that his Despairing Shepherd will be admired when Buxom Joan is entirely forgotten.

“With Steele, who has left such a favourable specimen of his talents for two different kinds of song, the tender and the lively, as to make us regret they were not more exerted, we may commence the reign of queen Anne. Philips’s happy version of Sappho is deservedly esteemed a considerable acquisition to English song. The name of Addison will do the subject more credit than the two pieces to which it could with certainty be prefixed may be thought to do him. The first of them, however, is in the true spirit of Rochester, and has abundant merit. And there is some reason to suspect that many of his best songs have been usually printed either under a different name, or without any name at all. Tickell has united the tenderest sentiments with the most interesting narrative: Colin and Lucy is unrivalled. Of the few songs of Parnell, though none of them seem to be remarkable for that peculiar sweetness which distinguishes his more serious compositions, the little pastoral in the present volume has been always admired. Hill, without his affectation and love of conceit, would have been, if not a poet, a song-writer of eminence. He is one of those writers whom we can hardly praise, and must be loth to condemn. Byron’s beautiful and celebrated pastoral song of Colin and Phœbe was the production of this æra. Of this

species of song, simplicity is the principal requisite; but even simplicity may be affected, excessive, and puerile, and such has, not perhaps without reason, been pronounced the fault of this popular performance; though much may, doubtless, be alleged in extenuation of it, from the nature of his subject and the practice of greater virtues.

“Gay, the accomplished, the inimitable Gay, is the ornament of the ensuing reign. The infinite obligations which the lovers of song are under to this admirable writer can never be sufficiently expressed. Lively, humorous, witty, elegant, tender, and pathetic; happy and successful in whatever the universality of his genius prompted him to undertake; his spirit, his sentiment, his language, are pure nature; and while a love of poetry and song, or a particle of taste remains among us, will certainly be remembered, and must always please. The ingenious and libertine duke of Wharton is a song-writer of this period. Booth, Croxall, Concanen, Budgell, lady M. W. Montague, sir W. Yonge, and others, are entitled, with various degrees of merit, to the same character. Carey ought not to be mentioned without every commendation. His happy simplicity and unaffected manner interest and charm the reader of natural taste. Sally in our Alley was a particular favourite of Mr. Addison; and his judgment, which, however, wants no countenance, is confirmed by its popularity.

“The name of Pope will shed a lustre over the long reign of George II. in which we have the gratification to introduce him. The single performance he condescended to leave is an exquisite parody or satirical imitation, written in 1733, in

the character of “ a person of quality,” of the fashionable sing-song of that and the preceding age.

“ While this great poet was endeavouring to laugh out of countenance the flowery insipidity, discordant images, and unnatural conceit of a favourite species of love-song, his friend Swift was employed in turning into deserved ridicule the strange affected musical jargon then in vogue. And never surely was any thing more justly conceived, or more happily executed than these two efforts of wit and genius in support of common sense and true taste. Nor does a want of success (if that be the case) any way detract from or lessen the merit of the attempt. Swift, who might, with equal propriety, have been placed in either of the two preceding reigns, produced a number of political, satirical, and jocular pieces, upon common and popular subjects, which appear to have been designed for the capacity and notice of the vulgar, in aid of the *cantilene triviale* of his time. Clever Tom Clinch is a master-piece in its way. But how far these compositions suited the comprehension and taste of an English or Irish mob, we are not certified. The known song-writers of this period are, as it might be naturally expected, indifferently numerous, and many of them of the first eminence. The beautiful songs of Lyttelton resemble the gentle murmurs of the turtle; Shenstone sings with all the elegant simplicity of an Arcadian shepherd; and the nightingale’s plaintive strains are emulated by the elegiac tenderness of Collins. Chesterfield has left a few songs: they are neat and pointed, and would not have deserved less commendation if the flippant muse of their noble author could have been always kept within the

pale of delicacy and virtue. The names of Middlesex and Glover will be immortalised by Arno’s Vale and Hosier’s Ghost. The compositions, at least, will scarcely be forgotten, if the authors should. Dr. Johnson, though still living, is a song-writer of this reign. Several of his performances are inserted in the present collection. But song is a province in which this great writer does not appear with his usual advantage. His pen is much too heavy for so light a subject. Mr. Jenyns stands in the same predicament; not indeed as to the character of his compositions, which for the graces of style and manner admit few superiors. The cause of poetry, indeed, is more indebted to this elegant writer than that of virtue and innocence. But the situation of his most reprehensible production in the present volume will serve as an antidote to the poison it contains.

“ Dr. Dalton’s additions to Milton’s Mask have unexampled merit. The many elegant and spirited songs which he has so judiciously introduced into this admirable drama are some of the most finished and beautiful compositions in the language. All of them were not, it must be confessed, equally proper for the present publication, but no reflection is intended to be thrown on those which have been designedly omitted; as there is not one which does not, in some degree, contribute to the perfection and moral of the piece.

“ Mr. Whitehead, the present laureat, has given us two excellent songs. It were to be wished that the nature of his office had obliged him to furnish us with more. His annual odes, though doubtless far superior to those of his predecessors, are seldom remembered; but Ye

Belles

Belles and ye Flirts, will be never forgotten.

“ Moore is one of the most pleasing and natural of our song-writers. The justness and beauty of his sentiments, and the agreeable familiarity of his language and manner, render him equally intelligible and delightful to all ranks; at least wherever nature can be judge. With less affectation, Smart would probably have been intitled to a similar character.

“ Dr. Percy, now bishop of Dromore, the editor, and author of some pieces in the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, so frequently noticed, has, independently of his contributions to that work, favoured the public with one most beautiful song. It would not depreciate the merit, though it might affect the originality, of this elegant composition, if it were universally known to be a close imitation of some of the most tender and poetical passages in Henry and Emma.

“ The late Mr. Doddsley, Dr. Akenfide, Dr. Hawkesworth, Mr. Brerewood, Mrs. Pilkington, (the two last of whom deserve particular commendation, although the praise due to the former on account of the two pieces here inserted is necessarily accompanied with the censure due to him on account of the two which were obliged to be omitted), Mr. C. H. Williams, and Mr. J. Moore are song-writers of consequence in this reign. The list might undoubtedly be increased with names no less respectable; and there are numerous compositions, which, though they might do credit to any author, have been claimed by none.

“ The fertile but licentious ima-

gination of Stevens has supplied us with a volume of songs. It has been the study of this celebrated bard (for he sung what he composed) to promote the hilarity of the festive board, and “ set the table on a roar.” And it is only fair to say, that his attempts have generally proved successful. But as the convivial disposition of those whom it was his business to please was not characterised by its delicacy, many of his compositions are such as, in a purer age, would have obtained him rather infamy than credit. Woty, a genius of a similar turn, is intitled, though in a smaller degree, to the same kind of praise.

“ The Vaudevilles which Garrick and Paul Whitehead composed for the stage toward the end of this reign are excellent in their kind, and well deserved the popularity they acquired. One of these pieces is inserted in the present collection. “ *Hearts of Oak*” has even greater merit, and “ *In story we’re told*” is without its equal in the language.

“ The cultivation and improvement of song is not among the blessings of the present reign. The number of writers and productions of merit in this, and indeed in every other species of poetry, is comparatively small. We have one song by Churchill, and a few by Lloyd; but these compositions, though certainly not devoid of merit, are far from being equal to their poetical abilities. Goldsmith and Cunningham are song-writers of this period. And since it is not the extent but the excellence of the composition which constitutes the poet, if the former had produced nothing but the two stanzas inserted under his name in
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the present volume, he would have been intitled to an eminent rank. Cunningham, though not equal to his countryman in native genius, and still less so in learned application, possesses a pleasing simplicity which cannot fail to recommend him to a reader of unadulterated taste. This simplicity may, perhaps, in some of his compositions, be thought too great; but when it is known that they were necessarily adapted to the intellects of a country theatre, little censure can be justly incurred by the poet.

“Bickerstaff has been fortunate that so many of his best songs can

be detached from the dramatic characters to which they belong. Had his integrity and candour been equal to his genius, he would have merited a greater praise. To the amiable muse of Mrs. Barbauld we are considerably indebted. The ingenious and elegant author of the *School for Scandal* has shewn that the drama is not the only species of the poetical art at his command. His songs are not less remarkable for their singularity than for their merit; few of any consequence having appeared for some years before the *Duenna*, and none, beside his own, since.”

OBSERVATIONS in FAVOUR of WRITING COMEDIES in RHYME.

[From the Preface to Mr. Hayley's Plays of Three Acts, written for a private Theatre.]

“AS the following plays were intended only for a private theatre, I have been tempted by that circumstance to introduce a kind of novelty into our language, by writing three comedies in rhyme, though the Comic Muse of our country has been long accustomed to express herself in prose, and her custom has the sanction of settled precept, and successful example. The antiquarian, indeed, may remind me that *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, one of the earliest of our old plays, with other comic productions of that rude period, was written in rhyme; and possibly some fastidious enemies of that Gothic jingle, as they affect to call it, may consider the present publication as nothing more than a relapse

into the most barbarous mode of dramatic composition.

“For the boldness of an attempt, which has no modern precedent to plead in its behalf, some apology may be due to the public.

“In the first place, I beg it may not be supposed, that by writing a comedy in rhyme, I mean to convey an indirect censure on the contrary practice. No one can prize more highly than I do the many excellent comedies in prose, with which our language is enriched. I am very far from entertaining a wish to overturn the ceremonial which the Comic Muse of England has established; but I hope to find our country as much a friend to toleration in the forms of literature as in those of religion.

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The custom of other enlightened nations, both ancient and modern, may be pleaded on this occasion in behalf of verse. Aristophanes, in his play of the Clouds, seems to pride himself on his poetry. Aristotle having written two comedies in prose, converted them both into metre at a maturer period of his life; and Moliere, the unrivalled master of the French comic theatre, who has written admirably both in prose and rhyme, is, I think, most admirable, and most truly comic, when he adheres to the latter.

“ To the author who attempts a comedy in English rhyme, our language seems to offer an advantage, which the French poet did not enjoy. The Comic Muse of France has chiefly confined herself to that structure of verse, which belongs equally to her Tragic Sister. In the poetry of our nation, this particular measure is appropriated to sportive subjects; and though hitherto not used in comedy, it possesses to an English ear a very comic vivacity. That it is highly calculated for poems of wit and humour, we have a striking proof in that most exquisite production the Bath Guide. How far it may succeed through the varied scenes of an English play, experiment only can determine.”

“ When I reflect what long and established prejudice a rhyming play must encounter—when I remember that even Dryden himself, the most able advocate, and the greatest master of rhyme in our language, has expressly condemned the use of it in comedy—I am alarmed at the hardness of my attempt: but when I recollect that time, the most infallible test of literary opinion, has fully shewn the mistake of that immortal poet, in

recommending the use of rhyme in English tragedy, I am inclined to hope that he might be equally mistaken in supposing it utterly unsuited to our Comic Muse. It may be urged indeed, with great truth, that a comedy in rhyme cannot be so close a copy of Nature as a comedy in prose, the latter adhering to the very language of common life. But from a sister art we may borrow, at least, a plausible argument in favour of poetry, on the present occasion. The great master, who has descanted so happily on the principles of painting, observes, with great propriety, in one of his discourses, that “ we are not always pleased with the most absolute possible resemblance of an imitation to its original object: cases may exist, in which such a resemblance may be even disagreeable. I shall only observe, that the effect of figures in wax-work, though certainly a more exact representation than can be given by painting or sculpture, is a sufficient proof that the pleasure we receive from imitation is not increased merely in proportion as it approaches to minute and detailed reality: we are pleased, on the contrary, by seeing ends answered by seeming inadequate means.” On these principles, which perhaps are equally just in the two kindred arts, a comedy in rhyme may be still more entertaining than a comedy, of equal merit in other points, which confines itself to prose; and a critic who exclaims against the unnatural effect of a rhyming dialogue, may as justly censure a portrait on canvas, because it is not so exact a copy of life as an image of coloured wax. In both cases the artist, whether painter or poet, may be justly called a true and a pleasing

ing copier of Nature, if he preserves as high a degree of resemblance as his mode of imitation will admit, and embellishes his work with the attractive and almost indispenfible graces of ease, spirit, and freedom.

“ It is faid by Voltaire of theatrical composition in general, “*Tous les genres font bons hors le genre ennuyeux.*” If the present comedies

fall not within the clafs which that lively writer has fo juftly proſcribed, the author may be allowed to hope, that his liberal and enlightened readers will look with indulgence on a publication, which aroſe from his wiſh to introduce a ſtriking, and he truſts not a blameable, variety into the amusements of English literature.”

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

EXTRACT from a PAPER on the MEANS of discovering the Distance, Magnitude, &c. of the FIXED STARS, in Consequence of the Diminution of the Velocity of their LIGHT. By the rev. JOHN MICHELL, B. D. F. R. S.

[From the Seventy-fourth Volume of the Philosophical Transactions.]

“ **A** Ccording to Monsr. Bouguer (see his *Traité d’Optique*) the brightness of the sun exceeds that of a wax candle in no less a proportion than that of 8000 to 1. If therefore the brightness of any of the fixed stars should not exceed that of our common candles, which, as being something less luminous than wax, we will suppose in round numbers to be only one 10.000th part as bright as the sun, such a star would not be visible at more than an 1000th part of the distance, at which it would be visible, if it was as bright as the sun. Now because the sun would still appear, I apprehend, as luminous, as the star Sirius, when removed to 400,000 times his present distance, such a body, if no brighter than our common candles, would only appear equally luminous with that star at 4000 times the distance of the sun, and we might then begin to be able, with the best telescopes, to distinguish some sensible apparent diameter of it; but the apparent diameters of the stars of the less magnitudes would still be too small to be distinguishable even with our best telescopes, unless they were yet a good deal less luminous, which may possibly however be the case with some of them;

for, though we have indeed very slight grounds to go upon with regard to the specific brightness of the fixed stars compared with that of the sun at present, and can therefore only form very uncertain and random conjectures concerning it, yet from the infinite variety which we find in the works of the creation, it is not unreasonable to suspect that very possibly some of the fixed stars may have so little natural brightness in proportion to their magnitude, as to admit of their diameters having some sensible apparent size, when they shall come to be more carefully examined, and with larger and better telescopes than have been hitherto in common use.

“ With regard to the sun, we know that his whole surface is extremely luminous, a very small and temporary interruption sometimes from a few spots only excepted. This universal and excessive brightness of the whole surface is probably owing to an atmosphere, which being luminous throughout, and in some measure also transparent, the light, proceeding from a considerable depth of it, all arrives at the eye; in the same manner as the light of a great number of candles would do, if they were placed

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one behind another, and their flames were sufficiently transparent to permit the light of the more distant ones to pass through those that were nearer, without any interruption.

“How far the same constitution may take place in the fixed stars we don't know; probably however it may do so in many; but there are some appearances with regard to a few of them, which seem to make it probable, that it does not do so universally. Now, if I am right in supposing the light of the sun to proceed from a luminous atmosphere, which must necessarily diffuse itself equally over the whole surface, and I think there can be very little doubt that this is really the case, this constitution cannot well take place in those stars, which are in some degree periodically more and less luminous, such as that in *Collo Ceti*, &c. It is also not very improbable, that there is some difference from that of the sun, in the constitution of those stars, which have sometimes appeared and sometimes disappeared, of which that in the constellation of *Cassiopeia* is a notable instance. And if those conjectures are well founded which have been formed by some philosophers concerning stars of these kinds, that they are not wholly luminous, or at least not constantly so, but that all, or by far the greatest part of their surfaces is subject to considerable changes, sometimes becoming luminous, and at other times being extinguished; it is amongst the stars of this sort, that we are most likely to meet with instances of a sensible apparent diameter, their light being much more likely not to be so great in proportion as that of the sun, which, if removed to four hundred

thousand times his present distance would still appear, I apprehend; as bright as *Sirius*, as I have observed above; whereas it is hardly to be expected, with any telescopes whatsoever, that we should ever be able to distinguish a well-defined disc of any body of the same size with the sun at much more than ten thousand times his distance.

“Hence the greatest distance at which it would be possible to distinguish any sensible apparent diameter of a body as dense as the sun cannot well greatly exceed five hundred times ten thousand, that is, five million times the distance of the sun; for if the diameter of such a body was not less than five hundred times that of the sun, its light, could never arrive at us.

“If there should really exist in nature any bodies, whose density is not less than that of the sun, and whose diameters are more than 500 times the diameter of the sun, since their light could not arrive at us; or if there should exist any other bodies of a somewhat smaller size, which are not naturally luminous; of the existence of bodies under either of these circumstances, we could have no information from sight; yet, if any other luminous bodies should happen to revolve about them we might still perhaps from the motions of these revolving bodies infer the existence of the central ones with some degree of probability, as this might afford a clue to some of the apparent irregularities of the revolving bodies, which would not be easily explicable on any other hypothesis: but as the consequences of such a supposition are very obvious, and the consideration of them somewhat beside my present purpose, I shall not prosecute them any farther.

“The

“ The diminution of the velocity of light, in case it should be found to take place in any of the fixed stars, is the principal phenomenon whence it is proposed to discover their distance, &c. Now the means by which we may find what this diminution amounts to, seems to be supplied by the difference which would be occasioned in consequence of it, in the refrangibility of the light, whose velocity should be so diminished. For let us suppose with sir Isaac Newton (see his Optics, prop. vi. parag. 4 and 5.) that the refraction of light is occasioned by a certain force impelling it towards the refracting medium, an hypothesis which perfectly accounts for all the appearances. Upon this hypothesis the velocity of light in any medium, in whatever direction it falls upon it, will always bear a given ratio to the velocity it had before it fell upon it, and the sines of incidence and refraction will, in consequence of this, bear the same ratio to each other with these velocities inversely. Thus, according to this hypothesis, if the sines of the angles of incidence and refraction, when light passes out of air into glass, are in the ratio of 31 to 20, the velocity of light in the glass must be to its velocity in air in the same proportion of 31 to 20. But because the areas, representing the forces generating these velocities, are as the squares of the velocities: these areas must be to each other as 961 to 400. And if 400 represents the area which corresponds to the force producing the original velocity of light, 561, the difference between 961 and 400, must represent the area corresponding to the additional force, by which the light was accelerated at the surface of the glass.

“ We supposed, by way of example, the velocity of the light of some particular star to be diminished in the ratio of 19 to 20, and it was there observed, that the area representing the remaining force which would be necessary to generate the velocity 19, was therefore properly represented by $\frac{361}{400}$ of the area, that should represent the force that would be necessary to generate the whole velocity of light, when undiminished. If then we add 561, the area representing the force by which the light is accelerated at the surface of the glass, to 361, the area representing the force which would have generated the diminished velocity of the star's light, the square root of 922, their sum, will represent the velocity of the light with the diminished velocity, after it has entered the glass. And the square root of 922 being 30,364, the sines of incidence and refraction of such light out of air into glass will consequently be as 30,364 to 19, or what is equal to it, as 31,96 to 20 instead of 31 to 20, the ratio of the sines of incidence and refraction, when the light enters the glass with its velocity undiminished.

“ From hence a prism, with a small refracting angle, might perhaps be found to be no very inconvenient instrument for this purpose: for by such a prism, whose refracting angle was of one minute, for instance, the light with its velocity undiminished would be turned out of its way $33''$, and with the diminished velocity $33''$, $88''$ nearly, the difference between which being almost $2' . 53''$, would be the quantity by which the light, whose velocity was diminished, would be turned out of its way more than that whose velocity was undiminished.

“ Let us now be supposed to make use of such a prism to look at two stars, under the same circumstances as the two stars in the example above mentioned, the central one of which should be large enough to diminish the velocity of its light one twentieth part, whilst the velocity of the light of the other, which was supposed to revolve it about as a satellite, for want of sufficient magnitude in the body from whence it was emitted, should suffer no sensible diminution at all. Placing then the line, in which the two faces of the prism would intersect each other, at right angles to a line joining the two stars; if the thinner part of the prism lay towards the same point of the heavens with the central star, whose light would be most turned out of its way, the apparent distance of the stars would be increased $2''.53'''$ and consequently become $3''.53'''$ instead of $1''$ only, the apparent distance supposed. On the contrary, if the prism should be turned half way round, and its thinner part lay towards the same point of the heavens with the revolving star, their distance must be diminished by a like quantity, and the central star therefore would appear $1''.53'''$ distant from the other on the opposite side of it, having been removed from its place near three times the whole distance between them.

“ As a prism might be made use of for this purpose, which should have a much larger refracting angle than that we have proposed, especially if it was constructed in the achromatic way, according to Mr. Dollond's principles, not only such a diminution, as one part in twenty, might be made still more distinguishable; but we might pro-

bably be able to discover considerably less diminutions in the velocity of light, as perhaps a hundredth, a two hundredth, a five hundredth, or even a thousandth part of the whole, which, according to what has been said above, would be occasioned by spheres, whose diameters should be to that of the sun, provided they were of the same density, in the several proportions nearly of 70, 50, 30, and 22 to 1 respectively.

“ If such a diminution of the velocity of light, as that above supposed, should be found really to take place, in consequence of its gravitation towards the bodies from whence it is emitted, and there should be several of the fixed stars large enough to make it sufficiently sensible, a set of observations upon this subject might probably give us some considerable information with regard to many circumstances of that part of the universe, which is visible to us. The quantity of matter contained in many of the fixed stars might hence be judged of, with a great degree of probability, within some moderate limits; for though the exact quantity must still depend upon their density, yet we must suppose the density most enormously different from that of the sun, and more so, indeed, than one can easily conceive to take place in fact, to make the error of the supposed quantity of matter very wide of the truth, since the density which is necessary to produce the same diminution in the velocity of light, emitted from different bodies, is the square of the quantity of matter contained in those bodies inversely.

“ But though we might possibly from hence form some reasonable guess at the quantity of matter contained in several of the fixed stars;

stars; yet, if they have no luminous satellites revolving about them, we shall still be at a loss to form any probable judgment of their distance, unless we had some analogy to go upon for their specific brightness, or had some other means of discovering it: there is, however, a case that may possibly occur, which may tend to throw some light upon this matter.

“ I have shewn in my enquiry into the probable parallax, &c. of the fixed stars, published in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1767, the extremely great probability there is, that many of the fixed stars are collected together into groups; and that the Pleiades in particular constitute one of these groups. Now of the stars which we there see collected together, it is highly probable, as I have observed in that paper, that there is not one in a hundred which does not belong to the group itself; and by far the greatest part, therefore, according to the same idea, must lie within a sphere, a great circle of which is of the same size with a circle, which appears to us to include the whole group. If we suppose, therefore, this circle to be about 2° in diameter, and consequently only about a thirtieth part of the distance at which it is seen, we may conclude, with the highest degree of probability, that by far the greatest part of these stars do not differ in their distances from the sun by more than about one part in thirty, and from thence deduce a sort of scale of the proportion of the light which is produced by different stars of the same group or system in the Pleiades at least; and, by a somewhat probable analogy, we may do the same in other systems likewise. But having yet no means of knowing their real

distance, or specific brightness, when compared either with the sun or with one another, we shall still want something more to form a farther judgment from.

“ If, however, it should be found, that amongst the Pleiades, or any other like system, there are some stars that are double, triple, &c. of which one is a larger central body, with one or more satellites revolving about it, and the central body should likewise be found to diminish the velocity of its light; and more especially, if there should be several such instances met with in the same system; we should then begin to have a kind of measure both of the distance of such a system of stars from the earth, and of their mutual distances from each other. And if several instances of this kind should occur in different groups or systems of stars, we might also, perhaps, begin to form some probable conjectures concerning the specific density and brightness of the stars themselves, especially if there should be found any general analogy between the quantity of the diminution of the light and the distance of the system deduced from it: as, for instance, if those stars, which had the greatest effect in diminishing the velocity of light should in general give a greater distance to the system, when supposed to be of the same density with the sun, we might then naturally conclude from thence, that they are less in bulk, and of greater specific density, than those stars which diminish the velocity of light less, and vice versa. In like manner, if the larger stars were to give us in general a greater or less quantity of light in proportion to their bulk, this would give us a kind of analogy, from whence we might per-

haps form some judgment of the specific brightness of the stars in general: but, at all adventures, we should have a pretty tolerable measure of the comparative brightness of the sun and those stars, upon which such observations should be made, if the result of them should turn out agreeable to the ideas above explained.

“ Though it is not improbable, that a few years may inform us, that some of the great number of double, triple stars, &c. which have been observed by Mr. Herschel, are systems of bodies revolving about each other, especially if a few more observers, equally ingenious and industrious with himself, could be found to second his labours; yet the very great distance at which it is not unlikely many of the secondary stars may be placed from their principals, and the consequently very long periods of their revolutions, leave very little room to hope that any very great progress can be made in

this subject for many years, or perhaps some ages to come. The above outlines, therefore, of the use that may be made of the observations upon the double stars, &c. provided the particles of light should be subject to the same law of gravitation with other bodies, as in all probability they are, and provided also that some of the stars should be large enough sensibly to diminish their velocity, will, I hope, be an inducement to those, who may have it in their power, to make these observations for the benefit of future generations at least, how little advantage soever we may expect from them ourselves: and yet very possibly some observations of this sort, and such as may be made in a few years, may not only be sufficient to do something, even at present, but also to shew, that much more may be done hereafter, when these observations shall become more numerous, and have been continued for a longer period of years.”

On a METHOD of describing the relative POSITIONS and MAGNITUDES of the FIXED STARS. By the rev. FRANCIS WOLLASTON, LL.B. F.R.S.

[From the same Volume.]

“ FROM some alterations which have of late years been discovered, in the relative positions and apparent magnitudes of a few of the stars we called fixed, it seems not unreasonable to conclude, that there may be many changes among others of them we little suspect. This thought has led me into a wish, that some method were adopted whereby to detect such motions. The first idea which occurred to

me was, to make a proposal to astronomers in general; that each should undertake a strict examination of a certain district in the heavens; and, not only by a re-examination of the catalogues hitherto published, but by taking the right ascension and declination of every star in their several allotment, to frame an exact map of it, with a corresponding catalogue; and to communicate their observations to one

one common centre. This is what I could be glad to see begun. Every astronomer must wish it, and therefore every one should be ready to take his share in it. Such a plan, undertaken with spirit, and carried on gradually with care, would, by the joint labours and emulation of so many astronomers as are now in Europe, produce a celestial Atlas far beyond any thing that has ever yet appeared.

“But this would be a work of time, and not within the compass of every one. What I mean now to propose is more immediate; and not out of the reach of any who amuse themselves with viewing the heavenly bodies.

“Meridian altitudes and transits can be taken but once in 24 hours; and, though accurate, are therefore tedious. Neither can any re-examination of them be made, but with the same labour as at the first. Equatorial sectors are in the hands of few; and require great skill. Some more general method seemed wanting, to discover variations, which, when detected or only surmised, should be consigned immediately to a more strict investigation.

“Turning this in my thoughts, I considered, that the noting down at the time the exact appearance of what one sees, would be far more simple, and shew any alterations in that appearance more readily, than any other method. A drawing once made would remain, and could be consulted at any future period; and if it were drawn at first with care, a transient review would discover to one, whether any sensible change had taken place since it was last examined. Catalogues, or verbal descriptions of any kind, could not answer that end so well.

“To do this with ease and expedition was then the requisite: and a telescope with a large field, and some proper sub-divisions in it, to direct the eye and assist the judgment, seemed to bid most fair for success.

“The following is the method which, after various trials, I have adopted, and think I may now venture to recommend.

“To a night-glass, but of Dollond’s improved construction, which magnifies about six times, and takes in a field of just about as many degrees of a great circle, I have added cross wires, intersecting each other at an angle of 45° . More wires may be crossed in other directions; but I apprehend these will be found sufficient. This telescope I mount on a polar axis. One coarsely made, and without any divisions on its circle of declination, will answer this purpose, since there is no great occasion for accuracy in that respect: but as the heavenly bodies are more readily followed by an equatorial motion of the telescope, so their relative positions are much more easily discerned when they are looked at constantly as in the same direction. An horizontal motion, except in the meridian, would be apt to mislead the judgment. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the wires must stand so as for one to describe a parallel of the equator nearly. Another will then be a horary circle; and the whole area will be divided into eight equal sectors.

“Thus prepared, the telescope is to be pointed to a known star, which is to be brought into the centre or common intersection of all the wires. The relative positions of such other stars as appear within the field, are to be judged of by the eye, whether at $\frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{1}{3}$, or $\frac{1}{4}$ from

from the centre towards the circumference, or vice versa; and so with regard to the nearest wire respectively. These, as one sees them, are to be noted down with a black-lead pencil upon a large message card held in the hand, upon which a circle, similarly divided, is ready drawn. (One of three inches diameter seems most convenient.) The motion of the heavenly bodies in such a telescope is so slow, and the noting down of the stars so quickly done, that there is most commonly full time for it without moving the telescope. When that is wanted, the principal star is easily brought back again into the centre of the field at pleasure, and the work resumed. After a little practice, it is astonishing how near one can come to the truth in this way: and, though neither the right ascensions nor the declinations are laid down by it, nor the distances between the stars measured; yet their apparent situations being preserved in black and white, with the day and year, and hour if thought necessary, written underneath, each card becomes a register of the then appearance of that small portion of the heavens; which is easily re-examined at any time with little more than a transient view; and which yet will shew on the first glance, if there should have happened in it any variation of consequence. It is obvious, that very delicate observations are not to be made in this way.

“What I first happened to pitch upon was the constellation of Corona Borealis, which then fronted one of my windows; and which I have since pursued throughout in this method; making the stars α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , ζ , θ , ι , κ , π , ς , σ , and τ , successively central; together

with one or two belonging to Bootes, for the sake of connecting the whole together. These I have transferred since on a sheet of paper, to try how well they would unite into one map; which they have done with very little alteration.

“My design was, after marking down all such stars as are visible with so small a magnifier, to go over the whole again with another telescope of a higher power, divided in the same way; and after that, with a third and a fourth; so as to comprehend every star I could discern. That would discover smaller changes: but it must be a work of time, if attempted at all. After such a rough map of the constellation is made, the endeavouring to ascertain the right ascensions and declinations of these, may perhaps be adviseable in the next place, rather than searching for more.

“In observing in this way it is manifest, that the places of such stars as happen to be under or very near any one of the wires, must be more to be depended upon, than of what are in the intermediate spaces, especially if towards the edges of the field: so also what are nearest to the centre, because better defined, and more within the reach of one wire or another. For this reason, different stars in the same set must successively be made central, or brought towards one of the wires, where any suspicion arises of a mistake, in order to approach nearer to a certainty: but if the stand of the telescope be tolerably well adjusted and fixed in its place, that is soon done.

“In such a glass it is very seldom that light is wanting sufficient to discern the wires. When an illuminator is required, I find, that
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for this purpose, where you wish to see every small star you can, a piece of card or white pasteboard, projecting on one side beyond the tube, and which may be brought forward occasionally, is better than one of any other kind. By cutting across a small segment of the object-glass, it throws a sufficient light down the tube, though a candle is at a great distance; and one may lose sight of that false glare when one pleases, by drawing back the head, and moving the eye a little side-ways, and then one sees the smaller stars just as well as if no illuminator were there.

“ This then is the method I would recommend to the practical astronomer, for becoming acquainted with the appearance of the stars, and setting a watch over the heavenly motions. After a very few trials, every one would find this easy. And if each person of every rank among astronomers would take a constellation or two under his care, the numbers who could undertake it in this way would compensate for the defects of a plan which cannot aspire at great accuracy. The labour of it, even at first, is but little. It has cost me more time indeed than I ought commonly to allot to mere amusement; because I had my apparatus to contrive, and several different and fruitless schemes to try, before I could satisfy myself. But a quarter, or at the most half, an hour, is generally sufficient for the marking of one pretty full card in this way: and when once the cards are marked, and a general map of the constellation is formed, a little time given to it in a fine evening, to examine whether the stars on such or such a card remain in their former position, is little trouble indeed. Perseverance

is most likely to be wanting, and therefore must be determined upon; because, after finding things time after time just as they were, one's hopes of discovering any thing new will slacken. But the different state of the air, or of one's own eye, will frequently occasion a fresh star to become visible, or a small one which had been noted down to seem to have disappeared; and such a mere accident will serve to re-kindle the desire of pursuing it. Besides, if we observe no change after a tolerable interval of assiduous search, we may at any time turn to another constellation: yet ought we never to abandon the former entirely, after having once publicly undertaken it, without giving notice of our so doing.

“ In the cards or maps, it may be observed, I have not marked the respective sizes of the stars. Nor have I distinguished them in any way, excepting a few of them with Bayer's Greek letters. It was because I have not hitherto satisfied myself how to do it. Some method must be used by every one, to describe to himself what he means; but, in laying any thing before the public, a deference ought to be paid to what has been done by others. The calling any star by a new name would breed confusion: and as I was desirous this should appear before this society in its first rude form, that a judgment might be made from it how far such a scheme would promise success, I was unwilling to look into catalogues or capital maps for the number or names of the stars, lest I should be tempted to adapt the positions of what I had observed to what I there found set down by more able astronomers. Nothing, therefore, but a hemisphere of Senex has been consulted, just for

knowing how far the constellation is usually reckoned to extend, and what are Bayer's references.

"Should this plan meet with approbation, I shall be happy to have proposed it; and will endeavour to forward it in any way that shall be judged proper: or should any other be preferred, which is within the abilities and leisure of one who is engaged in another profession, I shall be as happy to lend what assistance I can to it. My aim is only, to render such observations as I am capable of making, useful to science.

"Before I conclude on this head, give me leave to add a few hints. Whether this method be followed, or any other, if a general plan be set on foot, whoever undertakes a constellation, or district, should determine to examine it with as great accuracy as he can; yet never be ashamed to let others know of his mistakes. The error of one proves a caution to another. Such a rough sketch once made, will be found of great use to most of us, in knowing which star next to examine with greater care. He who can do no more than this, will do a useful work by going thus far: and his frequently sweeping over his district in this way, may lead him to a discovery which might escape a more regular astronomer. But whoever can, ought to do more. By degrees the exact positions of every star he has noted down may be ascertained, by the method practised by Mr. de la Caille in his southern hemisphere, or by any other which shall be esteemed more convenient. Every one, indeed, must use such instruments as he can procure: but assiduity can do more with indifferent ones, than will ever be accomplished with the very best without it. Whatever

references are made for one's own convenience, when a map and catalogue are given to the public stock, the old letters and numbers should be retained as far as they go: though yet notice should be taken, where the magnitudes of the stars at present do not appear to correspond with the order in which they have been laid down.

"To render this more complete, it were to be wished, that each should give in a copy of his original observations, with an account of the instruments he used; since they ought to be preserved as data from whence his deductions were made, which may then be re-examined at any future time. Yet must it be desired, that no one would trust himself without carrying on his calculations as fast as the observations are made: they will otherwise multiply upon his hands till the labour will dishearten him from attempting it at all. A heap of crude undigested observations would be an unwelcome present to the public.

"Having thus stated this proposal, I shall leave it to be proceeded upon, or not, as shall be seen proper: and will now only subjoin a list of such occasional observations as I have had opportunity of making, since the last which I communicated to this society. I find, indeed, that it is much longer than I had apprehended: but as I perceive some astronomers abroad have referred to a few of those which have been honoured with a place in our Transactions, it may be as well to follow it up. An observation retained among one's own private papers I hold to be of little use.

"One thing let me desire foreigners to remark: that the registers I gave of the going of my clock

clock were meant only as the relations of a mere fact; that a clock, of such a construction, kept or altered its rate so or so. They seem to have understood it as an account of a capital clock, by valuing themselves upon some of their go-

ing better. The time-keepers in most of our observatories are far more accurate; but, excepting those of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, their accuracy is not made public."

REFLEXIONS on the CAUSE of METEORS.

From an ACCOUNT of some late FIERY METEORS; with OBSERVATIONS. By CHARLES BLAGDEN, Physician to the Army, and Secretary to the Royal Society,

[From the same Volume.]

I Find it impossible to quit this subject, without some reflexions about the cause, that can be capable of producing such appearances at an elevation above the earth, where, if the atmosphere cannot absolutely be said to have ceased, it is certainly to be considered as next to nothing. The first idea which suggested itself, that they were burning bodies projected with such a velocity, was quickly abandoned, from the want of any known power to raise them up to that great height, or, if there, to give them the required impetus; and the ingenuity of Dr. Halley soon furnished him with another hypothesis, in which he thought both these difficulties obviated. He supposes there is no projection of a single body in the case; but that a train of combustible vapours, accumulated in those lofty regions, is suddenly set on fire, whence all the phenomena are produced by the successive inflammation. But Dr. Halley gives no just explanation of the nature of these vapours, nor of the manner in which they can be raised up through air so ex-

tremely rare; nor, supposing them so raised, does he account for their regular arrangement in a straight and equable line of such prodigious extent, or for their continuing to burn in such rarefied air. Indeed, it is very difficult to conceive, how vapours could be prevented, in those regions where there is in a manner no pressure, from spreading out on all sides in consequence of their natural elasticity, and instantly losing that degree of density which seems necessary for inflammation. Besides, it is to be expected, that such trains would sometimes take fire in the middle, and so present the phenomenon of two meteors at the same time, receding from one another in a direct line.

“These difficulties have induced other philosophers to relinquish Dr. Halley’s hypothesis, and propose, instead of it, one of a very opposite nature, that meteors are permanent solid bodies, not raised up from the earth, but revolving round it in very eccentric orbits; or, in other words, that they are terrestrial comets. The objections to this opinion, however, seem to

me equally great. Most observers describe the meteors, not as looking like solid bodies, but rather like a fine luminous matter, perpetually changing its shape and appearance. Of this many defenders of the opinion are so sensible, that they suppose the revolving body gets a coat or atmosphere of electricity, by means of which it becomes luminous; but, I think, whoever carefully peruses the various accounts of fire-balls, and especially ours of the 18th of August, when it divided, will perceive that their phenomena do not correspond with the idea of a solid nucleus enveloped in a subtile fluid, any more than with the conjecture of another learned gentleman, that they become luminous by means of a contained fluid, which occasionally explodes through the thick solid outer shell.

“ A strong objection to this hypothesis of permanent revolving bodies, is derived from the great number of them there must be to answer all the appearances. Such a regular gradation is observed, from those large meteors, which strike all beholders with astonishment, and occur but rarely, down to the minute fires called shooting stars, which are seen, without being regarded, in great numbers every clear night, that it seems impossible to draw any line of distinction between them, or deny that they are all of the same nature. But such a crowd of revolving bodies could scarcely fail to announce their existence by some other means than merely a luminous train in the night; as for instance, by meeting or jostling sometimes near the earth, or by falling to the earth in consequence of various accidents: at least we might expect they would be seen in the

day-time, either with the naked eye or telescopes, by some of the numerous observers who are constantly examining the heavens. With regard to these falling stars, it were much to be wished, that observations should be made upon them by different persons in concert at distant stations, for the purpose of ascertaining their height and velocity; which would tend very much to illustrate all this part of meteorology.

“ Another argument of great weight against the hypothesis that fire-balls are terrestrial comets, is taken from their great velocity. A body falling from infinite space toward the earth, would have acquired a velocity of no more than 7 miles a second, when it came within 50 miles of the earth's surface; whereas these meteors seem to move at least three times faster. And this objection, if there be no mistake in regard to the velocity of the meteors, as I think there is not, absolutely oversets the whole hypothesis.

“ What then can these meteors be? The only agent in nature with which we are acquainted, that seems capable of producing such phenomena, is electricity. I do not mean that by what is already known of that fluid, all the difficulties relative to meteors can be solved, as the laws, by which its motions on a large scale are regulated in those regions so nearly empty of air, can scarcely, I imagine, be investigated in our small experiments with exhausted vessels; but only that several of the facts point out a near connexion and analogy with electricity, and that none of them are irreconcilable to the discovered laws of that fluid.

“ I. Electricity moves with such a prodigious velocity, as to elude
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all the attempts hitherto made by philosophers to detect it; but the swiftness of meteors, stating it at 20 miles a second, is such as no experiments yet contrived could have discovered, and which seems to belong to electricity alone. This is, perhaps, the only case in which the course or direction of that fluid is rendered perceptible to our senses, in consequence of the large scale on which these fire-balls move.

“ 2. Various electrical phænomena have been seen attending meteors. Lambent flames are described as settling upon men, horses, and other objects; and sparks coming from them; or the whole meteor itself, it is said, have damaged ships, houses, &c. in the manner of lightning. These facts, I must own, are but obscurely related, yet still they do not seem to be destitute of foundation. If there be really any hissing noise heard while meteors are passing, it seems explicable on no other supposition than that of streams of electric matter issuing from them, and reaching the earth with a velocity equal to that of the meteor, namely, in two or three seconds. Accordingly, in one of our late meteors, the hissing was compared to that of electricity issuing from a conductor. The sparks flying off so perpetually from the body of fire-balls, may possibly have some connexion with these streams. In the same manner the sound of explosions may perhaps be brought to us quicker, than if it were propagated through the whole distance by air alone. Should these ideas be well founded, the change of direction which meteors seem at times to undergo, may possibly be influenced by the state of the surface of the earth over which they are passing, and to which the

streams are supposed to reach. A similar cause may occasion the apparent explosion, the opening of more channels giving new vent and motion to the electric fluid. May not the deviation and explosion which appear to have taken place in the fire-ball of the 18th of August over Lincolnshire, have been determined by its approach toward the fens, and an attraction produced by that large body of moisture?

“ 3. A further argument for the electric origin of meteors is deduced from their connexion with the northern lights, and the resemblance they bear to these electrical phænomena, as they are now almost universally allowed to be, in several particulars. Instances are recorded, where northern lights have been seen to join and form luminous balls, darting about with great velocity; and even leaving a train behind like the common fire-balls. This train I take to be nothing but the rare air left in such a highly electrified state as to be luminous; and some streams of the northern lights are very much like it. The aurora borealis appears to occupy as high, if not a higher, region above the surface of the earth, as may be judged from the very distant countries to which it has been visible at the same time: indeed the great accumulation of electric matter seems to lie beyond the verge of our atmosphere, as estimated by the cessation of twilight. Also with the northern lights a hissing noise is said to be heard in some very cold climates: Gmelin speaks of it in the most pointed terms, as frequent and very loud in the north-eastern parts of Siberia; and other travellers have related similar facts.

“ But, in my opinion, the most remarkable analogy of all, and that which tends most to elucidate the origin of these meteors, is the direction of their course, which seems, in the very large ones at least, to be constantly from or toward the north or north-west quarter of the heavens, and indeed to approach very nearly to the present magnetical meridian. This is particularly observable in those meteors of late years whose tracks have been ascertained with most exactness; as that of November 26, 1758, described by sir John Pringle; that of July 17, 1771, treated of by M. Le Roy; and this of the 18th of last August. The largest proportion of the other accounts of meteors confirm the same observation, even those of a more early period; nay, I think, some traces of it are perceivable in the writings of the ancients. Whether their motion shall be from the northern quarter of the heavens or toward it, seems nearly indifferent, as the numbers of those going each way are not very unequal: I consider them, in the former case, as masses of the electric fluid repelled, or bursting from the great collected body of it in the north; and, in the latter case, as masses attracted toward that accumulation; a distinction, probably, much the same in effect, as that of positive and negative electricity near the surface of the earth.

“ This tendency toward the magnetic meridian, however, seems to hold good only with regard to the largest sort of fire-balls: the

smaller ones move more irregularly, perhaps because they come further within the verge of our atmosphere, and are thereby more exposed to the action of extraneous causes. That the smaller sort of meteors, such as shooting stars, are really lower down in the atmosphere, is rendered very probable by their swifter apparent motion: perhaps it is this very circumstance which occasions them to be smaller, the electric fluid being more divided in more resisting air. But as those masses of electricity, which move where there is scarcely any resistance, so generally affect the direction of the magnetic meridian, the ideas which have been entertained of some analogy between these two obscure powers of nature, seem not altogether without foundation.

“ If the foregoing conjectures be just, distinct regions are allotted to the electrical phenomena of our atmosphere. Here below we have thunder and lightning, from the unequal distribution of the electric fluid among the clouds; in the loftier regions, whither the clouds never reach, we have the various gradations of falling stars; till beyond the limits of our corpuscular atmosphere the fluid is put into motion in sufficient masses to hold a determined course, and exhibit the different appearances of what we call fire-balls; and probably at a still greater elevation above the earth, the electricity accumulates in a lighter less condensed form, to produce the wonderfully diversified streams and corruscations of the aurora borealis.”

GENERAL ACCOUNT of the STATE of the WEATHER in the Year 1783. Annexed to an Abstract of a Register of the Barometer, Thermometer, and Rain, at Lyndon, in Rutland, 1783. By THOMAS BARKER, Esq.

[From the same Volume.]

“THE year began with a short dry frost, then showery, intermixed with frost. The end of January, and near half of February, stormy and wet, and after ten days fine and mild; a severe season for snow, wet, wind, and frost. The end of February and beginning of March cut the grass, corn, and stock, more than all the winter before. From March 10 to May 27, was a very dry season and fine seed-time; but so dry at last the late sown corn could not come up. The spring was pleasant; but almost constant frosty mornings till April, and frequent afterward, kept things backward; and though there was some fine warm weather the middle of April, yet later in May the drought and N. E. winds stopped the growth of things; and two sharp frosty nights, May 25 and 26, the rime was so particularly cutting in the meadows, that the young shoots on many oak and ash trees in the vallies were entirely killed, while those on the hills were unhurt, and some of the tops of the trees escaped, though the bottoms were blasted.

“May 27 to 30, in a continued three days rain there fell $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, which is, I believe, the most that has come in one continued unceasing rain since July, 1736, when, in about the same time, there came five inches; but the rain this May was not alike in all places, for there was not a quarter so much in Hampshire. This rain was of vast

service to bring up the late sown corn, and make the grass grow well; but this and some other hasty rains afterwards hurt the meadow grass, by flooding it three times. Hot weather succeeding, it was a very growing time, and ten days together, in the middle of June, were all wet.

“During the showery time an uncommon haziness began, which was very remarkable all the rest of the summer: the air was all thick both below the clouds and above them, the hills looked blue, and at a distance could not be seen; the sun shone very red through the haze, and sometimes could not be seen when near setting. There was more or less of this haze almost constantly for a month, and very frequently to the end of the summer, and it did not cease till Michaelmas; and neither rain nor fair, wind nor calm, east nor west winds, took it away; and it was as extensive as common, for it was the same all over Europe, and even to the top of the Alps. This haze was very like Virgil’s description of the summer after Julius Cæsar’s death, which was probably the same case,

“Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit,”

for rusty iron is a very good description of the colour the sun shone. But by Plutarch’s account, near the end of C. Cæsar, that summer was very different from this
in

in other respects ; for he says, the sun gave very little heat, the air was cloudy and heavy, and the fruits not ripened, which was not the case this year ; for this was a dry haze, the summer in general hot and dry, and in some countries very much so.

“ I think I never knew more mischief done by thunder than there was in different places this year, from the beginning of July, and very seldom more or hotter weather ; yet where they had not those thunder-showers they suffered by being burnt up. Here we never wanted grass after May, and the hay and harvest were both well got in ; but in Surrey, Hampshire, and Dorset, they were very much burnt up, and had little hay ; and as they had a good deal of showery weather in harvest, their barley suffered twice, from not coming up in time, and again in getting it in. As the rain this year was chiefly in showers or sudden rains, it fell very uncertainly, as appears by comparing what fell here with that in Hampshire. The latter part of August and first half of September was showery ; but in this country not so much as to hurt the harvest, a great part of which was in first. The crop of grain was in general pretty good, but did not yield enough to make up the defect of the last year's crop, every body was so much out of all sorts, as the corn last year was both scarce and bad ; grain, therefore, continued dear this year, especially barley.

“ The summer of 1782 had been so cold and wet, that the flower buds on many trees were very small and not perfected ; so that this spring there was a great want of blossoms on the wall-fruit and apples, and exceeding few indeed on ash-trees and hawthorn. I do not know of any ashkeys at all, nor any bunches of haws, only a few scattered single ones ; but cherries and plumbs blossomed well, and there was no want of fruit ; plenty of currants, and vast quantities of gooseberries.

“ August 18, a remarkable ball of fire was seen between nine and ten at night all over England, and even in foreign countries. It seemed to move from north to south or south-east. There was another October 4, but not so much observed, and some say another afterward, but little seen ; but there were very few northern lights this autumn.

“ The autumn was a very fine one ; calm, fair, and mild, but rather too dry for the sowing of wheat, which, however, in general came up well, and what lay dry was brought up very finely by ten days wet the middle of November ; after which it was dry and fine again, an open mild time, with few frosty mornings ; but a good deal of dark or misty weather in December, yet mild till the last week, when there came a great snow, very severe frost, and cutting strong wind, which ended the year.”

ACCOUNT of a REMARKABLE FROST, on the 23d of JUNE,
1783. By the Rev. Sir JOHN CULLUM, Bart. F. R. S. and S. A.

[From the same Volume.]

“ ABOUT fix o’clock, that morning, I observed the air very much condensed in my chamber-window; and, upon getting up, was informed by a tenant, who lives close to my house, that, finding himself cold in bed, about three o’clock in the morning, he looked out at his window, and to his great surprise saw the ground covered with a white frost: and I was afterwards assured, upon indubitable authority, that two men at Barton, about three miles off, saw between three and four o’clock that morning, in some shallow tubs, ice of the thickness of a crown piece, and which was not melted before six.

“ This unseasonable frost produced some remarkable effects. The *aristæ* of the barley, which was coming into ear, became brown and withered at the extremities, as did the leaves of the oats; the rye had the appearance of being mildewed; so that the farmers were alarmed for those crops. The wheat was not much affected. The larch, Weymouth pine, and hardy Scotch fir, had the tips of their leaves withered; the first was particularly damaged, and made a shabby appearance the rest of the summer. The leaves of some ashes, very much sheltered, in my garden, suffered greatly. A walnut-tree received a second shot (the first was from a severe frost on the 26th of May), which completed the ruin of its crop. Cherry-trees, a standard peach-tree, filbert and hazel-nut-trees, shed their leaves plentifully, and littered the walks as in autumn.

The barberry-bush was extremely pinched, as well as the *hypericum perforatum* and *hirsutum*: as the two last are foliitinal, and rather delicate plants, I wondered the less at their sensibility; but was much surprised to find, that the vernal blackthorn and sweet violet, the leaves of which one would have thought must have acquired a perfect firmness and strength, were injured full as much. All these vegetables appeared exactly as if a fire had been lighted near them, that had shrivelled and discoloured their leaves:

“ —penetrabile frigus adurit.”

“ At the time this havock was made among some of our hardy natives, the exotic mulberry-tree was very little affected: a fig-tree, against a north-west wall, remained unhurt, as well as the vine, on the other side, though just coming into blossom. I speak of my own garden, which is high; for in the low ones about Bury, that is but a mile off, the fig-trees in particular were very much cut; and, in general, all those gardens suffer more by frost than mine.

“ Some weather, that was cold for the time of year, had preceded this frost. On the 21st the thermometer had, at no time of the day, risen to 60°; on the 22d, at ten at night, it had sunk to 50°. On the last day, and on the 23d, disappeared that dry haze, which had taken place some days before, and continued to blot out the face of the sun for so long a time afterwards. After sun-set on the 24th

it appeared again, and the next day the leaves of many vegetables were covered with a clammy sweetness."

"So severe a frost, at so ad-

vanced a season, is certainly not one of the least remarkable among the atmospherical phenomena of this year."

An EXTRAORDINARY CASE of a DROPSY of the OVARIUM, with some REMARKS. By Mr. PHILIP MEADOWS MARTINEAU, Surgeon to the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital.

[From the same Volume.]

"SARAH Kippus, a pauper in the city of Norwich, was, for many years, a patient of my father's, and, at his decease, was under the care of Mr. Scott, as city surgeon, who obliged me many times by taking me to the poor woman, from whom I received the account of the early part of her disease.

"Her complaints came on first after a miscarriage at the age of twenty-seven. She had never been pregnant before; and her discharges at that time were so great as to bring her into a very weak condition. She soon perceived some uneasiness, attended with a swelling on one side, which, after a few months, became too large to distinguish whether it was greater on one side or the other. As the swelling was found to arise from water, it was drawn off, which was in the year 1757. She was never afterwards pregnant; but the catamenia continued regularly till the usual period of their cessation. When I first saw her, which was in the year 1780, she had been many times tapped, and she was then full of water. Her appearance was truly deplorable, not to say shocking. She was rather a low woman, and her body so large as almost wholly to obscure her face, as well as every other part of

her: with all she was tolerably cheerful, and seldom regarded the operation. I saw her just before we took away 106 pints of water, and I begged leave to take a measure of her. She was sixty-seven inches and a half in circumference, and from the cartilago ensiformis to the os pubis thirty-four inches. Her legs were now greatly swelled; but this, and every other symptom of which she complained, evidently arose from the quantity and weight of water. She neither ate nor drank much, and made but a small quantity of urine.

"The operation of drawing off the water was generally performed on a Sunday, as the most convenient day for her neighbours to assist her, and before the latter end of the week she was able to walk very well. She was first tapped in the year 1757, and died in August, 1783. Thus she lived full twenty-five years with some intervals of ease, having eighty times undergone the operation, and in all had taken from her 6631 pints of water, or upwards of thirteen hog-heads.

"I will subjoin the account of the dates, and the quantity drawn off at each time, as given me by Mr. Scott, observing that till 1769 no exact memorandum was kept, except of the number of times, although

Extraordinary CASE of a DROPSY of the OVARIUM. [143]

although the quantity of water drawn off was always measured. By my father she was tapped twenty-six times, averaged at 70 pints each time: by Mr. Donne once, 73 pints, which makes 1683 pints from some part of the year 1757 to 1769. By Mr. Scott as follows:

1769.	Pints.
March 16,	70
July 17,	72
November 20,	78
December 31,	70
	<hr/> 290

1770.	Pints.
April 15,	70
August 11,	73
December 4,	76
	<hr/> 219

1771.	Pints.
March 22,	74
July 14,	78
November 3,	79
	<hr/> 231

1772.	Pints.
February 22,	79
June 6,	73
September 12,	74
December 12,	82
	<hr/> 308

1773.	Pints.
March 7,	78
May 29,	71
August 29,	79
December 5,	81
	<hr/> 309

1774.	Pints.
March 13,	77
June 26,	89
October 23,	92
	<hr/> 258

1775.	Pints.
January 24,	94
May 28,	91
September 13,	72
December 16,	80
	<hr/> 337

1776.	Pints.
April 9,	84

	Pints.
July 28,	82
November 27,	85
	<hr/> 257

1777.	Pints.
March 16,	89
July 27,	90
November 9,	98
	<hr/> 277

1778.	Pints.
March 8,	96
July 5,	99
November 5,	105
	<hr/> 300

1779.	Pints.
February 28,	106
June 13,	108
August 17,	92
October 24,	99
December 10,	90
	<hr/> 495

1780.	Pints.
February 6,	73
April 23,	102
July 24,	106
September 10,	95
November 12,	98
	<hr/> 474

1781.	Pints.
January 1,	100
March 11,	94
June 25,	100
October 14,	100
	<hr/> 394

1782.	Pints.
January 13,	99
March 18,	64
June 2,	74
August 25,	98
November 17,	90
	<hr/> 425

1783.	Pints.
February 14,	104
May 11,	100
July 20,	98
August 11, on opening	78
	<hr/> 380

Total 6631 pints.

" In looking over this account it appears that 108 pints was the greatest

greatest quantity ever taken away at any one time; that she was never tapped more than five times in any one year; and the largest quantity in a year was 495 pints. The most water collected in the shortest space of time was 95 pints in seven weeks, from July 24th to September 10th in 1780, which is very nearly two pints in a day. It appears also, that in the last fourteen years of her life, when a regular account was kept, she increased faster in the winter than in the summer months. If the six summer months, from April to September inclusive, are reckoned, she lost in the fourteen years, in twenty-three operations, 1972 pints, and in the winter months, from October to March inclusive, by thirty tappings, 2596 pints; and it will be found, that 30 is to 2596 rather more than 23 to 1972, so that seven more tappings were at least necessary in the winter than in the summer. In the months of March and November she oftener underwent the operation than in any other. In these calculations the three months in 1783 are not included, as the year was not finished.

“ If we compare the famous case of Lady Page, related by Dr. Mead, the quantity of water taken from her ladyship appears small when opposed to the number of pints drawn from Sarah Kippus. The one lost 1920, the other 6631. It must be confessed, however, that Lady Page collected faster than the poor woman whose case I have related.

“ I come now to speak of the dissection, and to make some observations on the whole. On the 10th of August, 1783, the poor woman died; and the following day Dr. Dack, an eminent physi-

cian of this place, accompanied me to open the body. I first drew off 78 pints of clear water: supposing, therefore, all the water to have been taken away at the last operation, then in three weeks she had collected 78 pints, which is more than three pints and a half in each day: a quantity far exceeding what she had taken. I then opened into the cavity from which the water came, and separated the sac from the peritoneum, and found the sac had arisen in the ovarium of the left side. After this, I dissected out the uterus, with the right ovarium in a natural state, and thus obtained every part necessary to show the disease, viz. the uterus, the right ovarium found, and the left enlarged into an immense pouch. The cyst itself was not very thick, but lined in almost every part of it, but more especially in the fore part, with small ossifications. The peritoneum was prodigiously thickened, and thus, by its additional strength, became the chief support of the water. There was something singular in the sac itself, for it was rather two than one, from there being an opening in the side of what appeared at first the only cavity, which led to another cavity, almost equally large with the first; so that if all the water in any operation had not been evacuated, it must probably have been owing to a difficulty in its passage from the second into the first or more external cyst. From the size, however, of the poor woman after each operation, it is evident, that in her there being two sacs did not prevent the total drawing off of the water. The other viscera appeared all in a natural state. The intestines were quite empty, and pushed up under the ribs, so as to have

have left but very little room for the expansion of the lungs within the thorax. The bladder was contracted, or rather, I should say, appeared lessened. The kidneys were healthy, and both ureters in a natural state. The sac is in the collection of John Hunter, esq.

“ In reflecting upon this case, an obvious question arises; from whence proceeded this immense collection of water? At different periods of this poor woman’s life the quantity drawn off, without considering the urine she made, was much greater than the fluids she drank, which appeared from measuring whatever she took. It appears then pretty certain, that this superabundant quantity must have been taken into the body by

absorption; and if we allow the bodies of animals to have this power of absorbing, which we very well know vegetables are possessed of, it will account for many appearances in the animal œconomy. This poor woman collected faster in the wet moist months of winter than in summer.

“ From all, this happy conclusion may be drawn, that although human art is at present insufficient to the perfect cure of diseases similar to the poor woman’s case I have related, yet nature is continually defending herself from sudden death; and such relief may be granted as to protract life a long time without much pain, and often with intervals of great ease and comfort.”

On the DIFFERENT QUANTITIES of RAIN which fall, at DIFFERENT HEIGHTS, over the same SPOT of GROUND; with a LETTER from BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, LL.D. By THOMAS PERCIVAL, M.D. F.R.S. S. A. &c.

[From a Paper read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, on the 21st of January, 1784. Printed, and given by Dr. PERCIVAL to his Friends, but not yet published.]

“ **I**T is a reflection which may mortify pride and humble arrogance, but ought certainly to animate the spirit of patient attention, and console us under the disappointments of philosophical pursuits, that many of the most interesting laws of nature have remained undiscovered, till some happy coincidence of circumstances hath pointed them out to inquiry or observation. Thus the energy of fire must have been known and felt from the creation of the world; but the regularity of the expansive power on different bodies is a mo-

dern discovery of uncertain date. And the real nature of this subtle element, which pervades and actuates all matter, and is continually perceptible to our senses, is yet but imperfectly explored. The ancients were acquainted with the magnifying power of dense mediums; and Seneca has noticed, that small letters appear larger and brighter when viewed through a glass globe filled with water. He has remarked also, that apples are more beautiful when swimming in such a vessel. But these observations, which must have been made

by numberless spectators, in a long succession of years, were regarded as solitary facts; and it was not till the thirteenth century that spectacles were constructed, in consequence probably of the experiments made by the Arabian philosopher Alhazen, and our justly celebrated countryman Roger Bacon. Yet though magnifying glasses came then into general use, and must have been daily handled by artists and others, three hundred years elapsed before it occurred to any one to put them together, so as to form a telescope. The collection of watery vapours in the air, the figures of clouds, and the descent of rain, could pass in no age unnoticed by mankind, and have long been the subjects of attentive investigation. Yet it is a very recent discovery, which we owe to the sagacity of a most ingenious physician and philosopher; that a manifest difference subsists in the quantity of rain which falls, at different heights, over the same spot of ground.

“A comparison having been made between the rain which fell in two places, in London, about a mile distant, it was found that the quantity in one of them constantly exceeded that in the other; not only every month, but almost every time it rained. The apparatus used was very exact; and this unexpected variation did not appear to be owing to any mistake, but to be the regular effect of some cause hitherto unnoticed. The rain-gage, in one of these places, was fixed above all the neighbouring chimneys; the other was considerably below them: and there was reason to suspect, that the difference in the quantity of rain might be owing to the different situations of the vessels in which it was re-

ceived. A funnel was therefore placed above the highest chimneys, and another upon the ground of the garden belonging to the same house; and the like diversity was found between the two thus near together, which had subsisted when they were fixed at correspondent heights in different parts of the town. Similar experiments were made on Westminster Abbey; and repeated at Bath, Liverpool, Middlewich, and other places, with nearly uniform results. The observations, therefore, however new and singular, are too well authenticated to admit of the least degree of doubt; and it is the office of philosophy to furnish an adequate and rational solution of them. Dr. Heberden conjectures that the phenomenon depends on some unknown property of electricity. To me it appears probable that the common laws, by which this power influences the ascent and suspension of vapours, are sufficient to explain their precipitation in rain, and the lately discovered mode of its descent. And in a memoir, written some time ago, I endeavoured to prove, that the electrical fluid is strongly attracted by water; and that by destroying the cohesion between its particles, and repelling them from each other, it becomes a powerful agent in evaporation, and in the formation of clouds. Thus when two clouds, containing different portions of electric fire, come within the sphere of mutual attraction, they will rush together, and the electrical fluid being diffused through a larger space, the particles of water will unite, and forming themselves into drops, a shower will be produced: that as the rain descends through an atmosphere containing little electric fire, it will be continually communicat-

ing

ing it; the drops will coalesce more and more together, by the progressive diminution of the power which counteracts their mutual attraction; and consequently, in a given space, a much larger quantity will fall near to, than at a distance from the surface of the earth. And, lastly, that to this effect the precipitation of the vapours contained in a dissolved or diffused state, in the lower regions of the atmosphere, will, in some degree, contribute; for it has been observed to be fair upon the top of the cathedral at York, at the time when there were small drizzling rains, with thick mists, in the streets below.

“ The memoir, of which I have here given a brief view, was distributed amongst my literary correspondents, and procured me many curious and interesting observations on the subject. And I trust my friend Dr. Franklin will forgive the liberty I take in communicating to the society the following letter, with which I was honoured by him, on this occasion. The opinions and conjectures of so eminent a philosopher may almost be deemed common property, and on the point in question they are of peculiar value and authority.

Extract of a Letter from BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, LL.D. &c. to Dr. PERCIVAL.

“ ON my return to London I found your favour of the 16th of May (1771). I wish I could, as you desire, give you a better explanation of the phenomenon in question, since you seem not quite satisfied with your own; but I think we want more and a greater variety of experiments, in different circumstances, to enable us to form

a thoroughly satisfactory hypothesis. Not that I make the least doubt of the facts already related, as I know both Lord Charles Cavendish and Dr. Heberden to be very accurate experimenters; but I wish to know the event of the trials proposed in your six queries; and also, whether in the same place where the lower vessel receives nearly twice the quantity of water that is received by the upper, a third vessel placed at half the height will receive a quantity proportionable. I will however endeavour to explain to you what occurred to me when I first heard of the fact.

“ I suppose it will be generally allowed, on a little consideration of the subject, that scarce any drop of water was, when it began to fall from the clouds, of a magnitude equal to that it has acquired when it arrives at the earth; the same of the several pieces of hail; because they are often so large and weighty, that we cannot conceive a possibility of their being suspended in the air, and remaining at rest there, for any time, how small soever; nor do we conceive any means of forming them so large, before they set out to fall. It seems then that each beginning drop, and particle of hail, receives continual addition in its progress downwards. This may be several ways: by the union of numbers in their course; so that what was at first only a descending mist, becomes a shower: or by each particle in its descent through air that contains a great quantity of dissolved water, striking against, attaching to itself, and carrying down with it, such particles of that dissolved water as happen to be in its way; or attracting to itself such as do not lie directly in its course, by its different

state with regard either to common or electric fire; or by all these causes united.

“ In the first case, by the uniting of numbers, larger drops might be made, but the quantity falling in the same space would be the same at all heights; unless, as you mention, the whole should be contracted in falling, the lines described by all the drops converging, so that what set out to fall from a cloud of many thousand acres, should reach the earth in perhaps a third of that extent, of which I somewhat doubt. In the other cases we have two experiments.

“ 1. A dry glass bottle, filled with very cold water, in a warm day, will presently collect from the seemingly dry air that surrounds it, a quantity of water that shall cover its surface and run down its sides, which perhaps is done by the power wherewith the cold water attracts the fluid common fire that had been united with the dissolved water in the air, and drawing that fire through the glass into itself, leaves the water on the outside.

“ 2. An electrified body left in

a room for some time, will be more covered with dust than other bodies in the same room not electrified, which dust seems to be attracted from the circumambient air.

“ Now we know that the rain, even in our hottest days, comes from a very cold region. Its falling sometimes in the form of ice, shews this clearly; and perhaps even the rain is snow or ice when it first moves downwards, though thawed in falling; and we know that the drops of rain are often electrified: but those causes of addition to each drop of water, or piece of hail, one would think could not long continue to produce the same effect; since the air through which the drops fall, must soon be stripped of its previously dissolved water, so as to be no longer capable of augmenting them. Indeed very heavy showers of either are never of long continuance; but moderate rains often continue so long as to puzzle this hypothesis; so that, upon the whole, I think, as I intimated before, that we are yet hardly ripe for making one.”

SPECULATIONS on the PERCEPTIVE POWER of VEGETABLES. By Dr. PERCIVAL.

[From a Paper read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, in 1784. Printed and given by the Author to his Friends, but not yet published.]

“ **I**N all our enquiries into truth, whether natural or moral, it is necessary to take into previous consideration, the kind of evidence which the subject admits of; and the degree of it, which is sufficient to afford satisfaction to the mind.

Demonstrative evidence is absolute, and without gradation; but probable evidence ascends, by regular steps, from the lowest presumption, to the highest moral certainty. A single presumption is, indeed, of little weight; but a series of such im-
perfect

perfect proofs may produce the fullest conviction. The strength of belief, however, may often be greater, than is proportionate to the force and number of these proofs, either individually or collectively considered. For, as uncertainty is always painful to the understanding, very slight evidence, if the subject be capable of no other, sometimes amounts to credibility. This every philosopher experiences in his researches into nature, and the observation may serve as an apology for the following jeu d'esprit; in which I shall attempt to shew, by the several analogies of organization, life, instinct, spontaneity, and self-motion, that plants, like animals, are endued with the powers, both of perception and enjoyment.

"I. Vegetables bear so near a similitude to animals in their structure, that botanists have derived from anatomy and physiology, almost all the terms employed in the description of them. A tree or shrub, they inform us, consists of a cuticle, cutis, and cellular membrane; of vessels variously disposed, and adapted to the transmission of different fluids; and of a ligneous, or bony substance, covering and defending a pith or marrow. Such organization evidently belongs not to inanimate matter; and when we observe, in vegetables, that it is connected with, or instrumental to the powers of growth, of self-preservation, of motion, and of seminal increase, we cannot hesitate to ascribe to them a living principle. And by admitting this attribute, we advance a step higher in the analogy we are pursuing. For, the idea of life naturally implies some degree of perceptivity: and wherever perception resides, a greater or less

capacity for enjoyment seems to be its necessary adjunct. Indefinite and low, therefore, as this capacity may be, in each single herb or tree, yet, when we consider the amazing extent of the vegetable kingdom, "from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop upon the wall," the aggregate of happiness, produced by it, will be found to exceed our most enlarged conceptions. It is prejudice only, which restrains or suppresses the delightful emotions, resulting from the belief of such a diffusion of good. And, because the framers of systems have invented arrangements and divisions of the works of God, to aid the mind in the pursuits of science, we implicitly admit as reality, what is merely artificial; and adopt distinctions, without proof of any essential difference. *Lapides crescunt; vegetabilia crescunt et vivunt; animalia crescunt, vivunt, et sentiunt.* This climax, of Linnæus, is conformable to the doctrines of Aristotle, Pliny, Jungius, and others: But none of these great men have produced sufficient evidence, to support the negative characteristics, if I may so express myself, on which the three kingdoms of nature are here established. That a gradation subsists, in the scale of beings, is clearly manifest; but the higher advances we make in physical knowledge, the nearer will the degrees be seen to approach each other. And it is no very extravagant conjecture to suppose, that, in some future period, perceptivity may be discovered to extend, even beyond the limits now assigned to vegetable life. Corallines, madrepores, millepores, and sponges were formerly considered as fossil bodies: But the experiments of count Martigli evinced, that they

are endued with life, and led him to class them with the maritime plants. And the observations of Ellis, Jussieu and Peysonel, have since raised them to the rank of animals. The detection of error, in long established opinions concerning one branch of natural knowledge, justifies the suspicion of its existence in others, which are nearly allied to it: And it will appear, from the prosecution of our enquiry into the instincts, spontaneity, and self-moving power of vegetables, that the suspicion is not without foundation.

“II. Instinct is a propensity, or movement to seek, without deliberation, what is agreeable to the particular nature, actuated by it; and to avoid what is incongruous or hurtful. It is a practical power, which requires no previous knowledge or experience; and which pursues a present or future good, without any definite ideas or foresight; and often, with very faint degrees of consciousness. The calf, when it first comes into the world, applies to the teats of the cow, utterly ignorant of the taste, or nutritious quality of the milk, and consequently, with no views, either to sensual gratification, or support: And the duckling, which has been hatched under a hen, at a distance from water, discovers a constant restlessness and impatience; and is observed to practise all the motions of swimming, though a stranger to its future designation, and to the element, for which its oily feathers, and web-like feet, are formed. Instincts analogous to these, operate with equal energy, on the vegetable tribe. A seed contains a germ, or plant in miniature, and a radicle or little root, intended by nature to supply it with nourishment. If the seed be

sown in an inverted position, still each part pursues its proper direction. The plumula turns upward, and the radicle strikes downward, into the ground. A hop-plant, turning round a pole, follows the course of the sun, from south to west, and soon dies, when forced into an opposite line of motion: But remove the obstacle, and the plant will quickly return to its ordinary position. The branches of a honey-suckle shoot out longitudinally, till they become unable to bear their own weight; and then strengthen themselves, by changing their form into a spiral: When they meet with other living branches, of the same kind, they coalesce for mutual support, and one spiral turns to the right, and the other to the left; thus seeking, by an instinctive impulse, some body on which to climb, and increasing the probability of finding one, by the diversity of their course: for if the auxiliary branch be dead, the other uniformly winds itself round, from the right to the left.

“These examples, of the instinctive œconomy of vegetables, have been purposely taken from subjects, familiar to our daily observation. But the plants of warmer climates, were we sufficiently acquainted with them, would probably furnish better illustrations of this acknowledged power of animality: And I shall briefly recite the history of a very curious exotic, which has been delivered to us from good authority; and confirmed by the observations of several European botanists.

“The *dionœa muscipula* is a native of North Carolina. Its leaves are numerous, inclining to bend downwards, and placed in a circular order: they are jointed, and

and succulent: the upper joint consists of two lobes, each of which is semi-oval in its form, with a margin furnished with stiff hairs; which embrace each other, when they close from any irritation. The surfaces of these lobes are covered with small red glands, which probably secrete some sweet liquor, tempting to the taste, but fatal to the lives of insects: for, the moment the poor animal alights upon these parts, the two lobes rise up, grasp it forcibly, lock the rows of spines together, and squeeze it to death: and, lest the struggles for life should disengage the insect, thus entangled, three small spines are fixed amongst the glands, near the middle of each lobe, which effectually put an end to all its efforts: nor do the lobes open again, while the dead animal continues there. The dissolution of its substance, therefore, is supposed, by naturalists, to constitute part of the nourishment of the plant. But as the discriminative power of instinct is always limited, and proceeds with a blind uniformity when put into exertion, the plant closes its leaves as forcibly, if stimulated by a straw or a pin, as by the body of an insect: nor does it expand them again, till the extraneous substance is withdrawn.

III. If the facts and observations, which have been produced, furnish any presumptive proof of the instinctive power of vegetables, it will necessarily follow, that they must be endued with some degree of spontaneity. For the impulse to discriminate and to prefer, is an actual exertion of that principle, however obscure the consciousness or the feeling may be, with which it is accompanied: and such volition presupposes an innate perception, both of what is consonant,

and of what is injurious to the constitution of the individual, or species directed by it. But it is the design of this little essay, rather to investigate nature, than to appeal to metaphysical considerations: I shall proceed, therefore, to point out a few of those phenomena, in the vegetable kingdom, which indicate spontaneity.

“Several years ago, whilst engaged in a course of experiments to ascertain the influence of fixed air on vegetation, the following fact repeatedly occurred to me. A sprig of mint, suspended by the root, with the head downwards, in the middle glass vessel of Dr. Nooth’s machine, continued to thrive vigorously, without any other pabulum, than what was supplied by the stream of mephitic gas, to which it was exposed. In twenty-four hours, the stem formed into a curve, the head became erect, and gradually ascended towards the mouth of the vessel; thus producing, by successive efforts, a new and unusual configuration of its parts. Such exertions in the sprig of mint, to rectify its inverted position, and to remove from a foreign, to its natural element, seems to evince volition to avoid what was evil, and to recover what had been experienced to be good. If a plant, in a garden-pot, be placed in a room, which has no light, except from a hole in the wall, it will shoot towards the hole, pass through it into the open air, and then vegetate upwards, in its proper direction. Lord Kaimes relates, that, “amongst the ruins of New Abbey, formerly a monastery in Galloway, there grows on the top of a wall, a plane-tree, twenty feet high. Straitened for nourishment, in that barren situation, it several

years ago directed roots down the side of the wall, till they reached the ground, ten feet below: and now, the nourishment it afforded to these roots, during the time of descending, is amply repaid; having every year, since that time, made vigorous shoots. From the top of the wall, to the surface of the earth, these roots have not thrown out a simple fibre, but are now united into a pretty thick hard root."

"The regular movements, by which the sun-flower presents its splendid disk to the sun, have been known to naturalists, and celebrated by poets, both of ancient and modern times. Ovid founds upon it a beautiful story; and Thomson describes it as an attachment of love, to the celestial luminary.

"But one, the lofty follower of the sun,
Sad when he sets; shuts up her yellow leaves,
Drooping all night; and when he warm returns,
Points her enamour'd bosom to his ray."
Sammer, line 216.

IV. Nature has wisely proportioned the powers of motion, to the diversified necessities of the beings endued with them. Coral-ines and seapens are fixed to a spot, because all their wants may be there supplied. The oyster, during the afflux of the tide, opens to admit the water, lying with the hollow shell downwards: but when the ebb commences, it turns on the other side; thus providing, by an inconsiderable movement, for the reception of its proper nutriment; and afterwards discharging what is superfluous. Mr. Miller, in his late account of the island of Sumatra, mentions a species of coral, which the inhabitants have mistaken for a plant, and have deno-

minated it lalan-cout, or sea-grass. It is found in shallow bays, where it appears like a straight stick, but when touched, withdraws itself into the sand. Now, if self-moving faculties, like these, indicate animality, can such a distinction be denied to vegetables, possessed of them in an equal, or superior degree? The water-lily, be the pond deep or shallow in which it grows, pushes up its flower-stems, till they reach the open air, that the farina fecundans may perform, without injury, its proper office. About seven in the morning, the stalk erects itself, and the flowers rise above the surface of the water: In this state they continue till four in the afternoon, when the stalk becomes relaxed, and the flowers sink and close. The motions of the sensitive plant have been long noticed with admiration, as exhibiting the most obvious signs of perceptivity. And if we admit such motions, as criteria of a like power, in other beings, to attribute them, in this instance, to mere mechanism, actuated solely by external impulse, is to deviate from the soundest rule of philosophizing, which directs us not to multiply causes, when the effects appear to be the same. Neither will the laws of electricity better solve the phenomena of this animated vegetable: for its leaves are equally affected by the contact of electric, and non-electric bodies; shew no change in their sensibility, whether the atmosphere be dry or moist; and instantly close when the vapour of volatile alkali, or the fumes of burning sulphur are applied to them. The powers of chemical stimuli, to produce contractions in the fibres of this plant, may perhaps lead some philosophers, to refer them to the vis in-

sita, or irritability, which they assign to certain parts of organized matter, totally distinct from, and independent of, any sentient energy. But the hypothesis is evidently a solecism, and refutes itself. For the presence of irritability can only be proved by the experience of irritations, and the idea of irritation involves in it that of feeling.

“ But there is a species of the order of decandria, which constantly and uniformly exerts a self-moving power, uninfluenced either by chemical stimuli, or by any external impulse whatsoever. This curious shrub, which was unknown to Linnæus, is a native of the East Indies, but has been cultivated in several botanical gardens here. I had an opportunity of examining it, in the collection of the late Dr. Brown. It is trifolious, grows to the height of four feet, and produces, in autumn, yellow flowers. The lateral leaves are smaller than those at the extremity of the stalk; and all day long, they are continually moving either upwards, downwards, or in the segment of a circle: the last motion is performed by the twisting of the foot stalks; and whilst one leaf is rising, its associate is generally descending: the motion downwards is quicker and more irregular, than the motion upwards, which is steady and uniform. These movements are observable, during the space of twenty-four hours, in the leaves of a branch lopped off from the shrub, and kept in water. If, from any obstacle, the motion be retarded, upon the removal of that obstacle, it is resumed with a greater degree of velocity. I cannot better comment on this wonderful degree of vegetable animation, than in the

words of Cicero. *Inanimum est omne quod pulsu agitatur externo; quod autem est animal, id motu cietur interiore et suo.*

“ I have thus attempted, with the brevity prescribed by the laws of this society, to extend our views of animated nature; to gratify the mind with the contemplation of multiplied accessions to the general aggregate of felicity; and to exalt our conceptions of the wisdom, power, and beneficence of God. In an undertaking, never yet accomplished, disappointment can be no disgrace: in one, directed to such noble objects, the motives are a justification, independently of success. Truth, indeed, obliges me to acknowledge, that I review my speculations with much diffidence; and that, I dare not presume to expect they will produce any permanent conviction in others, because I experience an instability of opinion in myself. For to use the language of Tully, *Nescio quomodo, dum lego assentior; cum posui librum, assensio omnis illa elabitur.*— But this scepticism is perhaps to be ascribed to the influence of habitual preconceptions, rather than to a deficiency of reasonable proof. For besides the various arguments which have been advanced, in favour of vegetable perceptivity, it may be farther urged, that the hypothesis recommends itself, by its consonance to those higher analogies of nature, which lead us to conclude, that the greatest possible sum of happiness exists in the universe. The bottom of the ocean is overspread with plants, of the most luxuriant magnitude. Immense regions of the earth are covered with perennial forests. Nor are the Alps, or the Andes, destitute of herbage, though buried in depths of snow. And can it be ima-

imagined, that such profusion of life subsists without the least sensation or enjoyment? Let us rather, with humble reverence, suppose, that vegetables participate, in some low degree, of the common allotment of vitality: and that our great Creator hath apportioned good, to all living things, “in number, weight, and measure.”

CONTINUATION of the ACCOUNT of the principal EXPERIMENTS lately made with AEROSTATIC GLOBES.

ARTICLE the Second.

[From the LXXth Volume of the Monthly Review.]

“**T**HE avidity of the public for authentic intelligence concerning the progress of aerial navigation, will, we hope, sufficiently justify us for stepping somewhat out of our usual track in order to lay before our readers such well attested facts relating to that curious subject as seem to merit attention. There is now scarcely a town of any note in Europe, that has not repeated the first experiments in some shape or other; and probably there will soon be none in any part of the globe but what will be entertained by similar exhibitions. Of these we shall take no notice whatever, but shall merely confine ourselves to such essays as are made with a view to improvement.

“The brilliant successes of the Parisian aeronauts, gave no doubt some countenance to the confidence of one of the original inventors (the elder Montgolfier), who undertook to construct at Lyons, a fire balloon of an immense size, with which, if he did not actually engage, it was at least given out by his friends, that he proposed to ascend himself, and eight more persons, with a considerable cargo of goods, and to perform a voyage

of no less a distance, than either Paris or Marseilles, according as the wind should serve.

“A subscription was opened for this purpose, which soon filled, and raised 1801. The balloon was formed of double canvas, enclosing three layers of paper. The upper part was afterwards, at the desire of Pilatre de Rozier, changed into a simple cotton cloth. It measured 126 feet in height, and 100 feet transversely, and weighed about 8000 lb. It received its name from M. de Fleissels, the intendant of Lyons, a great promoter of the enterprize; and Pilatre de Rozier, the modern Dædalus, from whom we devoutly deprecate the fate of Icarus, was appointed captain of the expedition. Of the number who eagerly solicited to be of the crew, the following were enlisted; M. Montgolfier, sen. the eldest son of the prince of Ligne, the counts d’Anglefort, Laurençin, and Dampiere, and M. Fontaine.

“The departure had been announced for the 10th of January last; and in fact, all being ready, an attempt was made to swell the globe; but whether from the crowding of 100,000 spectators who had flocked to the spot from 100 miles round,

round, whether from the inclemency of the weather, or from some fault in the construction, the desired object was not obtained, the globe swelling only partially. Repeated trials were made during several successive days, but they always failed; and in one of them, the fire having been considerably increased, part of the canvas and cloth were burnt. These repeated disappointments had so far disheartened the people, that they began to despair of success, and accounts had already reached Paris that the project had been laid aside.

“ The projectors however were not so easily daunted. They soon repaired the damage occasioned by this and several other untoward accidents, and were ready for another essay on the 19th of January. The 100,000 spectators re-assembled. The seven navigators ascended the gallery, in spite of the remonstrances of P. de Rozier, who wished to embark only two or three. The fire was lighted at forty-five minutes after two P. M., the globe swelled in about seventeen minutes, and actually ascended amidst the acclamations of the multitude. It first took its course with the wind to the S. W. but fortunately it soon after turned to the N. E.; for had it continued in its first direction, it would infallibly have dropt into the Rhone. Its greatest elevation was vaguely estimated at about 500 toises: it floated, some accounts say fifteen, and others only five minutes. It then descended with a velocity that alarmed the spectators, and alighted in a field not very distant from the place of its departure. This sudden descent was ascribed to a rent near the top of the machine. None of the navigators were hurt. The crowd arrived in the field;

several ladies who came in coaches, resigned their places to the adventurers, who entered the town in triumph. Montgolfier and Rozier appeared in the evening in the box of the intendant at the play. Nothing could exceed the acclamations with which they were received, which were repeated in parts of the play that had some distant allusion to the glory of the day. Laurel wreaths were produced, one of which madame de Flells placed on the head of Montgolfier, who immediately took it off, and another on that of P. de Rozier; the latter snatched off his, and placed it on the head of the former. How M. Montgolfier, who is represented as a calm and modest personage, must have relished this bustling frolic, we leave to sober minds to conjecture. Some of the other navigators were discovered in the pit; crowns were handed to them, and they were invited into the box of the intendant. A concert succeeded the play, and the whole night was spent in serenading, congratulations, and mirth bordering upon madness.

“ Notwithstanding these extravagant demonstrations, which seem to imply that the expectations of the people had been fully answered, there are, however, accounts which speak in far more moderate terms of the success of the experiment; and some there are (perhaps the partizans of Charles) who even attempt to throw a ridicule upon the whole. Unprejudiced as we are, we confess, that although we have collected this narrative from the best authorities that could be obtained, we are not satisfied that we have given the exact truth; and indeed, at this distance, we fear it will be scarce possible for us, or any one beside, to discriminate

accurately between the effusions of enthusiasm, and the suggestions of party. This much however appears certain, that the success was by no means adequate to the sanguine expectations of the projectors; and, indeed, if we recollect how rapidly the effect of fire decreases in proportion to the increase of the distances; and that in this instance, assuming the effect of the fire at the distance of one foot to be as unit, it could at the top of the balloon, when distended, be no more than $\frac{1}{13876}$ of that unit, we shall not be surprised at the difficulties that offered, nor at the sudden descent after the globe had reached a cold and rarified stratum of the atmosphere (even though there had been no rent), in which the necessary dilatation of the internal air would have required a fire much more intense than would have been compatible with the safety of the apparatus.

“ In the next experiment we have to describe, an apparatus was to be applied to a gas balloon for steering it both horizontally and vertically, and even against a current of air. M. Blanchard, an artist of Paris, had some years since announced that he was preparing wings with which he meant soon to take a flight. The late discovery seemed to hasten the execution of his project. He constructed a globe similar to that of Charles (No. II.), only two feet more in diameter, i. e. fourteen feet two inches. To this he suspended a car; and between the globe and the car he fixed an umbrella twelve feet in diameter, the intention of which was to break the fall in case of an accident: it was hence called parachute. To the car were adapted four wings, two on each side, and behind a rudder, all made of tuf-

feta, distended by means of whale-bone ribs. All this was to be worked by a machinery of M. Blanchard's invention. He was to ascend himself for the purpose of navigating the machine, and Dom Pech, a Benedictine, was to accompany him, with a view of making various aerological observations and experiments.

“ Every thing was ready on the 2d of March, in the Champ de Mars. A party of M. Blanchard's friends had repaired to a certain country-house where he had promised to meet them through the air. The navigators were embarked, and ready to soar, when behold a young man, a pupil of the Ecole Militaire, rushed from among the crowd, threw himself into the car, and insisted upon sharing in the expedition.—Remonstrance availed nothing, force was used; but he drew his sword, and in the scuffle wounded Blanchard in the hand, destroyed the parachute and the wings, and thus defeated the purpose of the experiment. At length he was overpowered and secured.

“ Notwithstanding this cruel disappointment, the two adventurers determined to take a chance flight. They rose, but their power of ascension was not sufficient to carry them to any height; they therefore soon landed. Dom Pech alighted, and Blanchard immediately ascended very rapidly. The wind being east, he was carried to the westward. The account he gives of his navigation is, that he rose about two thousand toises (we presume this to be much exaggerated); that he found himself at times stationary in a perfect calm, during which the heat of the sun was scorching; that he at different times felt currents of air in different direc-

directions, in some of which the cold was intense. That during these cold intervals, he felt an almost unconquerable desire to sleep; that clouds collected under his feet, and that it appeared to him that he was at different times carried towards different parts of the compass. He continued in the air about one hour and a quarter; after which he landed safely near Seve, on the road to Versailles, about five miles from the spot whence he ascended.

“The failure of this experiment hath, we hear, by no means discouraged M. Blanchard from farther attempts; and indeed we learn that he is already constructing another machine on the same principle, in which he and an assistant, M. Assier Perica, are to ascend as soon as it can be got ready. This prospect hath induced us to be more particular in our account of the present experiment than its success may perhaps seem to justify. We may probably have occasion to refer to it hereafter.

“It may be necessary to apprise the perambulators of St. James’s-Park, that M. Charles is said to be actually, by order and at the expence of the king of France, constructing a gas balloon forty feet in diameter, which is to consist of three coats, the first of lambskin, and the other two of glazed taffata. That it is to be

launched, with six navigators, on the 15th of April next, from the great terrace of St. Cloud; and that it is to land in St. James’s-Park, in order (as the wag who has inserted this article in a public French paper says) to obtain the premium offered by George III. to the first bold Frenchman who shall venture through the air across the straits of Calais.

“Besides this project, a part of which is said to be true, the abbé Miolan, professor of Experimental Philosophy, and M. Janinet, an eminent artist, both of Paris, propose making a gas balloon, seventy feet in diameter, with which they mean to ascend to a great height, in order to make experiments on the acceleration of the fall of bodies, on the densities of different strata of air, the aurora borealis, the declination of the magnetic needle, besides trying a method for steering the machine. A very moderate proficient in philosophy must perceive, that few of these experiments can succeed.

“Mr. Dillier, of the Hague, is endeavouring to apply balloons to the use of buoying up large ships, in order to facilitate their entrance into the harbour of Amsterdam. And M. Champmas, of Paris, gave notice, that he should send off an aerial diligence on Friday, the 12th of March. Of this last we hardly expect any farther account.”

FARTHER

FARTHER ACCOUNT OF AEROSTATIC EXPERIMENTS.

ARTICLE the Third.

[From the same Volume.]

“ **A** GAS balloon, which had been some time preparing by order of the academy of Dijon, was at length completed, and launched on the 25th of April last, from the garden of an abbey in the town of Dijon. We have not yet learnt its dimensions, and only know, that its power of ascension was estimated at 550lb. and that a great part of the inflammable air with which it was filled, was procured from potatoes, by distillation, which was found to be lighter than that produced from metals, in the proportion of six to seven. M. de Morveau and the abbé Bertrand were named commissaries, by the academy, for conducting this experiment; and they actually ascended in a gondola annexed to it. As this is the most important expedition since that of Messrs. Charles and Robert, our readers will no doubt wish to learn some particulars concerning it; and nothing will probably gratify them more than the account which the navigators themselves have given in an affidavit, drawn up immediately on their landing.

“ Being apprehensive, say the commissaries, lest the very high and boisterous wind that rose a few moments before our departure, and which had already blown us several times from the height at which we were held by ropes against the ground, should endanger our apparatus, and throw us upon the town (the place of our ascent being at the foot of one of its highest steeples) we thought it expedient

to discharge all our ballast, and even a part of our provisions, weighing between 75 and 80lb. When we had ascended beyond the roof of the church, and were set free by those who held the ropes below, we soared with very great rapidity, and soon saw the steeple a great way below us.

“ Perceiving now, by the form of our balloon, that the air it contained was exceedingly dilated, both by the heat of the sun, and on account of the diminution of density of the circumambient medium, we opened at once both our valves; but their apertures not being sufficient to emit a proper quantity of the fluid, the balloon burst at the bottom near the appendices, the rent measuring about seven or eight inches in length. This accident, so far from alarming us, served rather to remove our apprehensions.

“ We now felt ourselves in a perfect calm, and in a manner stationary; and yet we soon perceived that we were got to some distance from the town.

“ At 5h. 5' we passed over a village of which we had no knowledge: we there dropped a note fastened to a bag filled with bran, bearing a little streamer; we therein gave notice that we were perfectly well, that the barometer stood at 20 inches 9 lines; the thermometer $1^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ below 0 (about 28° of Fahr.); and the hygrometer at 59° of Mr. de Retz's, and $24^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ of Mr. Co-pineau's scale.

“ We dropped two other notes, which

which we were obliged to write with a pencil, the cold not allowing us the use of the pen. At 5h. 11', the thermometer stood at 3° below 0 (nearly 25° of Fahr.) and it had in the whole of our ascent sunk 14° (about $31^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$ of Fahr.)

“ We observed by a stop-watch the time of the fall of one of the notes. It was, no doubt, somewhat retarded by the streamer; for, although its descent was almost vertical, it yet took no less than 57'' in reaching the ground.

“ The intense cold affected our ears, and this was the only inconvenience we experienced; and even for this we were amply indemnified by the sensations which Mr. Charles has so well described. We have only one observation to make upon his lively representation, which is, that so far from its being exaggerated, it appeared to us rather too faint when we saw the clouds floating beneath us, and secluded us in a manner from the earth. We then jointly repeated the motto affixed to our aerostat, *furgit nunc Gallus ad æthera*.

“ The sun, after exhibiting to us a magnificent parhelion, was now near setting; and perceiving by the flaccidity of the lower part of our balloon that it was time for us to descend, we began to look out for a proper landing-place. We concluded, from the direction of the compass, that we could not be far from the town of Auxonne; and, in fact, a large mass of buildings which we perceived about 25° to our right, proved to be that place. We then had recourse to all our expedients, in order to steer towards that point. Our apparatus for this purpose had been greatly damaged by the blast of wind at our departure. The rudder was unhinged, one of the oars

had snapped near its handle, and dropped off the moment we attempted to use it, in order to accelerate our course. Another oar had been entangled in one of the ropes by which we were at first held to the ground, and we could never recover it. We had therefore only two oars left, which being both on the same side were perfectly useless during the greatest part of our navigation in the calm, and even after we felt ourselves advancing, although without any perceptible current. But having now entered a stream which carried us towards the east, we worked our oars with great facility for about eight or nine minutes: this made us verge so much to the south-east, the point of our destination, that we found it necessary to suspend our work, lest we should exceed our mark, having no means to make us revert to the eastward.

“ We were in hopes of landing near the cluster of buildings which we had taken for Auxonne; but our globe lost so much of its gas through the rent, that we saw little prospect of reaching that distance. We were now over a large tract covered with wood, and felt ourselves descending. We had kept what ballast we had left, which consisted of little else than our loose benches, that we might have the means of retarding the fall, in case we should find it necessary. We threw out one of these benches, and then descended very gently upon a copse, the name of which, we have since learnt, is Chaignet, belonging to the countess de Brun. Our gondola had scarce touched the tops of the boughs, when it re-ascended with some force. We laid hold of the boughs, in order to come to an anchor, and to avoid our being thrown against some tall

trees that rose here and there above the rest of the wood. We tried to descend by hauling those boughs in the same manner as ships are moved by towing, but our efforts were ineffectual. We heard human voices, and we called for their aid to ground us. The people we heard were inhabitants of Magny-les-Auxonne: one of them answered, that he would gladly assist us, if we would promise to do him no harm; we dispelled his fears; and his example, as well as our repeated desire, induced at length his companions to assist us. We landed at 6h. 25'.—Among the number of inhabitants who were assembled, two men and three women were seen to kneel to the balloon.

“ We had just moored our apparatus, placed somebody to guard it, and dispatched a messenger to Dijon, when we saw a number of people approaching on the road of Magny, who, having perceived us at Auxonne, were coming to meet us. As many as had room were pleased to sign the present affidavit, which we drew up immediately at the parsonage of Atée, the 25th of April, 1784.” Signed De Morveau and Bertrand, Commissaries; Bidal, priest of Atée; Buvée, a principal magistrate in the jurisdiction of Auxonne, and fourteen more.”

“ To this account, which is all that is hitherto published, we have it in our power to add some farther authentic information. The height to which this balloon ascended is computed to have been about 2000 French toises, (above $2\frac{1}{2}$ English miles). The distance it went in a strait line was about six leagues; the time it remained in the air 1h. 27'. It seems, that the persons who held the ropes were exceedingly alarmed at the violence of the

wind, and refused to let go, till in a manner compelled to it by a gentleman appointed to repeat the signals of the navigators, who, by discharging all their ballast, and by every other means in their power, expressed their eagerness to be set at liberty.

“ One of those who held the ropes was raised above three feet from the ground before he quitted his hold, and in the fall he hurt his shoulder. He has since acknowledged that his intention was to tie the rope to his wrist, and to follow the balloon: had he succeeded, his rashness would inevitably have proved his own destruction, with that of the navigators, and of many of those who were standing immediately under them; since his weight must have drawn the equatorial circle out of its horizontal position, which would have made some of the ropes, to which the gondola was suspended, press so hard against the balloon as infallibly to burst it.

“ A full account of this experiment, together with a description of the apparatus, &c. with proper drawings, has been laid by the commissaries before the academy of Dijon, and is now in the press; and we learn that a subscription is already opened for a repetition of the experiment, with the same apparatus, equipped in the same manner.”

“ A fire balloon, 72 feet high, and 66 feet in diameter, made by Messrs. Gherli, at the sole expence of the count Andreani, was launched, on the 13th of March last, at Moncucco, about eight miles distant from Milan. The count and the two Gherlis mounted with it. They continued about 25 minutes in the air, rose above 4000 feet, and landed

landed safely at about three miles distance from the spot whence they ascended. This is the first encroachment of foreigners upon the French privilege of aerial navigation.—The second is a voyage of M. Dumefnil, who mounted at Moscow with a large fire balloon; rose out of sight, and was not heard of when the account we have seen came away. The intelligence hitherto received concerning this experiment is so vague, that we cannot lay much stress upon it.

“The last number of *Crell's Chemical Annals* (being the fourth for the present year) contains an instructive paper concerning the manner of preparing aerostatic globes, and the precautions used in the construction of one, about five feet in diameter, made at Brunswick, under the direction of Professor Zimmerman and M. Heyer, which, being launched, soon rose out of sight, and was found, four days after, at a distance of nine German (near fifty English) miles from the place whence it ascended. It was made of very thin sattin, glazed over four times with a solution of elastic gum in highly rectified oil of turpentine. The me-

thods of preparing this solution, of applying it, and of producing the inflammable air, are all circumstantially described in the paper, and were it not deviating too far from our plan, would have been here communicated to our readers. Those, however, who may hereafter propose to construct balloons, will do well to consult the paper itself.

“The subscriptions at Paris for other experiments are numerous. The principal are, besides that of the abbés Miolan and Janener, mentioned in our last, those of Messrs. Gattey, Magnie, and Henry, and of Messrs. Bienvenu and Launoy. We are somewhat surprised not to have yet heard any thing of M. Blanchard's promised expedition.

“The king of Prussia, it is said, has prohibited all aerostatic experiments in his dominions, alleging, that the merit of the improvement should be left to the inventors. He is reported to have observed upon this occasion, that Austria and Russia aim at the supreme dominion on land; England at sea; France in the air; and that the only element now left for him is fire.”

ACCOUNT of AEROSTATIC EXPERIMENTS continued.

ARTICLE the Fourth.

[From the LXXIst Volume of the Monthly Review.]

“THE curiosity of our readers on the subject of Aerostation should not have remained so long ungratified, had we thought the information we have received since our last article, either of sufficient novelty or importance to induce us

to break in upon our order of publication. As we have previously declared, that we should decline entering into any detail of mere repetitions of former experiments, under which description we are to place all those made since our last

account; and as we are willing to give up the merit of early intelligence to those who please to expose themselves to the danger of propagating false intelligence, we shall wave all farther apology for having thus long postponed this article. The following are the principal publications we have now to mention:

“ I. *Première Suite de la Description des Expériences Aerostatiques*; i. e. First Continuation of the Description of the Aerostatic Experiments of Messrs. de Montgolfier, and of those occasioned by their Discovery. By M. Faujas de St. Fond. Paris, 1784. 8vo. with five cuts.

“ This work consists of upwards of fifty different articles, most of which have already appeared in various periodical publications. They are here collected in a chronological order, but their several contents are, in the title-page, specified under the four following heads: 1. Accounts of all the aerostatic experiments made since the publication of the first volume. 2. Sundry papers on the theory of aerostats, the manner of directing them, &c. 3. Different methods of procuring inflammable air. 4. A memoir on the caoutchouc, or elastic gum, with a method of making, at a small expence, a varnish similar to that prepared from the said gum: by the editor of this work.

1. Very little remains for us to say on the first head; all the experiments of any note here described, having already been recorded in former numbers of our Review. Among a great number of secondary ones here mentioned, we shall only select that which was made at Windsor, by Mr. Argand of Geneva, in the presence of their ma-

jesties, with a balloon of gold-beater's skin, about thirty inches in diameter:—Two experiments made by the abbé Bertholon and M. de Sauffure, with a view to explore the electricity of the atmosphere, in which the balloons were used as kites, but ascended to a much greater height than the latter could have done:—And one made January 13th last, by the count d'Albon, at Franconville, near Paris, with an inflammable air balloon of twenty-four feet perpendicular, and sixteen horizontal diameter, to which were suspended, in a wicker cage, a rabbit, and two guinea pigs, which, after having been raised to a very great height, were landed among ice and snow, without seeming to have been any ways affected during the voyage, nor at the descent. A cat that was sent up at Macon in Burgundy, on the 15th of February last, was not so fortunate; since, after having traversed between fifteen and sixteen leagues of atmosphere, it was found dead about two hours after the ascent: the cause of its disaster is not known.

“ 2. Among the theoretical papers we distinguish one of Mr. Stephen Montgolfier, on the mechanism that may be applied for directing the aerostatic machine.—Oars appear to him to be the only means likely to succeed; and he deduces from an analytical theorem, that two persons working each an oar of 100 feet superficies, may, in a perfect calm, impel a fire balloon seventy feet in diameter, at the rate of 994 French toises (about 2000 English yards) in an hour, and an air balloon of twenty-six feet diameter at the rate of 2434 toises, somewhat less than three miles in an hour. but that the least current of air will overfet the whole theory, and

and that there is no probability of ever being able to navigate under any considerable angle with the direction of the wind.

“ A paper of M. Saussure of Geneva, is by no means the least valuable article in this collection. That acute philosopher, wishing to ascertain that the swelling of the fire balloons is merely owing to the dilatation of the common air by heat, in opposition to M. Pilatre de Rozier, who still ascribed that effect to the production of a particular gas, contrived means to raise by pulleys, in the inside of the large Lyons balloon when inflated, a number of thermometers, with the upper ends of the tubes cut off to the 16th degree of the scale; and finding that they had all lost a part of the liquid they contained, he concluded that the heat must have exceeded that degree. Whilst these experiments were making on the 15th of January last, four days before the departure of the balloon, the machine was in perfect order, and its power ought therefore to be estimated by the effect it then produced: its own weight was 10,400 lb. and it raised a weight of 6100 lb.—It is hence inferred, that as a balloon of taffety, of 100 feet diameter would weigh only 400 lb. it would be able to raise a weight of 16,100 lb.—A balloon of this sort, we are told, is actually preparing by Mess. Montgolfier, at the expence of the prince of Ligne, at Bel Oeuil, one of his country seats in Flanders. M. de Saussure approves highly of the project, and thinks that a balloon 200 feet in diameter would succeed as well. He makes no doubt but that means will soon be devised for guiding these machines.

“ The count de Milly, in two memoirs of some length, proposes,

instead of the straw now used for inflating the fire balloons, to substitute a certain number of lamps, fed by rectified oil, or spirit of wine; the number of which might be increased or diminished at pleasure, and thus facilitate a vertical ascent or descent. Having been informed of the excellence of the lamps lately invented by M. Argand, he gives them the preference, and describes their construction: he likewise recommends the use of oars for guiding the balloon.

“ The paper on the production of inflammable air that seems to interest this country most, is that which describes the method of extracting it from pit-coal. The discovery, if it really be a discovery, which we have some reason to doubt, was made by Mr. Thybaert and two other professors of the university of Louvain; and the process is thus, rather imperfectly described: “ A common forge, and three common gun barrels, about one inch in bore, were the whole of the apparatus; the breech ends of two of the barrels were constantly kept in the fire, whilst the third, being cooled and emptied, was loaded about six inches high with powdered pit coal, and the rest filled with sand. A tin tube conveyed the air under a funnel, placed beneath a barrel filled with water, which stood upon a tub likewise filled with water, which the air extracted from the coal replaced, after having traversed it.” Fifteen ounces of powdered pit coal yielded in about three quarters of an hour 100 quarts (pots) of air, of so pure a quality, that on trial it was found to raise a balloon as rapidly, and as high as if it had been filled with the usual inflammable air. The operation is soon to be repeated on a larger scale; and

large iron retorts are making for the purpose.

“ M. Morveau, of Dijon, has produced inflammable air from potatoes, by mere distillation. He hopes soon to improve his method; and we shall probably hear more of it in the next volume of this collection.

“ M. Hamann, an artist, at Paris, has found means to make air balloons of a substance that prevents the dispersion of the inflammable air so effectually, that one of them hath been kept floating in a room for ten successive days without any sensible diminution.—M. de Fourny made an experiment with one of these balloons, from which he had reason to conclude that the inflammable air not only expands in its dimensions, but also acquires spontaneously a sensible energy. He observed, that having filled the balloon about two thirds, instead of contracting gradually, as was expected, it kept swelling for twenty-seven hours, when it was so completely distended as to endanger its bursting. It then began to diminish, though in very slow degrees.

“ 4. The best varnish hitherto known for glazing the silk of air balloons, is prepared from the elastic gum, known by the name of caoutchouc; but this substance, though cheaper now than it was during the war, is still too dear to be brought into common use for that purpose.—M. Faujas de St. Fond has applied himself to find some substitute for it, and gives the following receipt for preparing common glue as a substitute:

“ Put one pound of glue in a new or very clean earthen pot; make it boil gently till it ceases to crackle, or, which is the same thing, till a drop of it thrown into

the fire, blazes. Pour then upon the glue, constantly stirring it with a wooden spatula, one pound of spirit of turpentine, removing the pot from the fire, to prevent the inflammation of this essential oil; boil all together during six minutes, and pour upon the whole three pounds of boiling oil of walnuts, of linseed or poppies, rendered deficcative by litharge: stir this well, boil it during a quarter of an hour, and the varnish is made.

“ After it has settled about twenty-four hours, and that a sediment is formed, pour the liquor off into another pot, and when you mean to use it, warm it, and then apply it with a thick brush on the stretched taffety: one thick layer may suffice; but if you mean to apply two, take care that the silk be stretched very tight; lay on the varnish in a transverse direction of the former, and dry it, thus distended, in the open air.”

“ II. *An exact and authentic Narrative of M. Blanchard's third aerial Voyage from Rouen in Normandy, on the 18th of July, 1784, accompanied by M. Boby; in which they traversed a Space of forty-five miles in Two Hours and a Quarter, inclusive of the Time employed in raising and depressing the Machine in the Air.* Translated from the French of M. Blanchard. 4to. 1s. 6d. Heydinger, &c. London.

“ The facts mentioned in this title are certified by several authentic affidavits. In the narrative, M. Blanchard mentions several circumstances which seem to put the power of directing the machine by wings out of all doubt. Several queries, however, have been addressed to M. Blanchard on the subject of these and some other circumstances contained in the narrative, to which an answer should be

given

given before we form any opinion on the matter.

“ III. *An Account of the first aerial Voyage in England, in a Series of Letters to his Guardian, by Vincent Lunardi, Esq. Secretary to the Neapolitan Ambassador.* Lond. 1784. 8vo. Price 5s. with three cuts, and 2s. 6d. without the plates: one of these is Mr. Lunardi's picture, by way of frontispiece, engraved by Bartolozzi. Bell.

“ The account is here taken up from the adventurer's first intention of executing such an experiment, and all the previous steps, disappointments, and discouragements that attended the enterprize: it is written in a sentimental strain; and we must confess, contains many things which we did not expect to meet with on this occasion. The circumstances of this voyage are too well known to need our entering here into any detail concerning them.

“ IV. *Hints of important Uses to*

be derived from areostatic Globes, with a Print of an areostatic Globe and its Appendages, originally designed in 1783. By Tho. Martyn. Folio. 2s. White, Becket, &c. 1784.

“ To expedite the communication of important events by signals; to increase the means of safety both to fleets and armies, by affording expedients to explore, from a great elevation, adjacent coasts or regions, fleets or armies; to furnish facts to meteorology, and to facilitate the discoveries of astronomy: such are the objects to which Mr. Martyn wishes to apply the areostatic machine. He is aware that the means of directing it is an essential requisite toward the success of several of these projects, and he gives a plate of the apparatus he conceives to be effectual for that purpose: it consists of a main-sail, a fore-sail, and a rudder, all fixed to the boat. In many of the instances he proposes balloons retained by cords.

“ We hope the following table of all the aerial voyages hitherto made will not be disagreeable to our readers.

N ^o	Date.	Place of Ascent.	Names of the Navigators.	Sort of Balloon	Duration of the Voyages.
1	1783 Nov. 21	La Muette	{ Pilatre de Rozier Marq d'Arlandes }	Fire B.	{ Between 20 and 25 min.
2	Dec. 1	Tuilleries	{ M. Charles M. Robert M. Charles 2d ascent }	{ Air B. Ditto }	{ 2 ^h 5' 35'
3	1784 Jan. 19	Lyons	{ M. Jos. Mont- golfier Pilatre de Rozier and 5 more }	Fire B.	15'
4	Feb. 25	Milan	{ Count Andreani 2 Messrs Gherli }	Ditto	20'
5	March 2	Champ de Mars	{ M. Blanchard }	Air B.	1 ^h 15'
6	March 13	Milan	{ Count Andreani and 2 more }	Fire B.	{ About 7 miles dist.

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N ^o	Date.	Place of Ascent.	Names of the Navigators.	Sort of Balloon.	Duration of the Voyage.
7	April 25	Dijon	M. Morveau M. Bertrand	Air B.	1 ^h 37'
8	May 8	Marfeilles	M. Bonin M. Mazet	Fire B.	7'
9	May 23	Rouen	M. Blanchard	Air B.	About 1 h.
10	May 29	Marfeilles	M. Mazet Mr. Bremont	Fire B.	8'
11	June 4	Lyons	M. Fleurant Madame Tible*	Ditto	45'
12	June 5	Madrid	M. Bouche †	Ditto	
13	June 12	Dijon	M. Morveau M. de Virly	Air B.	1 ^h 2'
14	June 13	Nantes	M. Coustard M. de Maffi M. Mouchet	Ditto	58'
15	June 16	Bourdeaux	M. Darbelet M. des Granges M. Chalifour	Ditto	1 ^h 15'
16	June 23	Verfailles	M. Pilatre de Rozier M. Proust	Fire B.	47'
17	July 15	St. Cloud	Duc de Chartres 2 Messrs. Robert	Air B.	45'
18	July 18	Rouen	M. Blanchard M. Bobby	Ditto	2 ^h 55'
19	July 26	Bourdeaux	The same as in No. 15	Ditto	About 18 miles dist.
20	Aug. 6	Rhodes in Guienne	M. Carny M. Louchet		35'
21	Aug. 25	Vienna	M. Stuver, and others		
22	Sept. 6	Nantes	M. Coustard M. de Luynes	Air B.	2 ^h 32'
23	Sept. 1	Moorfields, London	M. Lunardi	Ditto	3 ^h 20'
24	Sept. 19	Tuilleries	2 Messrs. Robert M. Hulin ‡	Ditto	6 ^h 40'
25	Oct. 16	Chelfea, London	M. Blanchard M. Sheldon	Ditto	4 ^h

* The first female navigator.

† He fell out of the gallery soon after the ascent, and was much hurt.

‡ They landed at Bouvray, near Bethune, in Artois, about 160 miles distant from Paris.

THE VIPER TENACIOUS OF LIFE.

“THE following curious fact in Natural History, contained in a note in Dr. Houlston’s Observations on Poisons, may probably not be displeasing to our readers.—

“It has been doubted, whether the vapour of the Grotto del Cane is really deleterious in its nature, or only, by its density, unfit for respiration, and therefore occasions the death of animals immersed in it. In this idea, in the winter of 1768, Richard Paul Jodrell, esq. (a gentleman well known in the literary world, as a man of genius and erudition) and I, tried the effect of it upon a viper, which we had procured for that purpose. It was no sooner plunged in this vapour in the grotto, (which arises apparently about a foot in height), than it manifested evident signs of its being greatly incommoded. It endeavoured to get to the walls, and being prevented, raised its head up as much as it was able, opened

its jaws wide, seeming to gasp for breath, and after nine minutes, became motionless, but being then thrown out into the open air, soon recovered. Dogs, who generally are subjected to this experiment, are nearly dead in less than half that time; but this reptile was made choice of, as it is known to be, if I may use the expression, peculiarly tenacious of life. That it will live long without any supply of air, or food, is very certain, and the one I am now speaking of accidentally furnished a sufficient proof of it. When recovered, it was replaced in the box in which we had brought it, and was shut up close, and carried back with us to Naples, where it was laid by and forgotten, till on Mr. Jodrell’s preparing to leave that city three weeks afterwards, the box was again found, and the viper in it, alive and vigorous.”

ANTIQUITIES.

REASONS to shew that ARISTOTLE's LOGIC was not of his OWN INVENTION.

[From the Third Volume of Lord MONBODDO's "Ancient Metaphysics."]

"I PROCEED now to enquire, whether this wonderful discovery in science cannot be traced back to the parent land of all science, I mean Egypt; and whether Aristotle did not get this, as well as the rest of his philosophy, from that country, through the channel of the Pythagorean school: and I will give my reasons why I think he did.

"And, in the first place, though I have a very high opinion of the genius of Aristotle, it is highly improbable, I think I may say, impossible, that one man, during the course of a short life, and a life too employed in so many different things, should not only invent, but carry to perfection, a science so complicated and so difficult; for that the science is perfect in the books of Aristotle is evident from this, that, notwithstanding all the labour that has been bestowed upon this science since the days of Aristotle, both in ancient and later times, nothing of any value hath been added to it, or if of any value, it was easily to be deduced from the principles laid down by Aristotle. Now all other sciences have required the successive labours of men living in different ages or nations of the world to bring them

to perfection. Thus geometry, beginning in Egypt with the simple operation of measuring land, which the overflowing of the river made necessary, in order to preserve men's properties, came, in the course of many ages, to be a very perfect science in that country; and I doubt much whether any thing was added to it by the philosophers of Greece. Now, supposing that we had not known the history of this science, and that there had been no other work upon the subject extant, except the Elements of Euclid, would it not have been most absurd to have supposed that Euclid was the single author of so great a system of science, when it is likely that all that he did was to compile, digest, and connect, the discoveries that had been made by others in that science? The art of writing, which I think a much less discovery than the syllogism, was not certainly made at once, or by one man, but there was a progress in it, as I have shown elsewhere: and as to the art of language, to which, as I have said, the logic of Aristotle has a great affinity, is it possible to believe that it was at once brought to the perfection in which we see it was among the Greeks? Do not we see

fee among the barbarous nations, and even among ourselves, how rude and imperfect our language is, compared with the Greek? And is it not plain from the Latin language, which is a very ancient dialect of the Greek, that there was a time when the Greek was not near so perfect a language as the same language in later times? I think, therefore, that Aristotle must have been not only *Δαιμονιος*, as the later philosophers called him, but must have been much above even the divine Plato (so they called him), and, indeed, as I have said, something above humanity, if, in the space of so short a life, and so much occupied too with other things, he could not only have invented, but perfected, so intricate and difficult a science.

“ Although my opinion of the abilities of Aristotle as a philosopher be very great, yet I have not the same opinion of his candour and good faith. Even his own interpreters, as I have said, accuse him of misrepresenting the opinions of the philosophers before him, in order that he might have the pleasure of refuting them; and I think we are obliged to one of these commentators, Simplicius, for so often defending those ancient philosophers against him, by whose labours, though he profited extremely, more, I believe, than any philosopher ever did by the labours of others, yet he is so ungrateful as hardly ever to acknowledge it; but, on the contrary, arrogates to himself discoveries that were made by them. Thus, as I have already observed, he would make the reader believe, that he was the first who maintained the eternity of the world; and that all the philosophers before him had asserted, that motion had a beginning; whereas

it is certain, from a work yet extant, that the eternity of the world was a doctrine of the Pythagorean school; and I think there is the greatest reason to believe that it was maintained by all the philosophers before Aristotle, without the exception even of his master Plato. There is a book too of another Pythagorean philosopher, which, as I have said, he has almost transcribed in his book *De Generatione et Corruptione*: nor has even Plato acted with good faith towards the philosophers before him; for he has no where acknowledged the obligations he owed to the priests of Egypt, from whom, besides what he learned of mystical theology, particularly concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, which he kept as a secret, to be communicated but to a few of his followers, I have no doubt but he learned there to solve the Delian problem, as it is called; I mean, to double the cube of the altar of Apollo, in Delos, which, from the account Plato himself gives of the state of geometry in Greece, it is impossible he could have learned there. And though he has taken his whole natural philosophy from Timæus the Locrian, he has acknowledged the obligation no otherwise than by giving his name to one of his dialogues, and making him an interlocutor in it. And if Proclus had not preserved to us that most valuable piece of ancient philosophy, entitled *De Anima Mundi*, we should never have known that Timæus had written upon the subject, or that Plato had taken from that writing his whole Cosmogony. In short, it appears to me, that the philosophers of Greece wanted to persuade the world that all science and philosophy was originally of the growth of their country, which, I think,

I think, I have shown was far from being the truth.

“ But, to come closer to the point, it is evident that Aristotle, among other Pythagorean books he got into his hands, being, as I have said, a great collector of books, got hold of a treatise of Archytas the Tarentine, entitled *περὶ τοῦ παντός*, or “Of the Universe,” which contained the whole doctrine of the Categories, as it is contained in Aristotle's work, to which he has given that name. This we learn from the commentary of Simplicius upon that work of Aristotle, wherein he has ingrossed almost the whole work of Archytas, from which it appears that Aristotle has done little more than translate into Attic the Doric of Archytas; for his Categories are the very same in name, in number, and in nature, with those of Archytas; and there is only some difference in the way of arranging them; but as to the method of explaining and illustrating them, it is exactly the same; and, in some instances, I think Archytas has explained them better than Aristotle. Even the terms of art in this work he has taken from Archytas; for the word *κατηγορίαι*, which Aristotle has made the title of his book, and which, by many even of the ancient interpreters, is supposed to be a word first used by Aristotle in a philosophical sense, is the term used by Archytas to denote a prædicate; and he also uses the words *κατηγορουμενον*, and *ὑποκειμενον*, in the same sense with Aristotle; and likewise the terms *γενος* and *ειδος*; and he distinguishes those general ideas into three classes, viz. the *γενος γενων*, the *γενος ειδων*, and the simple *ειδος*, which is the common division made by the Peripatetics; for they tell us that all these ideas

other genuses, or a genus having under it only specieses, or it is a simple species, having under it only individuals; and therefore it is called by Aristotle's Greek interpreters the *ειδος ειδικωτατον*.

“ But this is not all that he has taken from Archytas; for there is another work of his which he has copied as faithfully, and, I think, rather at greater length, as appears from extracts which Simplicius has given us of it, in the same commentary upon Aristotle's Categories. The work I mean is entitled, *περὶ τῶν ἀντικειμένων*, that is, “Concerning Opposites;” upon which subject Aristotle has added a Dissertation to his Book of Categories, wherein he has followed Archytas most closely, particularly his fourfold division of opposites is the same with that of Archytas, and expressed in the same words; and in explaining the members of this division, Simplicius has observed that Archytas is more full and accurate than Aristotle: and all this he has done, without so much as ever mentioning the name of Archytas.

“ The doctrine of the Categories Aristotle has very properly made the foundation of his whole logical system; for, as I have observed elsewhere, there could have been no science of logic without it, nor indeed science of any kind, as there could have been no definition. Now I think it is highly probable that those Pythagorean philosophers, having gone so far in the logical system as to have explained the nature of simple terms, that they would carry their investigations farther, to propositions and syllogisms.

“ This might not appear so probable, if we were not well assured that the Pythagoreans, in their school,

school, had a complete system of philosophy, comprehending not only physics, metaphysics, and morals, but also logic, or dialectic, as it was then called. This we are told by Jamblichus, in his *Life of Pythagoras*, where he says that science in general was treated of in that school, and the method of demonstration, definition, and division explained, as may be learned from Pythagorean books yet extant. Now I think it is certain that the Pythagoreans could not have explained what demonstration was, without laying down the doctrine of propositions and syllogisms; at least Aristotle thought so; for the intention of his *Analytics*, as he informs us in the beginning of them, was to show what science and demonstration were; and, in order to do this, he has thought it necessary to explain most accurately the nature of the syllogism.

“Lastly, there is a very curious fact reported by the Jesuit father Pons, a missionary in India, concerning the philosophy of the Brahmins. He says, that besides other parts of philosophy, they have a logic, and the doctrine of the syllogism, as perfect as it is to be found in Aristotle; and he adds, that they have as many subtle disputes about the different kinds of syllogism, as we had in Europe two hundred years ago. Now I think it is not at all probable that the Indians invented so great a science, and it is still less probable that they got it from the school of Aristotle, with which it does not appear that they had ever the least connection: it remains, therefore, that it came to them from Egypt, from whence they had the first rudiments of arts and civility, if we can believe either the books of the Egyptian priests, or the traditions

of the Indians themselves: and there appears, at this day, such a conformity betwixt the ancient Egyptians and the Indians in their religion, and particularly their veneration for the cow, the doctrine of the metempsychosis, their astronomy, and the division of the people into different professions, or casts, to which every one is by his birth allotted, that it is impossible but that the one nation must have copied from the other; and as there is not the least proof or probability that the Egyptians borrowed any thing from them, but, on the contrary, we are told, that the Egyptians imitated no other nation, it remains that they must have got their arts, their religion, their learning, and probably, among other things, the doctrine of the syllogism, from Egypt; for I think there is as little reason to believe that the syllogism could have been invented by Pythagoras, or any of his disciples, as that it could have been invented by Aristotle. Nor do I think it could have been produced, except in a country such as Egypt, where there were a great number of societies of men, set apart for the purpose of religion and science, such as the colleges of priests in Egypt, who, succeeding one another from father to son, and so carrying on their studies without interruption from generation to generation, through a long period of time, might at last have made this great discovery; for I do not believe that, even in that land of learning, the labours of one single man were sufficient both to invent and perfect such a system of science as Aristotle's *Logic*. This system, I suppose, Pythagoras brought with him from Egypt, together with the rest of the philosophy of the Egyptians; and from some of the books of

of his followers (for it does not appear that Pythagoras wrote any thing himself) Aristotle got it, as we know he did the doctrine of the

Categories, which he has set at the head of his system of Logic, and also the doctrines of Opposites, and of Generation and Corruption."

ALPHABETICAL WRITING not first communicated to MOSES, nor of DIVINE ORIGINAL.

[From Mr. ASTLE's Origin and Progress of Writing.]

"**M**Any learned men have supposed that the alphabet was of divine origin; and several writers have asserted, that, letters were first communicated to Moses by God himself; whilst others have contended, that the Decalogue was the first alphabetic writing.

"It is highly proper for us to enquire how far these opinions are well founded; for if they can be supported, there is an end of our pursuit; but if it shall appear that they are warranted neither by reason nor by scripture, we shall be at full liberty to pursue our enquiry: for the satisfaction therefore of those who have adopted these opinions, it is incumbent on us to have recourse to the holy scriptures themselves.

"The first mention of writing recorded in scripture, will be found in Exod. xvii. 14. "And the Lord said unto Moses, write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven." This command was given immediately after the defeat of the Amalekites near Horeb, and before the arrival of the Israelites at Mount Sinai.

"It is observable, that there is not the least hint to induce us

to believe that writing was then newly invented: on the contrary, we may conclude, that Moses understood what was meant by writing in a book; otherwise God would have instructed him, as he had done Noah in building the ark; for he would not have been commanded to write in a book, if he had been ignorant of the art of writing: but Moses expressed no difficulty of comprehension, when he received this command. We also find, that Moses wrote all the words, and all the judgments of the Lord, contained in the twenty-first, and the two following chapters of the book of Exodus, before the two written tables of stone were even so much as promised. The delivery of the tables is not mentioned till the eighteenth verse of the thirty-first chapter, after God had made an end of communing with him upon the mount, though the Ten Commandments were promulgated immediately after his third descent.

"It is observable that Moses nowhere mentions that the alphabet was a new thing in his time, much less that he was the inventor of it: on the contrary, he speaks of the art of writing, as a thing well known, and in familiar use; for, Exod. xxviii. 21, he says, "And the stones shall be with the names of

of the children of Israel, twelve; according to their names, like the engravings of a signet, every one with his name, shall they be, according to the twelve tribes." And again, ver. 36. "And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, Holiness to the Lord." Can language be more expressive? Would it not be absurd to deny that this sentence must have been in words and letters? But writing was known and practised by the people in general in the time of Moses, as appears from the following texts, Deut. chap. vi. ver. 9. chap. xi. v. 20. chap. xvii. v. 18. chap. xxiv. v. 1. chap. xxvii. v. 3, 8. By this last text, the people are commanded to write the law on stones; and it is observable, that some of the above texts relate to transactions previous to the delivery of the law at Mount Sinai.

"If Moses had been the inventor of the alphabet, or received letters from God, which till then had been unknown to the Israelites, it would have been well worthy of his understanding, and very suitable to his character, to have explained to them the nature and use of this invaluable art which God had communicated to him: and may we not naturally suppose, that he would have said, when he directed the workmen to engrave names and sentences on stones and gold, "And in these engravings you shall use the alphabetic characters which God hath communicated to me, or which I have now invented, and taught you the use of?" But the truth is, he refers them to a model in familiar use, "like the engravings of a signet;" for the ancient people of the East, engraved names and sentences on

their seals, in the same manner as is now practised by the great Lama of Tartary, the princes in India, the emperor of Constantinople, and his subordinate rulers.

"If this art had been a new discovery in his time, he would, probably, have commemorated it, as well as the other inventions of music, &c. nor is there any reason to suppose, that God was the immediate revealer of the art; for Moses could never have omitted to have recorded the history of so important a circumstance, as the memory of it would have been one of the strongest barriers against idolatry.

"It is incumbent on us to mention, that several respectable profane authors attribute the discovery of letters to the gods, or to some divine man. Plato delivers his sentiments very plainly upon this subject, *ἡ πρῶτη φωνὴ ἄνθρωπον, κατενόησεν εἰτὲ τῷ θεῷ εἰτὲ καὶ θεῷ*; *Ἀρχαίων &c.* The same author in his *Phædrus*, makes the god *Theuth*, or *Mercury* the inventor of letters. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Mercury* invented the first characters of writing, and taught men the rudiments of astronomy: and *Cicero*, in his *Tusc. Quest. lib. i.* delivers his opinion upon this subject in the following words: "Quid illa vis, quæ tandem est, quæ investigat occulta?—aut qui sonos vocis, qui infiniti videbantur, paucis literarum notis terminavit?—Philosophia vero omnium mater artium, quid est aliud, nisi, ut *Plato* ait, donum, ut ego inventum *Deorum*?" The same author, in his *Natura Deorum, lib. iii.* says, that *Hermes*, or the fifth *Mercury*, whom the Egyptians call *Thoth*, first communicated letters to that people. The *Gentoo*s affirm, that let-

letters were communicated to their ancestors by the supreme Being, whom they call Brahma.

“ Although, from these authorities, we may infer that the art of writing is of great antiquity, yet they discover to us that the ancients had very imperfect ideas of its true origin; for Plato says, that some, when they could not unravel a difficulty, brought down a god, as in a machine, to cut the knot: and the learned bishop of Gloucester observes, that the ancients gave nothing to the gods, of whose original they had any records; but where the memory of the invention was lost, as of seed, corn, wine, writing, civil society, &c. the gods seized the property, by that kind of right which gives strays to the lord of the manor.

“ The holy scriptures having left this subject open to investigation; and the prophane writers having given us nothing satisfactory upon it, we are at liberty to pursue our inquiry into the origin of letters; but, in order to qualify ourselves for this task,—it may be proper to enter into a philosophical contemplation of the nature of letters, and of their powers, which will best enable us to discover the true origin of their invention.

“ A little reflection will discover, that men in their rude uncultivated state, had neither leisure, inclination, nor inducement, to cultivate the powers of the mind to a degree sufficient for the formation of an alphabet; but when a people arrived at such a state of civilization, as required them to repre-

sent the conceptions of the mind which had no corporeal forms, necessity, the mother of invention, would occasion farther exertions of the human faculties, and would urge such a people to find out a more expeditious manner of transacting their business, and of recording their events, than by picture-writing; for the impossibility of conveying a variety of intellectual and metaphysical ideas, and of representing sounds by the emblematic mode of writing would naturally occur, and therefore the necessity of seeking out some other that would be more comprehensive, would present itself.

“ These exertions would take place whenever a nation began to improve in arts, manufactures, and commerce; and the more genius such a nation had, the more improvements would be made in the notation of their language, whilst those people who had made less progress in civilization and science, would have a less perfect system of elementary characters; or would for ages advance no farther in this art, than the marks or characters of the Chinese. Hence it results, that the business of princes, and the manufactures and commerce of each country, produced the necessity of devising some expeditious manner of communicating information to their subjects, or commercial correspondents at a distance. Such an improvement was of the greatest use, not only to the sovereign and the statesman, but to the manufacturer and the merchant.”

OBSERVATIONS on the WINE called by our ANCESTORS SACK.

[An Original Communication.]

IT seems incredible to many people that our forefathers should have put sugar into their sack. They assert, that the sack drank by sir John Falstaff, by Shakspeare's contemporaries, and by Jonson, with his song in the Apollo, was not the wine which is known to us by the name of sack, and which is used for little other purpose than to make walnuts taste sweeter. This manner of reasoning is not, perhaps, strictly logical. There is no disputing about tastes in respect to eating or drinking; which are so various in the same age and nation, that to use a vulgar phrase (as lord Chesterfield says), what is one's man's meat is another man's poison.

"I think the matter may be elucidated by a reference to Venner's, *Via recta ad Vitam longam*, printed in the year 1628. In this medical treatise, is a section answering the question, What in general are the commodities of wine? and containing a description of the particular differences of wines according to their several qualities.

"He begins with observing, that "white wines and Rhenish wine, do, least of all wines, heat and nourish the body. The white wine here described seems to have been one of the meagre French wines, or vins du Pais; for the author observes, that it will not keep in perfection many months. To these white wines and the Rhenish, he signifies in a note, that "a little sugar may be added with a lemon, as is hereafter shewed, but is more medicinable if it be taken without

sugar." Such is his description of Rhenish, &c. from which some may infer one of those to be the sack of our forefathers, and not what we call so, which is a wine brought from the Canary-Islands.

"But our author proceeds to describe Canary wine, "which beareth the name of the islands from whence it is brought, and is of some termed a sacke, with this adjunct *sweete*, but yet very improperly, for it differeth not only from sacke in sweetnesse and pleasantnesse of taste, but also in colour and consistence: for it is not so white in colour as sacke, nor so thin in substance." Venner gives no hint that it is proper or improper, customary or not, to mix sugar with this sweet sack, nor with malmsey, mulkabelle, or bastard, (which is mentioned in Shakspeare with the epithet brown) which he likewise describes as generous sweet wines.

"We might still remain in doubt, if our author had not given a description of sacke itself, which he says is "completely not in the third degree; and that some affect to drink sacke with sugar and some without; and upon no other ground, as I think, but as it is best pleasing to their palate." He then proceeds; "I shall speak what I deem hereof, and I think I shall well satisfie such as are judicious. Sacke taken by itself is very hot and very penetrative: being taken with sugar, the heat is both somewhat allayed, and the penetrative quality thereof also retarded." This description by no means agrees with the

the properties of Rhenish, as described by our author. It is further distinguished by his observation, that " Rhenish, &c. decline after a twelvemonth, but sacke, and the other stronger wines are best when they are two or three years old."

" By the application of the word *sweet* to sacke, as an equivalent to Canary wine, it seems highly probable, that sacke itself was not a sweet wine ; that it did not receive its name from having a saccharine

flavour, but from its being originally stored in sacks or borachios. It does not appear to have been a French wine, but a strong wine, the production of a hot climate. Probably it was what is called dry mountain, or some Spanish wine of that kind. This conjecture is the more plausible, as Howell, in his French and English Dictionary, printed in the year 1650, translates sacke, by the words *vin d'Espagne, vin sec.*"

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

JULIAN'S DELINEATION of the ROMAN EMPERORS, from JULIUS to his own Time; being an EXTRACT from his famous SATIRE, entitled "The Cæsars."

[From Mr. DUNCOMBE'S Translation of the "Select Works of the Emperor Julian."]

"AS soon as the table was spread for the Cæsars, the first who appeared was Julius Cæsar. Such was his passion for glory, that he seemed willing to contend for dominion with Jupiter himself. Silenus, observing him, said, "Behold, Jupiter, one who has ambition enough to endeavour to dethrone you: he is, you see, strong and handsome, and, if he resembles me in nothing else, his head, at least, is certainly the fellow of mine."

"Amidst these jokes of Silenus, to which the Gods paid little attention, Octavianus entered. He assumed, like aameleon, various colours; at first appearing pale, then black, dark, and cloudy, and, at last, exhibiting the charms of Venus and the Graces. In the lustre of his eyes he seemed willing to rival the sun; nor could any one encounter his looks. "Strange! cried Silenus; what a changeable creature is this! what mischief will he do us!" "Cease trifling, said Apollo; after I have consigned him to Zeno, I will exhibit him to you pure as gold." "Hark ye, added he to that philosopher, Zeno, undertake the care of my pupil." He, in obedience, suggesting to him a

very few precepts, as if he had muttered the incantations of Zalmoxis, soon rendered him wise and virtuous.

"The third who approached was Tiberius, with a grave but fierce aspect, appearing at once both wise and martial. As he turned to sit down, his back displayed several scars, some cauteries and sores, severe stripes and bruises, scabs and tumors, imprinted by lust and intemperance. Silenus then saying,

"Far different now thou seemest than before,"

in a much more serious tone, "Why so grave, my dear?" said Bacchus.

"That old satyr, replied he, has terrified me, and made me inadvertently quote a line of Homer."

"Take care that he does not also pull your ears, said Bacchus; for thus, it is said, he treated a certain grammarian." "He had better, returned Silenus, bemoan himself in his solitary island (meaning Capræ) and tear the face of some miserable fisherman."

"While they were thus joking, a dreadful monster [Caligula] appeared. The Gods averting their eyes, Nemesis delivered him to the avenging Furies, who immediately

diately threw him into Tartarus, without allowing Silenus to accost him. But on the approach of Claudius, Silenus began to sing the beginning of the part of Demosthenes, in the Knights of Aristophanes, cajoling Claudius. Then, turning to Quirinus, "You are unjust, said he, to invite your descendant without his freed men, Narcissus and Pallas. But, besides them, you should also send for his wife Messalina, for without them he appears like guards in a tragedy, mute and inanimate."

"While Silenus was speaking, Nero entered, playing on his harp, and crowned with laurel. Silenus then turned to Apollo, and said, "This man makes you his model." "I shall soon uncrown him," replied Apollo: "he did not imitate me in every thing, and when he did, he was a bad imitator." Cocytus, therefore, instantly swept him away, divested of his crown.

"After him, seeing many come crowding together, Vindex, Otho, Galba, Vitellius, Silenus exclaimed, "Where, ye Gods, have you found such a multitude of monarchs? We are suffocated with smoke; for beasts of this kind spare not even the temples of the Gods." Jupiter then looked at his brother Serapis, and said, pointing to Vespasian, "Send this miser, as soon as possible, out of Egypt, to extinguish these flames. Bid his eldest son [Titus] solace himself with a prostitute, but chain his younger son [Domitian] near the Sicilian tyger.

"Then came an old man [Nerva,] of a beautiful aspect (for even old age is sometimes beautiful), in his manners most gentle, and in his administration mild. With him Silenus was so delighted, that he remained silent. "What! said

Mercury, have you nothing to say of this man?" "Yes, by Jupiter, he replied, for I charge you all with partiality, in suffering that blood-thirsty monster to reign fifteen years, but this man scarce a whole year." "Do not complain, answered Jupiter; many good princes shall succeed him."

"Trajan immediately entered, bearing on his shoulders the Getic and Parthian trophies. Silenus, observing him, said, in a low voice, but loud enough to be heard, "Our lord Jupiter must now be careful, or he will not be able to keep Ganyমেদে to himself." After him advanced a venerable sage [Hadrian], with a long beard; an adept in music, gazing frequently on the heavens, and cautiously investigating the abstrusest subjects. "What, said Silenus, think you of this sophist? Is he looking for Antinous? If so, one of you may tell him that the youth is not here, and thus check his madness and folly." To these succeeded a man of moderation, not in venereal but political pursuits, [Antoninus Pius.] Silenus, on seeing him, exclaimed, "Strange! how important is he in trifles! This old man seems to me one of those who would harangue about a pin's point."

"At the entrance of two brothers, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, Silenus contracted his brow, as he could by no means jeer or deride them. Marcus, in particular, though he strictly scrutinised his conduct with regard to his son and his wife; as to her, in his immoderate grief for her death, though she little deserved it; as to him, in hazarding the ruin of the empire by preferring him to a discreet son-in-law, who would have made a better prince, and studied the advantage of his son more than he did

did himself. Notwithstanding these failings, Silenus could not but admire his exalted virtue. Thinking his son Commodus unworthy of any stroke of wit, he silently dismissed him. And he, not being able to support himself, or associate with the heroes, fell down to the earth.

"Pertinax then approached, still lamenting the mortal wound that he received at a banquet. This excited the compassion of Nemesis, who said, "The authors of this deed shall not long exult; but, Pertinax, you were culpable in being privy to the conspiracy that destroyed the son of Marcus." He was succeeded by Severus, a prince inexorable in punishing. "Of him, said Silenus, I have nothing to say; for I am terrified by his stern and implacable looks." His sons would have accompanied him, but Minos prevented them, and kept them at a distance. With a prudent distinction, however, he dismissed the youngest [Geta], and ordered the eldest [Caracalla] to be punished for his crimes.

"That crafty murderer Macrinus, and the youth of Emesa, Elagabalus, were driven from the sacred inclosure. But Alexander the Syrian, being placed in the hinder ranks, bewailed his misfortune. Silenus added, "O thou fool and madman! highly exalted as thou wert, thou didst not govern for thyself, but gavest thy wealth to thy mother, and couldst not be persuaded that it was much better to bestow it on thy friends than to hoard it." "All, however, said Nemesis, who were accessory to his death, I will deliver to the tormentors." And thus the youth was dismissed.

"Gallienus then entered, with his father [Valerian], the latter

dragging the chain of his captivity, the other effeminate both in his dress and behaviour. Silenus thus ridiculed the father:

"By those snowy plumes distinguish'd,
Before the ranks who marches in the van."

And to the son he said,

"Him gold adorns, all dainty as a bride."

"Jupiter ordered them both to depart from the banquet.

"They were succeeded by Claudius, on whom all the Gods fixed their eyes, admiring his magnanimity, and granted the empire to his descendants, thinking it just that the posterity of such a lover of his country should enjoy the sovereignty as long as possible.

"After him entered Aurelius, as if to escape those who were accusing him before Minos. For many charges of murder, which he could not palliate or excuse, were brought against him. But my lord the Sun, who had patronised him on other occasions, assisted him also on this, by informing the Gods, that the Delphic oracle, "That he who evil does, should evil suffer, is righteous judgment," had been fulfilled.

"The next was PROBUS, who in less than seven years rebuilt seventy cities, and also enacted many wise laws. Having suffered unjustly, he was honoured by the Gods, and his death was revenged by the punishment of his murderers. Silenus, nevertheless, endeavoured, in like manner, to ridicule him; and many of the Gods urging him to be silent, "Let those who shall follow, said he, grow wiser by his example. Dost thou not know, O Probus, that physicians make bitter potions palatable, by infusing them in mead? But thou, who wert always so severe

and cruel that none could equal thee, hast suffered, however unjustly, in like manner. For no one can govern brutes, much less men, but by sometimes gratifying and indulging them: as physicians humour their patients in trifles, that they may insure their compliance in things essential." "What! dear father, said Bacchus, do you now play the philosopher upon us?" "Why not, replied Silenus. Were not you too, my son, instructed by me in philosophy? Know you not that Socrates also held, like me, the first rank in philosophy among his contemporaries, if you credit the oracle of Delphi? Allow me, therefore, to speak not always jocosely, but sometimes seriously."

"While they were thus talking, Carus, with his sons, [Carinus and Numerian] would have entered, had not Nemesis repulsed them. Diocletian, accompanied by the two Maximians, and my grandfather Constantius, then approached, magnificently dressed. These, though they held each other by the hand, did not walk on a line with Diocletian. Three others also surrounded him, in the manner of a chorus: but when, like harbingers, they would have preceded him, he forbade them, not thinking himself entitled to any distinction. Transferring only

to them a burthen which he had borne on his own shoulders, he walked with much greater ease. Admiring their union, the Gods assigned them a seat superior to many. But Maximian behaving with imprudence and haughtiness, Silenus, though he did not think him worthy of ridicule, would not admit him into the society of the emperors. And, besides, he was not only addicted to all kinds of lasciviousness, but by his impertinent officiousness and perfidy often interrupted the harmonious concert. Nemesis therefore soon banished him, and whither he went I know not, as I forgot to ask Mercury.

"To this most melodious tetrachord a harsh, disagreeable, and discordant sound succeeded. Two of the candidates Nemesis would not suffer to approach even the door of the assembly. Licinius came thus far, but having been guilty of many crimes, he was repulsed by Minos. Constantine entered, and sat some time; and near him sat his sons. As for Magnentius, he was refused admittance, because he had never done any thing laudable, though many of his actions might appear brilliant. But the Gods, perceiving that they did not flow from a good principle, dismissed him much afflicted."

ACCOUNT of some SINGULAR VOWS made by the KNIGHTS, in the TIMES of CHIVALRY.

[From Mrs. DOBSON's Translation of Mons. De St. PALAYE's "Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry."]

“THE religion of the times suggested other vows, of a more particular kind; which consisted in visiting several holy places; in depositing their arms, or those of a vanquished enemy, in the temples or monasteries; in fasting, and other exercises of penitence. In the history of Bertrand du Guesclin, it is recorded, that Du Guesclin, before he departed for a course of arms, proposed by an Englishman, heard mass; and, when he was making the offering at the altar, he also offered to God the arms he promised to use against the infidels, if he became victor. Soon after this, he had a challenge to maintain against another Englishman: the Englishman, throwing down his gage of battle, swore he would never sleep in bed till he had accomplished it. Bertrand, taking up the gage, vowed to eat only three sops in wine, in the name of the Holy Trinity, till this combat was over. These facts, from historians, justify the old romance writers, and enlighten some obscure passages in Dante, and other ancient authors.

“Personal valour dictated also singular vows; of which the following are examples: “James d’Endelée, says Froissart, in his History, had made a vow, that, in the next battle in which the king of England, or either of his sons, should appear, he would be the first assailant, the best warrior on their side, or that he would die in the attempt.”—Du Guesclin, being at the siege of Montcontour, swore

never to eat meat, nor put off his cloaths, day or night, till he had taken the place; and his squire of honour, at the siege of Bressiere, in Poitou, promised, before God, to plant, that day, on the tower of the city, the banner of his master, which he carried, crying, “Du Guesclin! Du Guesclin!” or to die in the attempt.—The same history reports, that the besieged made vows to eat all their beasts, and, as their last resource, to eat one another, in the rage of hunger, rather than yield the town; while the besiegers, on their part, swore to maintain the siege through their lives; and die in battle, or take the place by the force of assault.—The most extraordinary of these vows, was that of the peacock, or pheasant, made by the knight on the bird, as will be presently related. These noble birds, for so they were stiled, perfectly represented, by the brightness and variety of their colours, the majesty of their kings, and the superb vestments with which they were adorned, when they held their plenary or full courts.

“The old romancers observe, that the peacock and pheasant were, as well as venison, the particular food of brave and gallant knights. “Gaston, the fifth of that name, says Favin, who had been created a peer of France by Charles the Seventh, betrothed to the daughter of that prince, Magdalen of France, and adorned with the order of the star, determined to celebrate these accumulated honours by a magnificent feast, given

at Tours, in 1458, to be followed by jousts, which he ordered to be published abroad. This banquet was composed of five services, and seven entremets, or small plates of dainties, usually served at the tables of the great, just before the fruit. In one of these entremets they brought, in a large vessel, a peacock alive, which had at its neck the arms of the queen of France; and round the vessel were ranged various flags and streamers, carrying the arms of all the princesses and ladies of the court; who were very proud of this honour shewn them by the count de Foix; and so magnificent was this feast, that it appeared an earthly paradise. These entremets were first devised to occupy the guests in the interval between the grand services. They were exhibited before the reign of St. Louis, at the marriage of his brother Robert, at Compiègne, in 1237; and by Charles the Fifth, at a feast he gave, in 1378, to the king of the Romans. "The remains of this ancient magnificence, says De Thou, were seen at the marriage of the prince of Navarre, in 1572, with the sister of the king; and at another feast, which the queen gave, the following year, to the duke of Anjou, king of Poland: and a taste for these ancient pleasures was preserved, at Florence, to the year 1600, at the banquet given, in that city, for the marriage of Mary de Medicis with Henry the Fourth.

"The plumage of the fine birds presented at these splendid entertainments, was considered, by the ladies in Provence, as the richest ornament with which they could decorate the troubadour, who celebrated their praise: the feathers were interwoven in the crown, given as a recompence for the poetic

talents he consecrated to the celebration of valour and of gallantry; and a figure of the peacock was the prize of the knights themselves. At a feast, given for the peace made in 1659, by the city of Marfeilles, "the troubadours, says father Menestrier, came crowned with peacocks feathers, which had been formally devoted to them by the ladies of Provence. The eyes, represented in their plumage, expressed the attention of all the world to these troubadours." Pope Paul the Third sent to king Pepin a consecrated sword, and accompanied it with a mantle interwoven with the peacock's feathers.

"But the highest glory of this bird was the most singular vow made on it, which was performed in the following manner: the day on which the knights were to take their solemn vows, a peacock or pheasant, sometimes roasted, but always dressed and garnished out with its finest feathers, was brought in, with great dignity, by the ladies, or the young gentlewomen, in a large gold or silver vessel, in the midst of a numerous company of assembled knights. They presented this dish to each knight, who made his vow on the bird; after which, they carried it back, and placed it on a table, to be distributed among the assistants. The skill of the person who carved it, consisted in dividing the parts so nicely, that all present might have a share. In the romance of Lancelot de Lac, there is a great eulogy given to king Artus, for having carved the peacock, at the round table, so much to the satisfaction of a hundred and fifty knights, seated at the feast, that they were all content with the share assigned them.

"The old romancers, who wrote

on this singular vow, inform us, that the ladies, or young gentlewomen, after presenting the bird to every knight, chose one of the most valiant knights to accompany them in this ceremony, and to direct the peacock to that knight whom he esteemed the bravest; which being done, the knight elected cut up the bird, and distributed it in his fight. So high a preference bestowed on eminent valour was not accepted, till after a long and modest resistance, and confessing themselves the least worthy of this honour: in the same manner as the knights, admitted into the order of the Holy Ghost, protested they were wholly undeserving of so glorious a distinction.

“ The account of the singular ceremony which passed at Lisle, also, in 1453, on the conferring this order, at the court of Philip, the Good, duke of Burgundy, is too curious to be omitted. It was exhibited upon occasion of the crusade against the Turks, when the conquest of the Eastern empire was accomplished by the taking of Constantinople; and is thus described by Matthew de Couci, and Olivier de la Marche, who were at this feast: “ The necessary time for the preparations, and arrival of the knights, was passed in several feasts given by the principal lords; the last of which was that of the duke of Cleves, when they proclaimed the banquet of his uncle the duke of Burgundy, which, according to the ancient custom, was to be given eighteen days from that time. The proclamation was thus made; a lady, mounting on the table where the duke of Burgundy was seated, by a step made for that purpose, kneeled down before him, and placed on the head of that prince a chaplet, or crown of flowers; from hence

the custom of offering, at balls, a nosegay to the person who is to give the next entertainment. When the eighteen days were passed, the duke of Burgundy drew together his whole court, and the nobility of his different states, to his banquet, which was the annunciation of the high mysteries of religion and of knighthood: when, if the magnificence of the prince was admired in the multitude and abundance of the services, it was still more conspicuous in the elegant spectacles displayed in the entremets, or curious and dainty dishes, brought in between the services and the fruits; by which the feast was rendered more pompous and amusing. There appeared, in the hall, divers decorations; machines, figures of men, and extraordinary animals, trees, mountains, rivers, and a sea, with vessels on it: all these objects were intermixed with personages, with birds, and other living animals, who were in motion in the hall, or on the great table, and represented the actions relative to the design the duke had formed; which was, to exhibit the feasts of the palace of Alcine, in the ancient court of France. It is astonishing to conceive what must have been the extent of the hall, which contained so spacious a table, or rather so vast a theatre, with the ground necessary for the action of so many machines and persons; without reckoning the multitude of the guests, and the crowd of spectators. In the midst of this spectacle entered suddenly a giant, armed in the ancient manner of a Moor of Grenada; he led an elephant, who carried a castle on his back, in which was a lady, bathed in tears, and dressed in long mourning habits, as a nun, or devotee to the cloyster. When she came into the hall, and was in

the midst of the assembly, she recited a poem of three stanzas, which commanded the giant to stop; but he, looking on her with a fixed eye, continued his march till he came to the table of the duke. At that moment the captive lady, who represented religion, made a long complaint, in verse, on the calamities she suffered from the tyranny of the infidels; and reproached the lukewarmness of those who ought to have succoured and delivered her. When this lamentation was over, the king at arms, of the order of the Golden Fleece, preceded by a long file of officers at arms, and carrying on his head a pheasant alive, which was ornamented with a golden collar, enriched with pearls and precious stones, advanced towards the duke of Burgundy, and presented to him two young ladies; the one of whom was Yolande, the natural daughter of that prince; and the other, Isabel of Neufchatel, daughter of the lord de Montaigu; each accompanied by a knight of the Golden Fleece. At the same time, the king at arms offered to the duke the bird he carried, in the name of these ladies, who recommended themselves to the protection of their sovereign, in conformity to the ancient customs, according to which, in the great feasts and noble assemblies, they presented to the princes, lords, and noble ladies, a peacock, or some other royal bird, on which to make vows serviceable to those ladies who should implore their assistance. The duke, after having attentively listened to the petition of the king at arms, returned a billet, which was read aloud, and began in these words: "I vow to God my creator, and to the glorious Virgin his mother; and after these to the ladies and the pheasants, &c." It further

contained solemn promises (the grand intent of this allegorical exhibition) to carry the war amongst the infidels, for the defence of the oppressed church, and that castle, in which this singular ceremony was represented.

"The vow made by the duke (says Olivier de la Marche) was the signal of all the other vows, each of which had in view the proving their courage against the Turks; and some arbitrary penance was added, as, to abstain from wine and meat on certain days, not to sleep in a bed, not to eat on a table-cloth, to wear shirts of hair, or armour next the skin, &c. till these engagements were performed.

"The conclusion of these vows was celebrated by a new spectacle. A lady, dressed in white, in the habit of a nun, bearing on her shoulder a scroll, on which was written, "Grace of God," in letters of gold, came to thank the assembly, and presented twelve ladies, conducted by as many knights. These ladies represented different virtues; the name of each, every lady carried also on her shoulder, marked on a billet or brevet; and that they were to be of this expedition, to insure its success. When they had passed in review, one after the other presented their brevet to Grace of God, who read them, and recited, at the end of each, in a couplet of eight verses, the names of the ladies, which were, Faith, Justice, Charity, Reason, Prudence, Temperance, Strength, Truth, Liberality, Diligence, Hope, Valour; all which were to express the virtues necessary to a true and perfect knight. These ceremonies over, they all began to dance in figures, and were sumptuously feasted; and with these allegorical and magnificent entertainments ended this noble and joyful feast."

Mr. MATHEW's singular MANNER of entertaining his FRIENDS.

[From Mr. SHERIDAN's Life of Dr. SWIFT.]

“THERE lived at that time in Ireland a gentleman of the name of Mathew, whose history is well worth recording, although in a great part it may appear digressive. He was possessed of a large estate in the finest county of that kingdom, Tipperary: which produced a clear rent of eight thousand a year. As he delighted in a country life, he resolved to build a large commodious house for the reception of guests, surrounded by fifteen hundred acres of his choicest land, all laid out upon a regular plan of improvement, according to the new adopted mode of English gardening (which had supplanted the bad Dutch taste brought in by king William) and of which he was the first who set the example in Ireland; nor was there any improvement of that sort then in England, which was comparable to his, either in point of beauty or extent. As this design was formed early in life, in order to accomplish his point, without incurring any debt on his estate, he retired to the continent for seven years, and lived upon six hundred pounds a year, while the remaining income of his estate was employed in carrying on the great works he had planned there. When all was completed, he returned to his native country; and after some time passed in the metropolis, to revive the old, and cultivate new acquaintance, he retired to his seat at Thomas-town to pass the remainder of his days there. As he was one of the finest gentlemen of the age, and possessed of so large a

property, he found no difficulty during his residence in Dublin, to get access to all, whose character for talents, or probity, made him desirous to cultivate their acquaintance. Out of these, he selected such as were most conformable to his taste, inviting them to pass such leisure time as they might have upon their hands, at Thomas-town. As there was something uncommonly singular in his mode of living, such as I believe was never carried into practice by any mortal before, in an equal degree, I fancy the reader will not be displeased with an account of the particulars of it, though it may appear foreign to the subject in hand.

“His house had been chiefly contrived to answer the noble purpose of that constant hospitality, which he intended to maintain there. It contained forty commodious apartments for guests, with suitable accommodations to their servants. Each apartment was completely furnished with every convenience that could be wanted, even to the minutest article. When a guest arrived, he shewed him his apartment, saying, this is your castle, here you are to command as absolutely as in your own house; you may breakfast, dine, and sup here whenever you please, and invite such of the guests to accompany you as may be most agreeable to you. He then shewed him the common parlour, where he said a daily ordinary was kept at which he might dine when it was more agreeable to him to mix in society; but

but from this moment you are never to know me as master of the house, and only to consider me as one of the guests. In order to put an end to all ceremony at meal-time, he took his place at random at the table, and thus all ideas of precedence being laid aside, the guests seated themselves promiscuously, without any regard to difference of rank or quality. There was a large room fitted up exactly like a coffee-house, where a barmaid and waiters attended to furnish refreshments at all times of the day. Here, such as chose it, breakfasted at their own hour. It was furnished with chess-boards, backgammon tables, newspapers, pamphlets, &c in all the forms of a city coffee-house. But the most extraordinary circumstance in his whole domestic arrangement, was that of a detached room in one of the extremities of the house, called the tavern. As he was himself a very temperate man, and many of his guests were of the same disposition, the quantity of wine for the use of the common room was but moderate; but as drinking was much in fashion in those days, in order to gratify such of his guests as had indulged themselves in that custom, he had recourse to the above-mentioned contrivance; and it was the custom of all who loved a cheerful glass, to adjourn to the tavern soon after dinner, and leave the more sober folks to themselves. Here a waiter in a blue apron attended, (as was the fashion then) and all things in the room were contrived so as to humour the illusion. Here, every one called for what liquor they liked, with as little restraint as if they were really in a public-house, and to pay their share of the reckoning. Here too, the midnight orgies of Bacchus

were often celebrated, with the same noisy mirth as is customary in his city temples, without in the least disturbing the repose of the more sober part of the family. Games of all sorts were allowed, but under such restrictions as to prevent gambling; and so as to answer their true end, that of amusement, without injuring the purse of the players. There were two billiard-tables, and a large bowling-green; ample provision was made for all such as delighted in country sports; fishing tackle of all sorts; variety of guns with proper ammunition; a pack of buck-hounds, another of fox-hounds, and another of harriers. He constantly kept twenty choice hunters in his stables for the use of those who were not properly mounted for the chace. It may be thought that his income was not sufficient to support so expensive an establishment; but when it is considered that eight thousand a year at that time was fully equal to double that sum at present; that his large demesne, in some of the richest soil of Ireland, furnished the house with every necessary except groceries and wine; it may be supposed to be easily practicable, if under the regulation of a strict œconomy; of which no man was a greater master. I am told his plan was so well formed, and he had such checks upon all his domestics, that it was impossible there could be any waste, or that any article from the larder, or a single bottle of wine from the cellar could have been purloined, without immediate detection. This was done partly by the choice of faithful stewards, and clerks of approved integrity; but chiefly by his own superintendence of the whole, as not a day passed without having all the ac-
counts

counts of the preceding one laid before him. This he was enabled to do by his early rising; and the business being finished before others were out of their beds, he always appeared the most disengaged man in the house, and seemed to have as little concern in the conduct of it as any of the guests. And indeed to a stranger he might easily pass for such, as he made it a point that no one should consider him in the light of master of the house, nor pay him the least civilities on that score; which he carried so far, that he sometimes went abroad without giving any notice, and staid away several days, while things went on as usual at home; and on his return, he would not allow any gratulations to be made him, nor any other notice to be taken of him, than if he had not been absent during that time. The arrangements of every sort were so prudently made, that no multiplicity of guests or their domestics, ever occasioned any disorder, and all things were conducted with the same ease and regularity as in a private family. There was one point which seemed of great difficulty, that of establishing certain signals, by which each servant might know when he was summoned to his master's apartment. For this purpose there was a great hall appropriated to their use, where they always assembled when they were not upon duty. Along the wall bells were ranged in order, one to each apartment, with the number of the chamber marked over it; so that when any one of them was rang, they had only to turn their eyes to the bell, and see what servant was called. He was the first who put an end to that inhospitable custom of giving vales to servants, by making a suitable

addition to their wages; at the same time assuring them, that if they ever took any afterwards, they should be discharged with disgrace; and to prevent temptation, the guests were informed that Mr. Mathew would consider it as the highest affront, if any offer of that sort were made. As Swift had heard much of this place from Dr. Sheridan, who had been often a welcome guest there, both on account of his companionable qualities, and as being preceptor to the nephew of Mr. Mathew, he was desirous of seeing with his own eyes whether the report of it were true, which he could not help thinking to have been much exaggerated. Upon receiving an intimation of this from Dr. Sheridan, Mr. Mathew wrote a polite letter to the dean, requesting the honour of a visit, in company with the doctor, on his next school vacation. They set out accordingly on horseback, attended by a gentleman who was a near relation of Mr. Mathew, and from whom I received the whole of the following account. They had scarce reached the inn where they were to pass the first night, and which, like most of the Irish inns at that time, afforded but miserable entertainment, when a coach and six horses arrived, sent to convey them the remainder of their journey to Thomas-town; and at the same time bringing store of the choicest viands, wine, and other liquors for their refreshment. Swift was highly pleased with this uncommon mark of attention paid him, and the circumstance of the coach proved particularly agreeable, as he had been a good deal fatigued with his day's journey. When they came within sight of the house, the dean, astonished at its magnitude, cried out, "What,

in

in the name of God can be the use of such a vast building?" "Why, Mr. Dean," replied their fellow-traveller before-mentioned, "there are no less than forty apartments for guests in that house, and all of them probably occupied at this time, except what are reserved for us." Swift, in his usual manner, called out to the coachman to stop, and bade him turn about, and drive him back to Dublin, for he could not think of mixing with such a croud. "Well," said he, afterwards suddenly, "there is no remedy, I must submit; but I have lost a fortnight of my life." Mr. Mathew received him at the door with uncommon marks of respect; and then conducting him to his apartment, after some compliments, made him his usual speech; acquainting him with the customs of the house, and retired, leaving him in possession of his castle. Soon after the cook appeared with his bill of fare, to receive his directions about supper, and the butler at the same time with a list of wines and other liquors. "And is all this really so," said Swift? "and may I command here as in my own house?" The gentleman before-mentioned assured him he might, and that nothing could be more agreeable to the owner of that mansion, than that all under his roof should live conformably to their own inclinations, without the least restraint. "Well, then," said Swift, "I invite you and Dr. Sheridan to be my guests while I stay, for I think I shall hardly be tempted to mix with the mob below." Three days were passed in riding over the demesne, and viewing the several improvements, without ever seeing Mr. Mathew, or any of his guests; nor were the company below much concerned

at his absence, as his very name usually inspired those who did not know him with awe, and they were afraid his presence would put an end to that ease and cheerfulness which reigned among them. On the fourth day, Swift entered the room where the company were assembled before dinner, and addressed Mr. Mathew in one of the finest complimentary speeches that ever was made; in which he expatiated on all the beauties of his improvements, with the skill of an artist, and taste of a connoisseur. He shewed that he had a full comprehension of the whole of the plan, and of the judicious adaption of the parts to the whole, and pointed out several articles which had escaped general observation. Such an address, from a man of Swift's character, could not fail of being pleasing to the owner, who was at the same time the planner of these improvements; and so fine an eulogium from one who was supposed to deal more in satire than panegyric, was likely to remove the prejudice entertained against his character, and prepossess the rest of the company in his favour. He concluded his speech, by saying, "And now, ladies and gentlemen, I am come to live among you, and it shall be no fault of mine if we do not pass our time agreeably. After dinner, being in high spirits, he entertained the company with various pleasantries; Doctor Sheridan and he played into one another's hands; they joked, they punned, they laughed, and a general gaiety was diffused through the whole company. In a short time all constraint on his account disappeared. He entered readily into all their little schemes of promoting mirth, and every day, with the assistance of his coadjutor,

produced some new one, which afforded a good deal of sport and merriment. Never were such joyous scenes known there before; for, when to ease and cheerfulness, there is superadded, at times, the higher zest of gay wit, lively fancy, and droll humour, nothing can be wanting to the perfection of the social pleasures of life. When the time came which obliged Dr. Sheridan to return to his school, the company were so delighted with the dean, that they earnestly intreated him to remain there some time longer; and Mr. Mathew himself for once broke

through his rule of never soliciting the stay of any guest, (it being the established custom of the house that all might depart whenever they thought proper, without any ceremony of leave-taking) by joining in the request. Swift found himself so happy in his situation there, that he readily yielded to their solicitations, and instead of the fortnight which he had originally intended, passed four months there much to his own satisfaction, and that of all those who visited the place during that time.

GENERAL PLAN of the ASIATIC SOCIETY.

[From Sir WILLIAM JONES's "Discourse delivered at Calcutta, on the Institution of a Society for enquiring into the History, Civil and Natural, the Antiquities, Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia."]

" **A**lthough it is my humble opinion that, in order to ensure our success and permanence, we must keep a middle course between a languid remissness and an over-zealous activity—and that the tree, which you have auspiciously planted, will produce fairer blossoms and more exquisite fruit, if it be not at first exposed to too great a glare of sunshine—yet I take the liberty of submitting to your consideration a few general ideas on the plan of our society; assuring you that, whether you reject or approve them, your correction will give me both pleasure and instruction, as your flattering attentions have already conferred on me the highest honour.

" It is your design, I conceive, to take an ample space for your learned investigations, bounding them only by the geographical li-

mits of Asia; so that, considering Hindostan as a centre, and turning your eyes in idea to the north, you have on your right many important kingdoms in the eastern peninsula—the ancient and wonderful empire of China, with all her Tartarian dependencies; and that of Japan, with the cluster of precious islands, in which many singular curiosities have too long been concealed. Before you lies that prodigious chain of mountains, which formerly, perhaps, were a barrier against the violence of the sea; and beyond them, the very interesting country of Tibet, and the vast regions of Tartary, from which, as from the Trojan horse of the poets, have issued so many consummate warriors, whose domain has extended at least from the banks of the Hissus to the mouths of the Ganges. On your left

left are the beautiful and celebrated provinces of Iran or Persia; the unmeasured, and perhaps unmeasurable, deserts of Arabia; and the once flourishing kingdom of Yemen, with the pleasant isles that the Arabs have subdued or colonized: and farther westward, the Asiatic dominions of the Turkish sultans, whose moon seems approaching rapidly to its wane. By this great circumference the field of your useful researches will be inclosed: but since Egypt had unquestionably an old connection with this country, if not with China—since the language and literature of the Abyssinians bear a manifest affinity to those of Asia—since the Arabian arms prevailed along the African coast of the Mediterranean, and even erected a powerful dynasty on the continent of Europe—you may not be displeased occasionally to follow the stream of Asiatic learning a little beyond its natural boundary: and if it be necessary or convenient that a short name or epithet be given to our society, in order to distinguish it in the world, that of Asiatic appears both classical and proper, whether we consider the place or the object of the institution; and preferable to Oriental, which is in truth a word merely relative, and though commonly used in Europe, conveys no very distinct idea.

“ If now it be asked, What are the intended objects of our enquiries within these spacious limits? we answer, MAN and NATURE—whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other. Human knowledge has been elegantly analysed according to the three great faculties of the mind, memory, reason, and imagination; which we constantly find employed in arranging and retaining, comparing

and distinguishing, combining and diversifying the ideas, which we receive through our senses, or acquire by reflection: hence the three main branches of learning are, history, science, and art. The first comprehends either an account of natural productions, or the genuine records of empires and states: the second embraces the whole circle of pure and mixed mathematics, together with ethics and law, as far as they depend on the reasoning faculty: and the third includes all the beauties of imagery, and the charms of invention, displayed in modulated language, or represented by colour, figure, or sound.

“ Agreeably to this analysis, you will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabric of nature—will correct the geography of Asia by new observations and discoveries—will trace the annals and even traditions of those nations, who from time to time have peopled or desolated it—and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their institutions civil and religious: you will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetic and geometry—in trigonometry, mensuration, mechanics, optics, astronomy, and general physics; their systems of morality, grammar, rhetoric and dialectic; their skill in chirurgery and medicine; and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chymistry. To this you will add researches into their agriculture, manufactures, trade; and, whilst you enquire with pleasure into their music, architecture, painting, and poetry, will not neglect those inferior arts, by which the comforts and even elegancies of social life are supplied or improved.—You may observe that I have omitted their language, the

the diversity and difficulty of which are a sad obstacle to the progress of useful knowledge. But I have ever considered languages as the mere instruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itself: the attainment of them is, however, indispensably necessary; and if to the Persian, Armenian, Turkish,

and Arabic, could be added not only the Sanscrit, the treasures of which we may now hope to see unlocked—but even the Chinese, Tartarian, Japanese, and the various insular dialects, an immense mine would then be open, in which we might labour with equal delight and advantage.”

The ADVANTAGES of a TASTE for the BEAUTIES of NATURE.

[From Dr. PERCIVAL's “Moral and Literary Dissertations.”]

“**T**HAT sensibility to beauty, which when cultivated and improved, we term taste, is universally diffused through the human species: and it is most uniform with respect to those objects, which, being out of our power, are not liable to variation, from accident, caprice, or fashion. The verdant lawn, the shady grove, the variegated landscape, the boundless ocean, and the starry firmament, are contemplated with pleasure by every attentive beholder. But the emotions of different spectators, though similar in kind, differ widely in degree: and to relish, with full delight, the enchanting scenes of nature, the mind must be uncorrupted by avarice, sensuality, or ambition; quick in her sensibilities; elevated in her sentiments; and devout in her affections. He, who possesses such exalted powers of perception and enjoyment, may almost say, with the poet,

“I care not, Fortune! what you me deny;

You cannot rob me of free Nature's grace;
You cannot shut the windows of the sky,
Through which Aurora shews her bright-
ening face;

You cannot bar my constant feet to trace
The woods and lawns, by living stream,
at eve:

Let health my nerves and finer fibres
brace,

And I their toys to the great children
leave:

Of fancy, reason, virtue, nought can me
bereave.”

“Perhaps such ardent enthusiasm may not be compatible with the necessary toils, and active offices, which Providence has assigned to the generality of men. But there are none, to whom some portion of it may not prove advantageous; and if it were cherished, by each individual, in that degree which is consistent with the indispensable duties of his station, the felicity of human life would be considerably augmented. From this source, the refined and vivid pleasures of the imagination are almost entirely derived: and the elegant arts owe their choicest beauties to a taste for the contemplation of nature. Painting and sculpture are express imitations of visible objects: and where would be the charms of poetry, if divested of the imagery and embellishments, which she borrows from rural scenes? Painters, statuaries,
and

and poets, therefore, are always ambitious to acknowledge themselves the pupils of nature; and as their skill increases, they grow more and more delighted with every view of the animal and vegetable world. But the pleasure resulting from admiration is transient; and to cultivate taste, without regard to its influence on the passions and affections, "is to rear a tree for its blossoms, which is capable of yielding the richest, and most valuable fruit." Physical and moral beauty bear so intimate a relation to each other, that they may be considered as different gradations in the scale of excellence: and the knowledge and relish of the former, should be deemed only a step to the nobler and more permanent enjoyments of the latter.

"Whoever has visited the Leasowes, in Warwickshire, must have felt the force and propriety of an inscription, which meets the eye, at the entrance into those delightful grounds.

"Would you then taste the tranquil scene?

Be sure your bosoms be serene;
Devoid of hate, devoid of strife,
Devoid of all that poisons life:
And much it 'vails you, in their place
To graft the love of human race."

"Now such scenes contribute powerfully to inspire that serenity, which is necessary to enjoy, and to heighten their beauties. By a secret contagion, the soul catches the harmony, which she contemplates; and the frame within, assimilates itself to that which is without. For,

"Who can forbear to smile with Nature? Can
The stormy passions in the bosom roll,
While every gale is peace, and every grove
Is melody?"

"In this state of sweet composure, we become susceptible of virtuous impressions, from almost every surrounding object. The patient ox is viewed with generous complacency; the guileless sheep, with pity; and the playful lamb raises emotions of tenderness and love. We rejoice with the horse, in his liberty and exemption from toil, while he ranges at large through enamelled pastures; and the frolics of the colt would afford unmixed delight, did we not recollect the bondage, which he is soon to undergo. We are charmed with the song of birds, soothed with the buzz of insects, and pleased with the sportive motions of fishes, because these are expressions of enjoyment; and we exult in the felicity of the whole animated creation. Thus an equal and extensive benevolence is called forth into exertion; and having felt a common interest in the gratifications of inferior beings, we shall be no longer indifferent to their sufferings, or become wantonly instrumental in producing them.

"It seems to be the intention of Providence, that the lower order of animals should be subservient to the comfort, convenience, and sustenance of man. But his right of dominion extends no farther; and if this right be exercised with mildness, humanity, and justice, the subjects of his power will be no less benefited than himself. For various species of living creatures are annually multiplied by human art, improved in their perceptive powers by human culture, and plentifully fed by human industry. The relation, therefore, is reciprocal, between such animals and man; and he may supply his own wants by the use of their labour, the produce of their bodies,

bodies, and even the sacrifice of their lives ; whilst he co-operates with all-gracious heaven, in promoting happiness, the great end of existence.

“ But though it be true, that partial evil, with respect to different orders of sensitive beings, may be universal good ; and that it is a wise and benevolent institution of nature, to make destruction itself, within certain limitations, the cause of an increase of life and enjoyment ; yet a generous person will extend his compassionate regards to every individual, that suffers for his sake : and, whilst he sighs

“ Ev’n for the kid, or lamb, that pours
its life

Beneath the bloody knife ;”

he will naturally be solicitous to mitigate pain, both in duration and degree, by the gentlest modes of inflicting it.

“ I am inclined to believe, however, that this sense of humanity would soon be obliterated, and that the heart would grow callous to every soft impression, were it not for the benignant influence of the smiling face of nature. The count de Lauzun, when imprisoned by Louis XIV. in the castle of Pignerol, amused himself, during a long period of time, with catching flies, and delivering them to be devoured by a rapacious spider. Such an entertainment was equally singular and cruel ; and inconsistent, I believe, with his former character, and subsequent turn of mind.

But his cell had no window ; and received only a glimmering light, from an aperture in the roof. In less unfavourable circumstances, may we not presume, that instead of sporting with misery, he would have released the agonising flies ; and bid them enjoy that freedom, of which he himself was bereaved ?

“ But the taste for natural beauty is subservient to higher purposes than those which have been enumerated : and the cultivation of it not only refines and humanises, but dignifies and exalts the affections. It elevates them to the admiration and love of that Being, who is the author of all that is fair, sublime, and good in the creation. Scepticism and irreligion are hardly compatible with the sensibility of heart, which arises from a just and lively relish of the wisdom, harmony, and order subsisting in the world around us : and emotions of piety must spring up spontaneously in the bosom, that is in unison with all animated nature. Actuated by this divine inspiration, man finds a fane in every grove : and glowing with devout fervour, he joins his song to the universal chorus ; or mutes the praise of the Almighty, in more expressive silence. Thus they

“ Whom Nature’s works can charm,
with God himself
Hold converse ; grow familiar, day by
day,
With his conceptions ; act upon his plan ;
And form to his, the relish of their souls.”

SUMMARY VIEW of OMAI's CONDUCT and CHARACTER.

[From Captain Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean.]

“ ON the second of November, at four in the afternoon, I took the advantage of a breeze, which then sprang up at East, and sailed out of the harbour. Most of our friends remained on board till the ships were under sail, when, to gratify their curiosity, I ordered five guns to be fired. They then all took their leave, except Omai, who remained till we were at sea. We had come to sail by a hawser fastened to the shore. In casting the ship, it parted, being cut by the rocks, and the outer end was left behind; as those who cast it off, did not perceive that it was broken; so that it became necessary to send a boat to bring it on board. In this boat Omai went ashore, after taking a very affectionate farewell of all the officers. He sustained himself with a manly resolution, till he came to me. Then his utmost efforts to conceal his tears failed; and Mr. King, who went in the boat, told me, that he wept all the time in going ashore.

“ It was no small satisfaction to reflect, that we had brought him safe back to the very spot from which he was taken. And yet, such is the strange nature of human affairs, that it is probable we left him in a less desirable situation than he was in before his connexion with us. I do not, by this, mean, that, because he has tasted the sweets of civilized life, he must become more miserable from being obliged to abandon all thoughts of continuing them. I confine myself to this single disagreeable circumstance, that the advantages he received from us have placed him in

a more hazardous situation, with respect to his personal safety. Omai, from being much caressed in England, lost sight of his original condition; and never considered in what manner his acquisitions, either of knowledge or of riches, would be estimated by his countrymen, at his return; which were the only things he could have to recommend him to them now more than before, and on which he could build either his future greatness or happiness. He seemed even to have mistaken their genius in this respect; and, in some measure, to have forgotten their customs; otherwise he must have known the extreme difficulty there would be in getting himself admitted as a person of rank, where there is, perhaps, no instance of a man's being raised from an inferior station by the greatest merit. Rank seems to be the very foundation of all distinction here, and of its attendant, power; and so pertinaciously, or rather blindly adhered to, that, unless a person has some degree of it, he will certainly be despised and hated, if he assumes the appearance of exercising any authority. This was really the case, in some measure, with Omai, though his countrymen were pretty cautious of expressing their sentiments while we remained amongst them. Had he made a proper use of the presents he brought with him from England, this, with the knowledge he had acquired by travelling so far, might have enabled him to form the most useful connections. But we have given too many instances, in the course of

our narrative, of his childish inattention to this obvious means of advancing his interest. His schemes seemed to be of a higher, though ridiculous nature; indeed, I might say, meaner; for revenge, rather than a desire of becoming great, appeared to actuate him from the beginning. This, however, may be excused, if we consider that it is common to his countrymen. His father was, doubtless, a man of considerable property in Ulietea, when that island was conquered by those of Bolabola; and, with many others, sought refuge in Huaheine, where he died, and left Omai, with some other children, who, by that means, became totally dependent. In this situation he was taken up by Captain Furneaux, and carried to England. Whether he really expected, from his treatment there, that any assistance would be given him against the enemies of his father and his country; or whether he imagined that his own personal courage, and superiority of knowledge, would be sufficient to dispossess the conquerors of Ulietea, is uncertain; but from the beginning of the voyage, this was his constant theme. He would not listen to our remonstrances on so wild a determination; but flew into a passion, if more moderate and reasonable counsels were proposed for his advantage. Nay, so infatuated and attached to his favourite scheme was he, that he affected to believe these people would certainly quit the conquered island, as soon as they should hear of his arrival in Otaheite. As we advanced, however, on our voyage, he became more sensible of his error; and, by the time we reached the Friendly Islands, had even such apprehensions of his reception at home, that, as I have mentioned

in my journal, he would fain have staid behind at Tongataboo, under Feenou's protection. At these islands he squandered away much of his European treasure very unnecessarily; and he was equally imprudent, as I also took notice of above, at Tiaraboo, where he could have no view of making friends, as he had not any intention of remaining there. At Matavai he continued the same inconsiderate behaviour, till I absolutely put a stop to his profusion; and he formed such improper connections there, that Otoo, who was, at first, much disposed to countenance him, afterward openly expressed his dislike of him, on account of his conduct. It was not, however, too late to recover his favour; and he might have settled, to great advantage, in Otaheite, as he had formerly lived several years there, and was now a good deal noticed by Towha, whose valuable present, of a very large double canoe, we have seen above. The objection to admitting him to some rank would have also been much lessened, if he had fixed at Otaheite; as a native will always find it more difficult to accomplish such a change of state amongst his countrymen, than a stranger, who naturally claims respect. But Omai remained undetermined to the last, and would not, I believe, have adopted my plan of settlement in Huaheine, if I had not so explicitly refused to employ force in restoring him to his father's possessions. Whether the remains of his European wealth, which, after all his improvident waste, was still considerable, will be more prudently administered by him, or whether the steps I took, as already explained, to insure him protection in Huaheine, shall have proved effectual, must be left to the

decision of future navigators of this ocean, with whom it cannot but be a principal object of curiosity to trace the future fortunes of our traveller. At present, I can only conjecture, that his greatest danger will arise from the very impolitic declarations of his antipathy to the inhabitants of Bolabola. For these people, from a principle of jealousy, will, no doubt, endeavour to render him obnoxious to those of Huaheine; as they are at peace with that island at present, and may easily effect their designs, many of them living there. This is a circumstance, which, of all others, he might the most easily have avoided. For they were not only free from any aversion to him, but the person mentioned before, whom we found at Tiaraboo as an ambassador, priest, or God, absolutely offered to reinstate him in the property that was formerly his father's. But he refused this peremptorily; and, to the very last, continued determined to take the first opportunity that offered of satisfying his revenge in battle. To this I guess he is not a little spurred by the coat of mail he brought from England, clothed in which, and in possession of some fire-arms, he fancies that he shall be invincible.

“ Whatever faults belonged to Omai's character, they were more than overbalanced by his great good-nature and docile disposition. During the whole time he was with me, I very seldom had reason to be seriously displeased with his general conduct. His grateful heart always retained the highest sense of the favours he had received in England; nor will he ever forget those who honoured him with their

protection and friendship, during his stay there. He had a tolerable share of understanding, but wanted application and perseverance to exert it; so that his knowledge of things was very general, and, in many instances, imperfect. He was not a man of much observation. There were many useful arts, as well as elegant amusements, amongst the people of the Friendly Islands, which he might have conveyed to his own, where they probably would have been readily adopted, as being so much in their own way. But I never found that he used the least endeavour to make himself master of any one. This kind of indifference is, indeed, the characteristic foible of his nation. Europeans have visited them, at times, for these ten years past; yet we could not discover the slightest trace of any attempt to profit by this intercourse; nor have they hitherto copied after us in any one thing. We are not, therefore, to expect that Omai will be able to introduce many of our arts and customs amongst them, or much improve those to which they have been long habituated. I am confident, however, that he will endeavour to bring to perfection the various fruits and vegetables we planted, which will be no small acquisition. But the greatest benefit these islands are likely to receive from Omai's travels, will be in the animals that have been left upon them, which probably they never would have got, had he not come to England. When these multiply, of which I think there is little doubt, Otaheite, and the Society Islands, will equal, if not exceed, any place in the known world, for provisions.”

P O E T R Y.

O D E for the NEW YEAR, 1784.

By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq. Poet-Laureat.

D Elusive is the poet's dream,
Or does prophetic truth inspire
The zeal which prompts the glowing theme,
And animates th' according lyre?

Trust the Muse: her eye commands
Distant times, and distant lands;
Thro' bursting clouds in opening skies
Sees from discord union rise,
And friendship bind unwilling foes
In firmer ties than duty knows.

Torn rudely from its parent tree,
Yon scion rising in the West
Will soon its genuine glory see,
And court again the fostering breast,
Whose nurture gave its powers to spread,
And feel their force and lift an alien head.
The parent tree, when storms impend,
Shall own affection's warmth again,
Again its fost'ring aid shall lend,
Nor hear the suppliant plead in vain;
Shall stretch protecting branches round,
Extend the shelter, and forget the wound.

Two Britains thro' th' admiring world
Shall wing their way with sails unfurl'd,
Each from the other kindred state
Avert, by turns, the bolts of fate;
And acts of mutual amity endear
The Tyre and Carthage of a wider sphere.

When Rome's divided eagles flew,
And different thrones her empire knew,
The varying language soon disjoin'd
The boasted masters of mankind.
But here no ills like those we fear,
No varying language threatens here;

Congenial worth, congenial flame,
 Their manners and their arts the same,
 To the same tongue shall glowing themes afford,
 And British heroes act, and British bards record,
 Fly swift ye years, ye minutes haste,
 And in the future lose the past;
 O'er many a thought-affecting tale,
 Oblivion, cast thy friendly veil;
 Let not Memory breathe a sigh,
 Or backward turn th' indignant eye;
 Nor the insidious arts of foes
 Enlarge the breach, that longs to close;
 But acts of amity alone inspire
 Firm faith and cordial love, and wake the willing lyre.

Part of VERSES on her MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, May 19, 1784.

[From the Publication so entitled.]

IN vain may Greatness mount her regal throne,
 And shine awhile in splendour not her own;
 Succeeding time the character portrays,
 The censure fixes, or confirms the praise;
 Just, tho' severe, it pulls her trophies down,
 And tears the laurel even from the crown.

Let Caledonia boast Maria's reign,
 And of her wrongs to latest times complain:
 Beauty and grace may living strike the eye,
 But virtue only pleases when we die.

What tho' Eliza's name be still rever'd
 (At home most lov'd, by foreign foes most fear'd),
 Yet cruel policy her glory cross'd,
 And all the monarch gain'd, the woman lost.

Let Gallia's queen, in these ill-judging days,
 Delight in politics' destructive maze;
 'Tis thine to cultivate the arts of peace,
 To bid distracting feuds and discord cease:
 Uprear'd by thee see infant Genius rise,
 And tow'r securely to its native skies;
 Thy regal bounties thus alike inspire
 The painter's pencil and the poet's fire.

When lovely Harrop swell'd her vocal throat,
 The soul of Music spoke in every note.
 'Tis music ever rules the feeling breast,
 And warms the heart to succour the distressed:
 Possess'd and patroniz'd so well by thee,
 'Tis rapture, charity, benignity.

In early youth thy early virtues shone,
 Adorn'd thy birth, and mark'd thee for a throne.
 When Prussia's monarch wav'd his reeking brand,
 And trod in steps of blood thy native land,
 With folded arms the peasant view'd afar
 The dreadful ravage of wide-wasting war;
 Sunk his gay hopes, and mock'd his stubborn toil,
 His streaming eye bedew'd the bladeless soil:
 Thy patriot heart then felt a nation's woe,
 And bade strong sense in nervous language flow,
 Fed by thy hand, protected by thy care,
 For thee they grateful pour the ceaseless prayer:
 Heaven nods assent with a propitious smile,
 And points to Britain's king and Britain's isle.

ODE for His MAJESTY's BIRTH-DAY, June 4, 1784.

Written by WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq.

HAIL to the day whose beams, again
 Returning, claim the choral strain,
 And bid us breathe our annual vows
 To the first pow'r that Britain knows;
 The power which, though itself restrain'd,
 And subject to that just controul
 Which many an arduous conflict gain'd,
 Connects, unites, and animates the whole.

Yon radiant sun, whose central force
 Winds back each Planet's vagrant course,
 And through the systems holds imperial sway,
 Bound by the same inherent laws,
 Even whilst it seems the active cause,
 Promotes the gen'ral good as much confin'd as they.

That wond'rous plan, through ages fought
 Which elder Egypt never taught,
 Nor Greece with all her letter'd lore,
 Nor struggling Rome could e'er explore,
 Though many a form of rule she try'd:
 That wond'rous plan has Britain found,
 Which curbs licentiousness and pride,
 Yet leaves true liberty without a wound.

The fierce Plantagenets beheld
 It's growing strength, and deign'd to yield;
 Th' imperious Tudors frown'd and felt aggriev'd;
 Th' unhappy race whose faults we mourn,
 Delay'd awhile its wish'd return,
 Till Brunswick perfected what Nassau had atchiev'd.

From that bright æra of renown
 Afrea walks the world again ;
 Her fabled form the nations own,
 With all th' attendant blessings in her train.

Hark ! with what gen'ral loud acclaim
 They venerate the British name,
 When forms of rule are in the balance weigh'd ;
 And pour their torrents of applause
 On the fair Isle, whose equal laws
 Controul the sceptre, and protect the spade.

The triple chain, which binds them fast,
 Like Homer's golden one, descends from Jove ;
 Long may the sacred union last
 And the mix'd pow'rs in mutual concert move,
 Each temp'ring each, and list'ning to the call
 Of genuine public good, blest source and end of all !

VERSES to her GRACE the DUTCHESS of DEVONSHIRE.
 By Mr. HAYLEY.

[From the Dedication to his Plays.]

THE great and fair, in every age and clime,
 Receive free homage from the sons of rhyme :
 Bend, ye ambitious bards, at Grandeur's shrine !
 Be Power your Patron ! Wit and Beauty mine !—
 To thee, whom elegance has taught to please
 By serious dignity, or sportive ease ;
 Whom Virtue hails, at Pleasure's festive rites,
 Chaste arbiter of art's refin'd delights :
 To thee, fair Devon ! I breathe this votive strain ;
 Nor dread th' averted ear of proud disdain :
 For O, if music has not blest my lyre,
 A lovelier spirit of th' ætherial choir,
 Joy-breathing Gratitude, that hallow'd guest,
 Who fires with heavenly zeal the human breast,
 Bids my weak voice her swelling note prolong,
 And consecrate to thee her tributary song.

When first my anxious Muse's fav'rite child,
 Her young Serena, artless, simple, wild,
 Presum'd from privacy's safe scenes to fly,
 And met in giddy haste the public eye ;
 Thy generous praise her trembling youth sustain'd,
 The smile she dar'd not ask, from thee she gain'd ;
 And found a guardian in the gracious Devon,
 Kind as the regent of her fancied heaven.—
 The flatter'd Muse, whose offspring thou hast blest,
 In the fond pride that rules a parent's breast,

Presents thus boldly to thy kind embrace
 This little group of her succeeding race.
 Blest! if by pathos true to Nature's law,
 From thy soft bosom they may haply draw
 Those tender sighs, that eloquently shew
 The virtues of the heart from whence they flow!
 Blest! if by foibles humorously hit
 In the light scenes that aim at comic wit,
 They turn thy pensive charms to mirthful grace,
 And wake the sprightly sweetness of thy face!

While thus the proud enthusiast would aspire
 To change thy beauties with her changing lyre;
 Much as she wants the talent and the right,
 To shew thy various charms in varied light,
 O might the Muse, intruding on thy bower,
 From her fair patron catch the magic power
 Frequent to meet the public eye, and still
 That fickle eye with fond amazement fill!
 Let her, if this vain wish is lost in air,
 Breathe from her grateful heart a happier prayer!
 Howe'er her different fables may give birth
 To fancied woe, and visionary mirth;
 May all thy griefs belong to Fiction's reign,
 And wound thee only with a pleasing pain!
 May thy light spirit, on the sea of life,
 Elude the rocks of care, the gulfs of strife,
 And safely, as the never-sinking buoy,
 Float on th' unebbing flood of real joy!

To a young LADY, with some FLOWERS. By Mr. RICHARDSON.

[From that Gentleman's Anecdotes of the Russian Empire.]

TO thee, sweet smiling maid, I bring
 The beauteous progeny of spring:
 In every breathing bloom I find
 Some pleasing emblem of thy mind,
 The blushes of that opening rose
 Thy tender modesty disclose.
 These snow-white lilies of the vale
 Diffusing fragrance to the gale,
 No ostentatious tints assume,
 Vain of their exquisite perfume;
 Careless, and sweet, and mild, we see
 In them a lovely type of thee.
 In yonder gay-enamel'd field,
 Serene that azure blossom smil'd:
 Not changing with the changeful sky,
 Its faithful tints inconstant fly;

For,

For, unimpair'd by winds and rain,
 I saw th' unalter'd hue remain.
 So were thy mild affections prov'd,
 Thy heart by Fortune's frown unmov'd,
 Pleas'd to administer relief,
 In times of woe would solace grief.
 These flowers with genuine beauty glow ;
 The tints from Nature's pencil flow :
 What artist could improve their bloom ?
 Or sweeter make their sweet perfume ?
 Fruitless the vain attempt. Like these
 Thy native truth, thine artless ease,
 Fair, unaffected maid, can never fail to please.

VERSES to a LADY, who had gone from St. Petersburg to London,
 requesting her RETURN. By the same Gentleman.

[From the same Work.]

L Esbia, return—I cannot say
 To flowery fields, and seasons gay :
 The Muse, desponding, cannot sing
 Of the sweet garniture of spring ;
 Of sunny hills, and verdant vales,
 And groves, and streams, and gentle gales :
 These, in more hospitable climes,
 May run mellifluent in my rhymes :
 For winter, hoary and severe,
 Rules an imperious despot here.
 In chains the headlong flood he binds,
 He rides impetuous on the winds ;
 Before him awful forests bend,
 And tempests in his train contend.
 But what tho' wintry winds prevail,
 And Boreas sends his rattling hail,
 Siberian snows, and many a blast,
 Howling along the dreary waste,
 From Samöida to the shores,
 Where black with storms the Euxine roars ;
 Thy blameless wit, thy polish'd sense,
 Can ease and gaiety dispense.
 Come, then, enchanting maid, and bring
 The kindly influence of spring ;
 Come, with thy animating air,
 And Nature's weary waste repair.

An ODE to SPRING. By SWIFT's Miss VANHOMRIGH.

[From Mr. SHERIDAN's Life of Dr. SWIFT.]

HAIL, blushing goddess, beauteous Spring,
 Who, in thy jocund train dost bring
 Loves and graces, smiling hours,
 Balmy breezes, fragrant flowers,
 Come, with tints of roseate hue,
 Nature's faded charms renew.

Yet why should I thy presence hail?
 To me no more the breathing gale
 Comes fraught with sweets, no more the rose
 With such transcendent beauty blows,
 As when Cadenus blest the scene,
 And shar'd with me those joys serene.
 When, unperceived, the lambent fire
 Of friendship kindled new desire;
 Still listening to his tuneful tongue,
 The truths which angels might have sung,
 Divine impress their gentle sway,
 And sweetly stole my soul away.
 My guide, instructor, lover, friend,
 (Dear names!) in one idea blend;
 Oh! still conjoin'd, your incense rise,
 And waft sweet odours to the skies.

An ODE to WISDOM, By the same Lady.

[From the same Work.]

OH Pallas! I invoke thy aid!
 Vouchsafe to hear a wretched maid,
 By tender love deprest;
 'Tis just that thou should'st heal the smart,
 Inflicted by thy subtle art,
 And calm my troubled breast.
 No random shot from Cupid's bow,
 But by thy guidance, soft and slow,
 It sunk within my heart;
 Thus, Love being arm'd with Wisdom's force,
 In vain I try to stop its course,
 In vain repel the dart.
 O goddess, break the fatal league,
 Let Love, with Folly and Intrigue,
 More fit associates find!
 And thou alone, within my breast,
 O! deign to soothe my griefs to rest,
 And heal my tortur'd mind,

SONNET. To a Nightingale.

[From CHARLOTTE SMITH'S Elegiac Sonnets, and other Essays.]

POOR melancholy bird, that all night long
 Tell'it to the moon thy tale of tender woe;
 From what sad cause can such sweet sorrow flow,
 And whence this mournful melody of song?
 Thy poet's musing fancy would translate
 What mean the sounds that swell thy little breast,
 When still at dewy eve thou leav'st thy nest,
 Thus to the listening night to sing thy fate.
 Pale Sorrow's victims wert thou once among,
 'Tho' now releas'd in woodlands wild to rove,
 Or hast thou felt from friends some cruel wrong,
 Or didst thou martyr of disastrous love?
 Ah! songstrefs sad! that such my lot might be,
 To sigh and sing at liberty—like thee!

SONNET. To the South Downs.

[From the same Work.]

AH, hills belov'd! where once, an happy child,
 Your beechen shades, "your turf, your flowers among,"
 I wove your blue-bells into garlands wild,
 And woke your echoes with my artless song.
 Ah, hills belov'd! your turf, your flowers remain;
 But can they peace to this sad breast restore,
 For one poor moment soothe the sense of pain,
 And teach a breaking heart to throb no more?
 And you, Aruna! in the vale below,
 As to the sea your limpid waves you bear,
 Can you one kind Lethean cup bestow,
 To drink a long oblivion to my care?
 Ah, no!—when all, e'en hope's last ray is gone,
 There's no oblivion—but in death alone!

LOUISA'S first INTERVIEW with EUGENIO.

[From Miss SEWARD'S Louisa, a Poetical Novel.]

'TWAS noon, and ripen'd summer's fervid ray
 From cloudless ether shed oppressive day.
 As on this shady bank I sat reclin'd,
 My voice, that floated on the waving wind,
 Taught the soft echos of the neighb'ring plains
 Milton's sweet lays, in Handel's matchless strains.

Prefaging notes my lips unconscious try,
 And murmur,—"Hide me from Day's garish eye."
 Ah! blest, had Death a shade eternal thrown,
 And hid me from the woes I since have known!

Beneath my trembling fingers lightly rung
 The lute's sweet chords, responsive while I sung.
 Faint in the yellow broom the oxen lay,
 And the mute birds sat languid on the spray;
 And nought was heard, around the noon-tide bow'r,
 Save that the mountain bee, from flow'r to flow'r,
 Seem'd to prolong, with her assiduous wing,
 The soft vibration of the tuneful string;
 While the fierce skies flam'd on the shrinking rills,
 And sultry Silence brooded o'er the hills.

As on my lip the ling'ring cadence play'd,
 My brother gaily bounded down the glade,
 And, while my looks the fire of gladness dart,
 With ardor press'd me to his throbbing heart;
 Then to a graceful stranger turn'd, whose feet,
 With steps less swift, my coyer welcome meet.
 O'er his fine form, and o'er his glowing face,
 Youth's ripen'd bloom had shed its richest grace;
 'Tall as the pine, amidst inferior trees,
 With all the bending osier's pliant's ease.
 O'er his fair brow, the fairer for their shade,
 Locks of the warmest brown luxuriant play'd.
 Blushing he bows!—and gentle awe supplies
 Each flattering meaning to his downcast eyes;
 Sweet, serious, tender,—those blue eyes impart
 A thousand dear sensations to the heart;
 Mild as the evening star, whose shining ray
 Soft in th' unruffled water seems to play;
 And when he speaks—not music's thrilling pow'r,
 No, not the vocal mistress of the bow'r,
 When flow she warbles from the blossom'd spray,
 In liquid blandishment, her evening lay,
 Such soft, insinuating sweetness knows,
 As from that voice in melting accent flows!

Yet why, fond Mem'ry! why, in tints so warm,
 Paint'st thou each beauty of that faultless form?
 His specious virtues surely might impart
 Excuse more just for this devoted heart.
 Oh! how each noble passion's seeming trace
 Threw transient glories o'er his youthful face!
 How rose, with sudden impulse, swift, and strong,
 For ev'ry secret fraud, and open wrong,
 Th'oppressor acts, the helpless feel, or fear,
 Disdain's quick throb, and Pity's melting tear.
 So well its part each ductile feature play'd,
 Of worth such firm, though silent promise made,

That to have doubted its well-painted truth
 Had been to want the primal grace of youth,
 Credulity, that scorns, with gen'rous heat,
 Alike to practise, or suspect deceit.

EXTRACT from Sir WILLIAM JONES's TRANSLATION of a
 HYMN to CAMDEO, the Hindú God of Love.

GOD of each lovely sight, each lovely sound,
 Soul-kindling, world-inflaming, star-ycrown'd,
 Eternal Cama! Or doth Smara bright,
 Or proud Ananga, give thee more delight?
 Whate'er thy seat, whate'er thy name,
 Seas, earth, and air, thy reign proclaim:
 Wreathy smiles, and roseate pleasures,
 Are thy richest, sweetest treasures.
 All animals to thee their tribute bring,
 And hail thee universal king.

Thy comfort mild, Affection, ever true,
 Graces thy side, her vest of glowing hue,
 And in her train twelve blooming girls advance,
 Touch golden strings, and knit the mirthful dance.
 Thy dreaded implements they bear,
 And wave them in the scented air;
 Each with pearls her neck adorning,
 Brighter than the tears of morning.
 Thy crimson ensign, which before them flies,
 Decks with new stars the sapphire skies.

God of the flow'ry shafts and flow'ry bow,
 Delight of all above and all below!
 Thy lov'd companion, constant from his birth,
 In heaven clep'd Bessent, and gay Spring on earth,
 Weaves thy green robe and flaunting bow'rs,
 And from thy clouds draws balmy show'rs;
 He with fresh arrows fills thy quiver,
 (Sweet the gift and sweet the giver!)
 And bids the many-plumed warbling throng
 Burst the pent blossoms with their song.

VERSES to Mrs. MONTAGU.

[From Miss WILLIAMS's Dedication of her Poem, entitled "Peru."]

WHILE, bending at thy honour'd shrine, the Muse
 Pours, Montagu, to thee her votive strain,
 Thy heart will not her simple notes refuse,
 Or chill her timid soul with cold disdain.

O might

O might a transient spark of genius fire
The fond effusions of her fearful youth ;
Then should thy virtues live upon her lyre,
And give to harmony the charm of truth.

Vain wish ! they ask not the imperfect lay,
The weak applause her trembling accents breathe :
With whose pure radiance glory blends her ray,
Whom Fame has circled with her fairest wreath.

Thou, who, while seen with graceful step to tread
Grandeur's enchanted round, can'st meekly pause
To rend the veil Obscurity had spread,
Where his lone sigh deserted Genius draws ;

To lead his drooping spirit to thy fane,
Where Attic joy the social circle warms ;
Where Science loves to pour her hallow'd strain,
Where Wit and Wisdom blend their sep'rate charms.

And sure, to cherish intellectual powers,
To bid the vig'rous tides of Genius roll,
Unfold, in fair expansion, Fancy's flowers,
And wake the latent energies of soul ;

Far other homage claims than Flatt'ry brings
The little triumphs of the proud to grace ;
For deeds like these a purer incense springs,
Warm from the swelling heart its source we trace !

Yet not to foster the rich gifts of mind
Alone can all thy lib'ral cares employ ;
Not to the few those gifts adorn, confin'd,
They spread an ampler sphere of genuine joy.

While Pleasure's lucid star illumines thy bower,
Thy pity views the distant storm that bends
Where Want unshelter'd wastes the ling'ring hour ;—
And meets the blessing that to heav'n ascends !

For this, while Fame thro' each successive age
On her exulting lip thy name shall breathe ;
While woman, pointing to thy finish'd page,
Claims from imperious man the critic wreath ;

Truth on her spotless record shall enroll
Each moral beauty to her spirit dear ;
Paint in bright characters each grace of soul—
While Admiration pours a gen'rous tear.

DESCENT of the GENIUS of PERU, and PREDICTION of the
FATE of that EMPIRE.

[From Miss WILLIAMS's "Peru."]

NOW o'er the deep chill Night her mantle flung,
Spread her dark wings, and on the waters hung;
Sooth'd by the whisper'd murmurs of the main,
Peruvia's Genius fought the liquid plain;
Pensive she heard the soft waves languid sigh,
As the lone shore they touch, recede—and die.
But now a sullen sound in horror creeps
O'er the smooth surface of the glassy deeps,
A rising zephyr swell'd her azure veil,
Shrinking aghast, she spy'd a flying sail:
Now tow'rs the lofty mast, the pennant waves,
The ruffled surge th' incumbent vessel laves:
With eager glance she views th' exulting foe
Lead o'er the wat'ry waste th' advent'rous prow:
Firm, and resistless in terrific force,
Swift to her shores they bend their fatal course:
Torrents of gushing tears bedew'd her eyes,
And heav'd her bosom with presageful sighs;
Trembling she knelt, with wild, disorder'd air,
And pour'd with frantic energy her pray'r:
“ Oh all ye pitying spirits of the sky,
Who hear in groves of bliss this ardent sigh,
Mount the blue lightning's wing, o'er ocean sweep,
Tinge with your robes of flame the redd'ning deep,
Plunge to the central caves that moan below,
As o'er their heads the liquid mountains flow,
Bid Death, up springing from the dark abode,
Mount the high billow, print the black'ning flood,
Rush o'er the waves, the rough'ning deep deform,
Howl in the blast, and swell the raging storm—
Relentless powers! for not a quiv'ring breeze
Lifts with its sigh the surface of the seas.—
Swift from your rocky steeps, ye condors, stray,
Wave your black plumes, and cleave th' aërial way,
Proud in terrific force your wings expand,
Press the light earth, and darken all the strand,
Bid every bosom pant with wild affright,
And shun the region veil'd in partial night—
Vain hope!—I see my lov'd, my favour'd clime
Consum'd, and fading in its beauteous prime:
Yes, dear, devoted land, I read thy doom,
My sad prophetic soul can pierce the gloom.
Yet not in vain my groaning realm shall bleed,
Europe's dire sons shall mourn the ruthless deed:

Ah, clime abhorr'd! be gold the glitt'ring bane,
 That strews with black'ning ills thy hostile plain!
 May luxury her baneful odours shed,
 And the soft lures of guileful pleasure spread;
 Pour gilded poisons in the nectar'd bowl,
 Wither each nerve, and taint the sick'ning soul!"——
 Ah, not in vain she dropp'd th' impassion'd tear,
 Breath'd the warm sigh, and call'd the powers to hear!
 When, borne from lost Peruvia's weeping land,
 The guilty treasures beam'd on Europe's strand,
 As press'd her burden'd plains the sordid ore,
 Each gentle virtue fled the tainted shore;
 Sighing each mental charm forsook the place,
 Each sweet affection, and each moral grace;
 Affrighted Love foresaw the deep'ning gloom,
 And wav'd in liquid air his downy plume;
 Chill'd by the sullen scene he wings his flight,
 While heaps of treasur'd ore entomb delight.

CHARACTER of ZAMOR, a BARD.

[From the same Poem.]

IN this sweet scene, where Virtue's radiance shin'd,
 Mild Zamor own'd the richest gifts of mind;
 For o'er his tuneful breast the heav'nly Muse
 Shed from her sacred springs their richest dews.
 She loves to breathe her hallow'd flame where art
 Has never veil'd the soul, or warp'd the heart;
 Where Fancy glows with all her native fire,
 And Passion lives on the exulting lyre!
 Nature, in terror rob'd, or beauty drest,
 Could thrill with dear enchantment Zamor's breast:
 He lov'd the languid sigh the zephyr pours,
 He lov'd the weeping rill that fed the flow'rs;
 But more the hollow sound the wild winds' form,
 When black upon the billow hangs the storm!
 The rolling torrent dashing down the steep,
 Its white foam trembling on the darken'd deep—
 And oft on Andes' height, with eager gaze,
 He view'd the sinking sun's reflected rays
 Glow like unnumber'd stars, that seem'd to rest,
 Sublime, upon his ice-encircled breast.
 Oft his wild warblings charm'd the festal hour,
 Rose in the vale, and languish'd in the bower;
 The heart's responsive tones he well could move,
 Whose song was nature, and whose theme was love.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE.

Of the Year 1784.

IN beginning, according to our established method, with Theology, we shall pay our first tribute of respect to the memory of two deceased divines, whose writings have been republished during the course of the year.

With the name and the reputation of the ingenious and excellent bishop Berkeley none of our readers can be unacquainted. His various works are now collected together, and published in two quarto volumes: and that they were deserving of this distinction, those who may the least have concurred in sentiment with that eminent prelate will scarcely venture to deny. His productions, as is well known, were not merely of a theological nature, but extended to metaphysics, philosophy, and politics: nevertheless, as he was a divine and a bishop, and as some of his principal performances had religion for their object, we have thought it best to mention him in this place. Concerning the character of Dr. Berkeley's writings it would be impertinent here to enlarge, since they have so long been in possession of the public, that the opinions of mankind concerning them are already formed. To the collection is prefixed an account of the bishop's life, which is the same that was drawn up by Dr. Stock for the second edition of the *Biographica Britannica*; but the edi-

tor has not availed himself of the additions to that article that were made by Dr. Kippis. He has, however, subjoined several of the good prelate's letters, the most important of which had formerly been printed. The new matter consists of Letters, and Extracts of Letters, to Thomas Prior, esq. Dean Gervais, and other gentlemen. These are no otherwise interesting than as they serve to display the state of Dr. Berkeley's mind, whilst he was engaged in his grand project of forming a college at Bermuda.

The other republication we deem ourselves obliged to take notice of, is the second edition, in two volumes, octavo, of Ben Mordecai's Letters, with a new Preface. These letters were separately published in quarto, at considerable intervals of time, and are replete with ingenuity and learning. They constitute a defence of Arianism, and are particularly employed in shewing that Jesus Christ was the visible Jehovah who appeared to the patriarchs, and who was the giver of the law. This doctrine the author commends as happily lying between the two extremes of Athanasianism and Socinianism, and as being the opinion of the ancients before the council of Nice. With reference to the disputes now so warmly agitated, he hath made, in his preface, the following sarcastic

castic observation. "When the Athanasian and Socinian writers have effectually exposed one another's mistakes, without getting rid of their own; and when they shall have settled the various readings of an *α* or an *ο*, in Justin's Trypho, and agree about the construction of his Greek; when they have ransacked all antiquity for the opinion of the Nazarenes, Mi-neans, and Ebionites, with as much zeal as if their faith depended upon it, and all to no purpose, their difficulties still remaining; it is not improbable that the divines of the next generation, will consider the subject more coolly; and find the principles I am defending, will supply the only key that is able to open and discover the consistency between the Jewish and Christian Revelations." Whether this prediction will be accomplished, must be left to the determination of time, though, for our part, we have no great faith in its completion. The writer of the work we are speaking of, and whom we have formerly had occasion to mention, was the reverend Henry Taylor, M. A. vicar of Portsmouth, and rector of Crawley, near Winchester. The world hath very recently been deprived of him; and, by his decease, the church of England hath lost one of her greatest ornaments in respect of profound literature, as well as a most worthy, amiable, and entertaining man. He may, perhaps, be considered as having been the last of the Hoadlian school. As Mr. Taylor was the author of several excellent tracts, besides Ben Mordecai's Letters, it is to be hoped that his sons, who emulate their father's learning and merit, will collect together the whole of his detached pieces into one or more volumes. Such a tes-

timony of affection to his memory cannot fail of being honourable to themselves, and acceptable to the judicious friends of religion.

With regard to the evidences of Christianity, no work of peculiar consequence has been the produce of the year. The principal performance seems to be that which has appeared under the title of "Letters on Infidelity, by the Author of a Letter to Dr. Adam Smith." The writer is understood to be a worthy and learned dean of the church of England, who has distinguished himself by various theological productions. The books against which the present publication is levelled, are, "An Apology for the Life and Writings of David Hume, esq." "Hume's Dialogues on Natural Religion;" "An Essay on Suicide," by the same Writer;" and a pamphlet, entitled, "Doubts of the Infidels; or Queries relative to Scriptural Inconsistencies and Contradictions, submitted to the Consideration of the Bench of Bishops, by a weak Christian." The last of these tracts hath never happened to come within our knowledge. In the management of his subjects, our letter-writer combats the infidels with their own weapons, endeavouring to turn against them that ridicule, wit, and humour, which they have attempted to exercise to the prejudice of Revelation. Whether this be precisely the best mode of opposing unbelievers we have some doubt; and we find it difficult to concur in every respect with the sentiments and language advanced by our author. However, those who may not be entirely satisfied with the execution of this work, will readily acknowledge that many things in it are deserving of approbation; and the writer's general merit

merit and learning are too well known to require our testimony in his favour.

Of Travis's "Letters to Edward Gibbon, esq." much might be said both in the way of commendation and of censure. That the author is a man of parts, as well as of literature, will not be denied: but his wisdom in the application of them, may justly be called in question. The principal object to which he hath directed his attention is too inconsiderable for the zeal and pains he has bestowed upon it. His chief design is to maintain the authenticity of the famous text, in the fifth chapter of the first Epistle of St. John, relative to the three witnesses; and in supporting his hypothesis he displays as much ingenuity and ability as the subject will admit. But his labour is in vain; the weight of evidence is against him; and we cannot suppose that, in the present age, a single critic, who is possessed of a competent degree of judgment and candour, will become a convert to his opinion. Building, as he does, upon grounds so extremely fallacious, and endeavouring to establish a point which almost seemed to have been wholly given up by the learned, his treatment of Erasmus and of Dr. Benson deserves the highest reprehension. At the same time, what is it that Mr. Travis is contending for, as *pro aris & focis*? Whether the text be authentic or not, is of little importance either to the Trinitarian or the Unitarian. The Trinitarian can never expect to erect his favourite doctrine upon the precarious foundation of a single disputed passage, and the Unitarian can as easily explain it away as he can other expressions of a like import. Even Mr. Travers himself seems willing to admit that the

words may be interpreted as referring to unity of testimony. We hope that he is a young man, and that years and reflection will instruct him to proportion his ardour to the magnitude of the objects upon which he shall hereafter have occasion to treat.

Dr. Henry Owen has long been known in the world, by a number of valuable publications, all of which are intended to maintain the honour of Revelation, and to promote the cause of sacred literature. What hath particularly engaged his attention is the state of the Septuagint; and the other ancient versions of the Old Testament. If it had been determined to collate the copies of the Septuagint, in the manner that hath been done by Dr. Kennicott with regard to the Hebrew manuscripts, Dr. Owen would probably have been looked up to, as a proper person to conduct the undertaking. Indeed, it is much to be lamented that such a scheme hath not been carried into execution. It is a work greatly wanted, and which might be as serviceable to the interests of religion as Dr. Kennicott's collation. Several of Dr. Owen's writings, and particularly his "Enquiry into the State of the Septuagint Version," which appeared some years ago, afford an ample demonstration how well he would have been qualified for the undertaking. The "Critical Disquisitions," which he has lately published are connected with what has been the grand object of his studies. These Disquisitions are only two in number; the first, containing some Remarks on Masius's edition of the Book of Joshua, and the second, on Origen's celebrated Hexapla. The subjects treated of will only be interesting to those learned men who are devoted

voted to Scripture criticism; and gentlemen of such a turn of mind will deem themselves obliged to the author for his sagacious and sensible observations.

The third volume of bishop Atterbury's Correspondence, Visitation Charges, Speeches, and Miscellanies, though published in the beginning of 1784, was generally noticed by us last year, in conjunction with the two preceding volumes. We now mention it on account of the concluding Letters, in which a controversy is carried on between his lordship, Dr. Wall, and bishop Potter, relative to the times wherein the four Gospels were written. The part that Dr. Atterbury assumes, is to establish the very early date of the Gospels, in discharging which he principally has recourse to internal evidence, and arguments *a priori*. It is his opinion that the Gospels were all written in the same order in which they are now placed: that St. Mark's Gospel was written partly as an epitome, but partly and chiefly as a supplement to St. Matthew's: that St. Luke had seen both these Gospels when he wrote his own: that St. John had seen the three preceding gospels, and intended to supply what was still wanting in all of them: that the Gospel of St. Luke was written many years before the Acts, and between the 46th and 57th years of our Lord, and nearer to the first than to the last of these periods: the consequence of which is, that St. Mark's Gospel must have been written yet nearer to our Lord's ascent. Another point maintained by the bishop is, that the Gospel of St. John was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. We do not concur with the learned prelate in all his conclusions; but his correspond-

ence with Dr. Wall and bishop Potter is a decisive evidence that he was a firm believer in the Christian Revelation, and zealous for its honour. The anecdote, therefore, which lord Chesterfield related to Dr. Maty, in order to shew that Atterbury was at least a sceptic, if not a determined infidel, must be rejected as totally groundless. The letters we are speaking of were written in the years 1721 and 1722; and it is manifest from them, that the bishop was not so far involved in political connections and intrigues, as to be incapable of directing his attention to enquiries of a critical and religious nature.

"An exposition of Christian Doctrine," as taught in the Protestant church of the united Brethren, or *Unitas Fratrum*, written originally in German, by August Gottlieb Spangenberg, has been translated into English, with a Preface, by Benjamin la Trobe. The design of this performance is to explain the real principles of the people commonly called Moravians, and of the preface to vindicate them from the obloquy with which they have been treated by certain writers. It is well known that very severe charges have been alledged against them by Rimius, and the Bishops Lavington and Warburton; and so well founded did these charges appear, as to produce a general conviction of their truth. We rejoice to find that the accusations brought against them are either wholly false, or have been greatly exaggerated; that at most they can be extended only to a few imprudent individuals; and that the innocence of the united brethren, as a body, is unquestionable. In point of doctrine, the Moravians are not a new sect. They profess themselves to be followers of Lu-
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ther, and to adhere to the principles of the Augsburgh confession. In their practices, they have some peculiarities which distinguish them from the rest of the world, and which they believe to be conformable to the model of the primitive times. On the whole, it seems to be sufficiently proved, that they are a worthy set of people, though not without a considerable mixture of absurdity and enthusiasm.

We come now to a book of great importance in scriptural criticism, and that is Blaney's *Jeremiah*. None of our readers can be ignorant of Bishop Lowth's admirable work on the prophet *Isaiah*. We trusted that so excellent a model would excite imitation; and we are pleased to see it so well followed by Mr. Blaney, who has heretofore given satisfactory proofs to the world of his proficiency in oriental and sacred literature. The author's preliminary discourse is singularly modest and sensible. After mentioning the aids he hath received in the prosecution of his design, he earnestly pleads for a revision of the Bible. He would have it executed by a select assembly of the most learned and judicious divines, commissioned by public authority to examine into the state of the Hebrew text, to restore it as nearly as possible to its primitive purity, and to prepare from it a new translation of the scriptures for the public service. Among other arguments in its favour, he urges the practice of the king of Sweden, and of a nobleman in our own country, who hath set such a work on foot at his sole single expence, for the benefit of the Roman Catholics. The poetical parts of *Jeremiah* Mr. Blaney hath divided agreeably to the principles so admirably laid down by Bishop Lowth,

in his *Dissertation on the Hebrew Poetry*, prefixed to his *Isaiah*. The notes of the present translator are copious and valuable, and he has availed himself of all the assistance that can be derived from Dr. Kennicott's collation, and other sources of information, domestic and foreign. As to the explication of particular texts, there will always be some difference in the opinions of critics. Mr. Blaney has given a new arrangement of the chapters of *Jeremiah*, from the twentieth chapter to the forty-sixth; and his reasons for this part of his conduct appear to be perfectly just. The work before us hath been noticed abroad, where we are sorry to observe that a greater attention is paid to oriental and biblical literature than in our own country. The zeal in this respect which was revived by Dr. Thomas Hunt, and so nobly sustained by Dr. Lowth, Dr. Kennicott, Dr. Richard Grey, Dr. Durell, and other respectable men, seems rather upon the decline. However, there are still some names, of no small degree of eminence, who, we doubt not, will continue to assert the glory of England with regard to Eastern learning, and the application of it to the illustration of the Scriptures. We rejoice in informing the literary world, that the year 1785 will furnish us with the excellent Bishop of Waterford's improved Version of the *Minor Prophets*.

Mr. Hopkins's corrected translation of *Exodus*, with notes, critical and explanatory, is another attempt to illustrate the Books of the Old Testament. The author is that very ancient and worthy clergyman in Suffex, who wrote "*An Appeal to the Common Sense of all Christian People, more particularly the Members of the Church of Eng-*"
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land, with regard to an important Point of Faith and Practice, imposed upon their Consciences by Church Authority;" and the design of which is to assert the supremacy of the Father, in opposition to the Trinitarian hypothesis. It is probable that in the present undertaking Mr. Hopkins had no small view to the maintenance of the divine unity. In the execution of the work, he has derived great advantage from Dr. Kennicott's collation, and the Samaritan Pentateuch. The notes, which are judicious, are not numerous; nor are many of them peculiarly curious and important. They serve, however, to make an useful addition to the stock of scriptural criticism.

A society hath lately been formed, consisting of clergymen of the church of England, dissenting ministers, and a number of lay gentlemen, for the purpose of promoting the knowledge of the Scriptures; and such members as reside in town hold their meetings at the Rev. Mr. Lindsey's, in Essex-street. Their communications are intended to be occasionally published, under the title of "Commentaries and Essays." Two numbers appeared in 1784. The first number contains "An Attempt to illustrate John xiv. 1, 2, 3; a new translation of Isaiah lii. 1—liii. 1—12, with notes; and the Illustration of Christ's last Discourse with his disciples continued, from John xiv. 4, to the end of the chapter." In the first of these articles, an entirely new sense is given to the passage, and it is maintained, with great ingenuity and candour, that the many mansions which our Saviour speaks of in his father's house, do not relate to the heavenly world, but to the different designations and

employments of the Apostles. The new translation of the liii^d chapter of Isaiah is a very rational and exact piece of criticism, founded on a perfect acquaintance with the original language. The author differs, in some respects, from Dr. Lowth; but when he does so, he appears to have assigned good reasons for maintaining a diversity of opinion. The continued illustration of the xivth chapter of St. John abounds with judicious observations. The second number of the "Commentaries and Essays" includes "Critical Notes on the first nineteen verses of the first chapter of Genesis; a Paraphrase on Romans v. 8—19; and a Dissertation concerning the Apostolic Benediction, 2 Corinthians, xiii. 14." The ingenious writer of the notes on the first chapter of Genesis endeavours to explain the Mosaic account of the creation, in consistence with the latest and best discoveries in natural philosophy. We do not at present recollect what impression was made upon us by the Paraphrase on Romans v. 8—19, when we read it at the time of publication. The purpose of the Essay on the Apostolic Benediction, is to shew, that the "Communion of the Holy Ghost" refers only to the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit; and consequently that this part of the benediction cannot now be used with propriety in christian assemblies.

"The Mystery hid from Ages and Generations made manifest by the Gospel Revelation: or the Salvation of all Men the grand Thing alluded to in the Scheme of God, as opened in the New Testament Writings, and entrusted with Jesus Christ to bring into Effect," written by one who wishes well to the whole human race, is a curious and interesting publication. The au-

thor, we have reason to believe, is Dr. Chauncy, a worthy and eminent divine, at Boston, in New-England. His design is to maintain the final salvation of every individual among the children of Adam.—The work is divided into three parts. The first exhibits a general explanation of the benevolent plan of God. The second is intended to prove it to be the truth of Scripture, that mankind universally, in the final issue of this scheme, shall reign in a happy life for ever. The third is employed in answering objections. The author maintains his positions with ability, as well as with zeal; and every liberal mind will wish that he could be fully successful in establishing his doctrine. The general arguments which he urges in defence of it have great weight; but we do not think him to be equally happy in his reasonings from the New Testament. He hath splitten upon the rock on which many have been wrecked before him, and that is, the laying of too much stress on certain passages in the Epistle to the Romans, which are of very doubtful interpretation. The opinion of an eternal existence in misery we consider as equally repugnant to reason and revelation; but it does not hence follow that all men shall be finally happy. The most natural and obvious sense of many places of scripture seems to be, that the incorrigibly wicked shall at length be struck out of the book of life.

The pamphlet entitled, “An Elucidation of the Unity of God, deduced from Scripture and Reason,” is a sensible and candid tract on the subject. Without entering into the question concerning the pre-existence of Christ, our author endeavours to shew the impossibility

of his being equal with God. At the same time he professes the highest reverence for our Saviour, and acknowledges the great and unspeakable dignity of his character. From a subsequent impression it appears, that the writer is a lay-gentleman, of the name of Gifford; and that his view is, not to foment divisions among his christian brethren, but to forward the right understanding of the Holy Scripture.

In connection with the present subject, we may take notice of the publication entitled, “Two Schemes of a Trinity considered, and the Divine Unity asserted.” The work, in fact, consists of four discourses, originally delivered from the pulpit, upon Philippians ii. 5—7; but as they relate to an object which has recently been much brought into controversy, we have thought it best to mention them in this place. The first discourse represents the scheme of the Trinity which is commonly received. The second describes the Arian scheme. In the third we have a view of the Nazarene doctrine; and the fourth, after explaining the text according to the Nazarene doctrine, concludes with Remarks and Observations. There is no doubt but that these sermons were written by the late excellent and learned Dr. Lardner. They were originally intended by him for the press; but from reasons which we cannot satisfactorily account for, they have hitherto been withheld from the public. The present editor, if we are not misinformed, is a Mr. Wiche, a Dissenting minister, of the Baptist persuasion, at Maidstone, in Kent. As to the discourses themselves, they bear indubitable marks of Dr. Lardner’s simplicity of character, and candour of mind,

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The two last sermons are evidently in favour of the Socinian hypothesis; but they are expressed with so much moderation, and display such an unaffected love of truth, that the most determined enemy to that hypothesis cannot be offended with the author.

For the same reason that we have here introduced Dr. Lardner's four sermons, we shall mention in this place "Christie's Discourses on the Unity." We had occasion to take notice last year, that Mr. Christie is a merchant at Montrose in Scotland, where he has formed an Unitarian Society. Being himself a man of ability, he is capable of conducting the worship of his adherents; and the present volume is the result of his endeavours to confirm them in the great principle on which their separation from the established church of Scotland has been instituted. As, in the multitude of our engagements, we have not had leisure to peruse Mr. Christie's Discourses, it is not in our power to ascertain their precise merit.

The same excuse would not have been deemed sufficient, if we had not paid a more particular attention to the two great and opposite captains in the Trinitarian warfare, Dr. Horsley and Dr. Priestley. The latter gentleman's "Letters to the Archdeacon of St. Albans" were noticed last year; and the archdeacon thought them of consequence enough to deserve an elaborate reply. This Reply is carried on in the Form of Letters, which are seventeen in number, besides three Postscripts, and an Appendix, containing Short Strictures on Dr. Priestley, by an unknown Hand. In Dr. Horsley's publication a vast variety of particulars are considered, though the author

declines entering into a regular controversy with his antagonist: the points discussed are so numerous, that to mention all of them would carry us beyond the limits to which, by our plan, we are necessarily confined. Among other matters, the archdeacon contends, that the difference he had asserted between the Ebionites and Nazarenes was no singular or new opinion; that the same thing was maintained by Mosheim, and other critics of great name; that the Nazarenes were no sect of the apostolic age; that Ebion was not contemporary with St. John; and that the antiquity of a sect is not a proof of its orthodoxy. He farther insists, that a positive proof is still extant, that the divinity of Christ was the belief of the very first Christians. This proof arises from the Epistles of St. Barnabas, which, though not the work of an apostle, was a production of the apostolic age. The author Dr. Horsley affirms to have been a Christian of the Hebrews, a believer in our Lord's divinity, and that he wrote to Christians of the Hebrews concurring in the same belief. In the course of the work the archdeacon maintains, likewise, that the divinity of our Lord was preached from the very beginning by the apostles; that St. Stephen was a martyr to this doctrine; that his dying ejaculations justify the worship of Christ; that Christ is deified in the story of St. Paul's conversion; that the divinity of Jesus was acknowledged by the apostles from the time when they acknowledged him for the Messiah; and that notions of a Trinity, and of the Deity of the Messiah, were current among the Jews in the days of our Saviour. A whole letter is employed in endeavouring to shew, that

that the Unitarian doctrine is not well calculated for the conversion of Jews, Mahometans, or Infidels, of any description. This we cannot but regard as one of the boldest parts of Dr. Horsley's undertaking. It hath given us concern to observe a rising spirit of acrimony in the publication before us. Hitherto the two doctors had treated each other with respect and politeness: but the archdeacon has now suffered himself to lose the moderation which was so commendable in his Charge. He frequently treats Dr. Priestley with contempt, and even accuses him of misrepresentations and deceits in the management of quotations and authorities, which those who are well acquainted with the doctor know him to be incapable of practising. Besides this, a general haughtiness of manner prevails in the present performance. Dr. Horsley assumes much upon his abilities and learning, and informs his readers that he is at home in the Greek. All this was perfectly needless; for the literary world would have done justice to the doctor's erudition, without being told of it by himself. Surely he was not afraid that mankind would not see and acknowledge it, unless reminded of it by his own pen. We could have wished, too, that the archdeacon had not gone so far out of his way, in some things advanced by him in his last letter, which have the appearance of carrying ecclesiastical claims to a height that was thought to be exploded; and which can scarcely be vindicated from looking a little too favourably towards a certain degree of restraint in religious matters. Upon the whole, the credit of abilities, of general learning, and of possessing strong powers of composition, will

never be denied to Dr. Horsley; and many of the arguments and authorities which he has alledged in the support of his positions, will be found deserving of serious consideration.

So important were several of the reasonings and facts produced by the archdeacon of St. Albans, and so decisive was the manner in which he expressed himself, that great numbers were of opinion that he had obtained a complete victory over his antagonist; and others were apprehensive that Dr. Priestley would find it extremely difficult to invalidate the proofs, and weaken the allegations, which had been urged, with full confidence, against the Unitarian system. But the doctor is not a man easily to be subdued. His intellectual powers are so eminent, and he is so able a master of controversy, that he must be a formidable enemy indeed, who could inspire him with terror.—He soon presented himself to the public, in "Letters to Dr. Horsley, Part the Second, containing farther Evidence that the primitive Christian Church was Unitarian." Some of the principal points insisted upon in these Letters are, the Doctrine of the first Ages concerning the Person of Christ; the Nazarenes and Ebionites; the supposed orthodox Church at Jerusalem; Heresy in the earliest Times; the Light in which the Unitarians were considered in later Ages, and the state of the common People at all Times; the Time when Christ began to be considered as God, and the Opinion of the ancient and modern Jews with Respect to the Messiah; the Personification of the Logos; certain Considerations relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity; Prayers to Christ; and the State of Unitarian Principles

ples with Respect to Mahometanism and Infidelity. In the discussion of these questions, every impartial man must admire the doctor's abilities, and be sensible of his literature. It is surprising how well he comes off in the places where he was deemed to have been the most vulnerable. Without pretending to decide on the general question, truth and candour oblige us to confess, that we were struck with the superior manner in which he hath acquitted himself, in the cases that seemed to be the most doubtful and difficult. There are few instances indeed, wherein his answers are such as an enemy will deny to be plausible, and which a friend will not regard as entirely satisfactory. In what he hath said concerning the Clementine recognitions, and on other occasional points, his most ardent admirers may, perhaps, disagree with him; but these things they will estimate as trifling, compared with the general merit of the performance. Here we apprehend that the contest between Dr. Horsley and Dr. Priestley is brought to a conclusion, as the former gentleman is not expected to engage in it any farther.

Two or three tracts which have a connection with this controversy will be more briefly mentioned. Dr. Priestley having had good reason to believe that the articles in the Monthly Review relative to his History of the Corruptions of Christianity, and other subsequent pieces, were written by the rev. Mr. Samuel Badcock, at present a Dissenting clergyman, at South-Moulton, in Devonshire, has thought proper to hold him out particularly to the public. This he has done in his "Remarks on the Monthly Review of the Letters to Dr. Horsley." The pamph-

let is not wholly employed in personal altercation, but enters into some points relative to the matters in dispute, in the discussion of which the author displays his usual acuteness.

Dr. Priestley's attack on Mr. Badcock was speedily followed by an Answer, which, though not published in the name of that gentleman, was concluded to be of his composition. He deemed his provocation to be great; and on that account, we suppose, imagined himself justified in the exercise of uncommon severity. The exultation, triumph, and contempt, with which the letter-writer treats Dr. Priestley, is what no man has a right to assume against such a distinguished character. However the doctor may be thought to be mistaken in some points, his various and surprising labours, in the cause of science and literature, will transmit his name with eminent lustre to posterity, when the criticisms of an ingenious and spirited, but petulant Reviewer, will either be forgotten or totally disregarded.

A Mr. Rowles has published "Remarks on Dr. Priestley's Letters to Dr. Horsley," the chief object of which is, the doctor's opinion concerning the materiality of the living principle in man. Mr. Rowles maintains the immateriality of the soul, and endeavours to expose the absurdity of the contrary doctrine, by calling wit and humour to his aid, as well as reason and Scripture; but he is not very expert in the management of any of these different weapons. He is an advocate, likewise, for certain points of orthodoxy, which some of Dr. Priestley's warmest admirers will esteem of much more doubtful disputation. Whether Mr. Rowles be right or wrong in his positions, he

he will scarcely be esteemed of consequence enough to merit particular notice.

Mr. Wakefield's "Enquiry into the Opinions of the Christian Writers of the three first Centuries concerning the Person of Christ," is an original work upon the subject; and has no reference to the disputes carried on between Dr. Priestley and his antagonists. Dr. Priestley, at the same time, cannot be animated with greater zeal than the present author is, to demolish the system of the pre-existence and divinity of our Saviour. In the introduction to his performance, Mr. Wakefield endeavours to shew, first, that the doctrine of a Trinity in Unity is not mentioned, or implied in the Old Testament; and, secondly, that the Holy Spirit was not supposed to be distinct from God himself, either by the ancient Jews or by the apostles; nor is he spoken of as a distinct person either in the Old or New Testament. The Enquiry itself is divided into three parts. The first is designed to prove, that Jesus Christ is not spoken or conceived of as the supreme God of Christians by the evangelists, whose opinions are particularly examined according to the order in which they stand in the canon. The second part is employed in examining the epistolary writers of the New Testament; and the third considers the opinions of the apostolical fathers, Barnabas, Hermas, Clement, Ignatius and Polycarp, relating to the person of Christ. Under these several heads Mr. Wakefield displays great extent of learning, and no small portion of critical discernment. He is a consummate master of the Greek language, and deeply conversant in Grecian literature; nor is he insensible of his

excellence in these respects. In the truth and goodness of the cause in which he is engaged he has the most perfect confidence. We have formerly had occasion to blame Mr. Wakefield for giving way to a dogmatical and petulant spirit; and we are sorry to observe that he is still too much actuated by the same spirit. Why should he continue to injure his reputation, and lessen the esteem of mankind, by indulging the ebullitions of arrogance and conceit, when, if he would unite modesty with dignity, he is so well capable of sustaining an illustrious station in the republic of letters? Two volumes more will probably be necessary to complete the author's design.

"A Friendly Dialogue, between a common Unitarian Christian and an Athanasian," is a republication, with very considerable alterations, of a tract formerly printed by Mr. Hopkins. The alterations chiefly consist in the exclusion of such passages as were favourable to the Arian system, and are intended to render the piece more strictly Unitarian, in the Socinian sense of the word. They have not been made by the original author, but by the present editor, whom we believe to be Dr. Disney. The Christian temper with which this pamphlet is written will be pleasing to every candid and liberal mind.

Mr. Towgood's "Grounds of Faith in Jesus Christ briefly stated, and shewn to be a solid Foundation for Peace and Joy unspeakable," is the final production of a gentleman of great note among the Protestant Dissenters, and who has been the prime advocate during part of the present century, for their separation from the established church. Being now considerably above eighty

years

years of age, and having quitted his pastoral office, which he had long sustained, in the city of Exeter, with the highest reputation, he here takes leave of his people, with the warmest sentiments and expressions of gratitude and affection, and offers them his paternal advice. The piety, zeal, and candour with which his performance is animated, will be edifying to every reader, and cannot fail of being particularly felt by those to whom it is more immediately addressed. We do not concur with the worthy writer in every point of doctrine; but we should esteem ourselves ill employed, were we to spend our time in criticisms on a tract which is in general so excellent, and which displays so pious and benevolent a spirit.

To Mr. Pike's "Forms for Public Devotions," we have not been able to pay a very peculiar attention. They were intended for Lancaster Chapel, and were used there for a little time; but the plan, we are informed, did not succeed. It is evident, from the author's preface, and from the body of the work, that he differs considerably in opinion from Mr. Lindsey; his sentiments approaching more nearly, though not entirely, to the common standard of orthodoxy. For the sake of variety, the devotional services are four in number. The prayers appear to be drawn up with great seriousness, and manifest a truly Christian temper. From the inaccuracy and confusion with regard to punctuation, which may be observed in the dedication and the preface, we imagine that Mr. Pike is a young man, or at least a young writer, who is not yet sufficiently versed in the mechanical parts of composition.

The long and frequently disputed question concerning Infant Baptism

has been lately, in some degree, revived. Mr. Matthew Henry, the Expofitor, an eminent Nonconformist Minister in the beginning of the present century, and whose works are held in high esteem, not only by numbers of the Dissenters, but among many pious persons of other denominations, left behind him a large "Treatise on Baptism," drawn up from ancient writers with great care and labour, fairly transcribed with his own hand, and ready for the press. The manuscript, after having lain seventy years in obscurity, has at length been put into the hands of Mr. Thomas Robins, some time since Divinity tutor in the Dissenting academy at Daventry, who has been prevailed upon to undertake the abridgment of the former part of the treatise, and the revision of the whole, in order to its publication in a size and form most likely to be acceptable and useful. This task has been executed with no small degree of labour. Mr. Robins has contracted the controversial division of the work into less than a fourth part of its original extent; and he has endeavoured to abridge the practical reflections without destroying the symmetry, spirit, and popularity of the whole. The seven chapters into which this performance is divided, have the following titles. "The Nature of Baptism;" "The Subjects of Baptism;" "It's Necessity and Efficacy;" "Of the Circumstances of its Administration;" "Of the practical Improvement of our own Baptism;" "Directions to Parents concerning that of their Children;" "Directions what to do when we are present where the Ordinance of Baptism is administered." Any production of so popular a writer as Mr. Henry will find a number of readers, especially

cially among those who concur with the author in the general strain of his theological sentiments.

A publication of such consequence, and originally proceeding from so eminent a hand, hath awakened the zeal of the Anti-Pædobaptists. Mr. Jenkins hath attacked it with vigour, in a pamphlet, entitled, "The Inconsistency of Infant sprinkling with Christian Baptism, with religious Usefulness, and with Salvation by Christ alone." From this title, it is apparent how ardent Mr. Jenkins is for the cause he hath espoused. The points he maintains, in six letters to the editor of Mr. Henry's Treatise, are, that what is called Infant Baptism is totally incompatible with the nature, design, and end of Baptism, considered as a moral institution; that it is no less inconsistent with the explicit designation of the ordinance, as particularly delineated in Scripture; that there is no precept to enforce, and no example to illustrate the practice; that it is both useless, and of dangerous tendency; and that immersion is the only scriptural mode of baptism. The injurious reflections cast upon immersion by Mr. Henry are strongly animadverted upon by the present writer; and, indeed, we are surprized that the propriety of suppressing them did not occur to Mr. Robins.

A Mr. Richards is so full of zeal against the practice of Infant Baptism, or Infant Sprinkling, as he and writers of the same stamp choose to call it, that he makes it the prime object of his animadversion and satire, in his "History of Antichrist, or Free Thoughts on the Corruptions of Christianity." This author has, likewise, been engaged in a controversy upon the subject with

a Mr. Carter. We have had no leisure to attend to their disputes.

Mr. Booth, in his "Pædobaptism examined, on the Principles, Concessions, and Reasonings of the most learned Pædobaptists," hath shewn that he is a powerful advocate for the practice of adult Baptism. He has entered deeply into the subject; and, from a very extensive reading, has collected together a large number of passages, wherein the friends of Infant Baptism have, in one form or other, given up the arguments on which it is founded. The advantage which Mr. Booth believes himself to have gained, is pushed by him with great vigour; but we should have been much better pleased with him if he had conducted his attack with less severity, and if he had been less under the influence of narrow and bigotted principles.

In this and the preceding year, there has been a slight revival of the controversy between the Church of England and the Protestant Dissenters. Mr. Newton, a clergyman in the metropolis, of a Methodistical cast, wrote, in 1783, a Tract, entitled, "Apologia," which was intended to vindicate his quitting the Nonconformists, with whom he had originally been in communion, and his receiving holy orders according to the established forms. This pamphlet, being out of the ordinary course of our reading, entirely escaped our notice at the time of its publication; but we have since heard that it excited no small degree of attention among the Calvinistical Dissenters, and that it was deemed a formidable attack upon them. Accordingly, it has been thought worthy of a particular answer; and this hath been given to it by a Dissenting minister,

we believe of some eminence, in "An Apology, and a Shield for Protestant Dissenters, in these Times of Intolability and Misrepresentation." There is something of a quaintness in this title, which does not entirely meet with our approbation; but the work itself is the production of a sensible man, who is well acquainted with the subject upon which he writes, and who, we doubt not, will be considered as having performed a signal piece of service to that part of the Nonconformists, for whom it was more immediately designed. Neither Mr. Newton nor his answerer have wholly abstained from expressions of severity, which might better have been spared.

The "Directions for the Student in Theology" come from a writer who is well qualified for giving theological advice. The objects of his recommendation are, the Greek Testament and the Septuagint; Homer, Hesiod, and some other principal classics; Prideaux's Connection, Wilkins's Natural Religion, Clarke's Discourses on the same subject, Lardner's Credibility, and Bishop Newcome's Life of Christ; the study of the Hebrew Language, without points; a critical study of the four Gospels, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Epistles; the Works of Josephus; the Fathers of the first, second, and third centuries; the Chaldee, Syriac, and other oriental languages. A person may undoubtedly be a good and useful minister of the Gospel without such an extent of critical knowledge: but some degree of it he ought to acquire; and the more he is possessed of it, the more will he deserve the character of a scribe well instructed in the mysteries of the kingdom of Heaven.

The writer of "A Letter to the Roman Catholics of the City of Worcester, from the late Chaplain of that Society," is a Mr. Wharton, who here states the motives which induced him to relinquish their communion, and to become a member of the Protestant Church. This pamphlet was originally printed at Philadelphia; but some copies of it which were sent over to the author's friends in England, having been suppressed from a principle of bigotry, he has thought proper to republish it in London. The reasons he has assigned for quitting the church of Rome are such as the adherents of that church will never be able to answer. We are pleased with the testimony of gratitude and respect, which Mr. Wharton has paid to the moral character of the Jesuits, among whom he was educated. Hostile as we have ever been to the general principles of that body of men, and greatly as we have detested the conduct of several individuals among them, especially in former times, we are firmly persuaded that their late dissolution was preceded by many accusations and charges, which were either wholly groundless or unjustly exaggerated. The loss of them, in point of classical instruction, has, we believe, been sensibly felt in many Popish countries.

We forgot to mention, in its proper place, Mr. E. W. Whitaker's "Dissertation on the Prophecies relating to the final Restoration of the Jews." The position maintained by the author is, that the Jews will be finally restored to their own country, where they will see a long age of prosperity, under the protection of God and his Christ. If Mr. Whitaker had been more exact and critical in his discrimination of the various predictions which he has collected

collected together, he might have afforded greater satisfaction to judicious readers.

The Sermons in general of 1784, do not make so distinguished a figure as those of the preceding year; nor do they admit of being so commodiously divided into such as were written by the divines of the established church, and such as came from the hands of protestant Dissenters. We shall, therefore, take them as they occur, which, for the most part, will be in the order of publication. Dr. Henry Hunter has printed another volume of his "Sacred Biography," containing eighteen discourses on the history of Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. On the character of these discourses, there is the less occasion to speak, as in our last Register we were called upon to deliver our sentiments concerning the ingenious author. We then gave testimony to the perspicuity, force, and spirit, with which he writes, and to the usefulness and popularity of his design. The same tribute of approbation is due to the present volume.

Mr. Percival Stockdale, who is known to the world in the character of a poet and critic, as well as of a divine, has published "Sermons on important and interesting Subjects." The praise of ingenuity and vivacity will never be denied to this author, and the tendency of his discourses is moral, practical, and useful. At the same time, he indulges to some eccentricities in his mode of writing, which every reader may not approve, but which he himself probably regards as likely to add to the spirit and acceptance of his compositions. Should he change his sentiments upon this head, what some persons esteem as faults will easily be avoided.

Mr. Robinson of Cambridge has at length completed, in five volumes, his translation of Saurin's Sermons. On Monsieur Saurin's literary character, as it is already so well known to most of our readers, we need not expatiate. That he was a most eminent preacher, that he possessed great elegance and great eloquence will not be disputed. Several of his discourses rise to a high degree of excellence, and many passages in them are very striking and sublime. But whilst we sincerely join in all this applause, we must be indulged in saying, that they are not in every respect exactly suited to our taste. Indeed, we never met with any French sermons that fully comported with a genuine English understanding. Amidst a variety of admirable and brilliant strokes, there is usually something in them of false refinement or extravagance, at which sound judgment recoils. In Saurin we are not always satisfied either with his sentiments or method. However, we rejoice that Mr. Robinson has put him into the power of those who were not acquainted with the original; and think that herein he has performed an important service to the cause of practical Christianity. The value of the present publication is not a little enhanced by the translator's sketch of the state of religion in France till the revocation of the edict of Nantz, by his memoirs of Monsieur Saurin's life, and by his prefaces to the different volumes.

The third volume of Dr. Walker's practical Sermons is a posthumous publication. The doctor, who died in 1783, was one of the ministers of the High Church of Edinburgh, and a colleague with Dr. Blair. To the elegancies and refinements of composition, by which the latter gentleman has obtained

tained so much reputation, our author never arrived. But he is said to have been superior to his partner in a natural, unaffected, and graceful delivery. The discourses now published are well calculated for the general edification of Christian readers.

Of Downes's "Sermons on various Subjects," we can only speak from the information of others. The character given of them is, that they are written in a perspicuous style, that they are adapted to common capacities, and that they are fitted to promote real religion.

Mr. White's Sermons, containing a view of Christianity and Mahometanism, in their history, their evidence, and their effects, constitute the prime publication of the year, in that species of composition on which we are now treating. They were preached before the University of Oxford, at the lecture founded by Mr. Bampton, and have conferred peculiar glory on that institution. Mr. White was very happy in choosing for his subject a comparison between Christianity and Mahometanism, being a subject curious and important in itself, and which he was eminently qualified to manage, by his knowledge of oriental literature, of which he had already afforded several striking proofs to the public, and thereby testified how ably he sustains the character of Archbishop Laud's professor of Arabic. The discourses, which are of great length, are nine in number. The first opens the plan; the second considers the history of Mahometanism, and the third that of Christianity; in the fourth the character of Mahomet is displayed, and the fifth describes the life and character of Christ; the sixth and seventh relate to the external evidence of the Mahometan and Chris-

tian Religions; in the eighth, the internal evidences of these two religions are compared; and the ninth represents the contrary effects of Mahometanism and Christianity. These several topics are discussed with eminent ability; and the contrast which is drawn between the character of the Arabian Prophet and the character of our Saviour is admirably conducted. Mr. White is entitled to great praise, not only for his sentiments and his reasoning, but also for his language. The composition is highly polished, the periods are finely turned and rounded, and strength and splendour are combined with elegance of style. If our ingenious and learned professor had treated on his subject without ever introducing any of the mysterious and disputable doctrines, concerning which the most upright and zealous friends of revelation widely differ, his work would have been more valuable, and more fitted to be handed down with approbation to posterity. No temporary or extraneous matter should have been admitted into such a work. It should have contained nothing that favours of particular systems, nothing but what relates to our common Christianity, and the different kinds of evidence on which the Gospel and the Alcoran are founded. We cannot help informing our readers of the success which has attended Mr. White's Sermons. Notwithstanding their length, when he preached them before the University of Oxford, St. Mary's Church was prodigiously crowded. An edition of a thousand copies was speedily sold. A second impression of two thousand has been printed, and meets with a very rapid sale. The author has acquired both honour and profit; and we doubt not but that he will receive some mark of

favour from the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the service he has done to the Christian cause.

Though the single Sermons of the year have been very numerous, and many of them appear to be excellent, it doth not comport with our plan to give them a distinct consideration. If we take the liberty of mentioning a few of them in a more particular manner, this, it is hoped, will not be regarded as done with a design of disparaging the rest: nothing can be farther from our view. No one will be offended with our paying a peculiar attention to the sermon preached by Dr. Watson, Bishop of Landaff, before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in the Abbey Church of Westminster, on the 30th of January, 1784. It is a masterly discourse on divine providence, and is the result of wisdom, philosophy, and piety. Such thirtieth of January Sermons are not the production of every divine, or of every bishop.

Mr. Peckard's "Piety, Benevolence, and Loyalty recommended," a discourse preached before the University of Cambridge, on the same day, is worthy of the reputation the author has obtained by his former compositions, which, though not numerous, are valuable, and all of which are calculated to support the cause of Christian liberty and rational religion. We are sorry to find it declared by the worthy author, that the committing the present sermon to the press will in all probability be the last public act of his life. The course of nature, his advance in years, the indications which he perceives of declining strength, all, he says, indicate to him that his continuance cannot be of long duration. He has our wishes that he may, for years to come, be able to carry on the good designs

to which his time and his studies have always been devoted.

Two other single Sermons; which, from the spirit, ability, and learning with which they are written, are entitled to distinguished notice, were both of them delivered on occasion of the primary visitation of the Bishop of Norwich. The first was preached in the cathedral church of that city, by Mr. Howes, and the second at Bury St. Edmunds, by Mr. Derby. Mr. Howes is understood to be the writer of a valuable publication, entitled "Critical Observations upon Authors, ancient and modern," which came out occasionally in numbers, and have been since collected together.

The appointment of a day of public thanksgiving, on account of the late peace gave rise, of course, to the appearance of a number of Sermons from the press. Of these the most distinguished that came from the divines of the Established Church seem to have been the Bishop of St. David's before the House of Lords, Dr. Prettyman's before the House of Commons, and Dr. Burnaby's at Greenwich. Among the Dissenters the discourses of Mr. Walker at Nottingham, and of Mr. Cappe, at York, claim the pre-eminence. Both these discourses display a great fulness of sentiment and an uncommon energy of expression. The authors of them have more than once before appeared before the public on occasion of the American war, to which they were zealous enemies, having been dissatisfied both with the principles and the policy on which that war was conducted.

Under the head of Metaphysical publications, the first place is undoubtedly due to Lord Monboddo.

This

This gentleman hath presented to the learned world the third volume of his "Ancient Metaphysics, containing the History and Philosophy of Men; with a preface, containing the History of Antient Philosophy, both in antient and later Times." Three dissertations are also annexed, upon the following subjects: 1. Confirmations and illustrations of what has been said in the preceding volumes upon the subject of the principles of Sir Isaac Newton's Astronomy. 2. An enquiry into the principle of the motion of bodies unorganized. 3. The difference between *man* and *brute* farther illustrated and explained, with additional facts and observations concerning the Ouran Outang and Peter the wild boy. The present work is divided into two books, the first of which considers the several substances of which man is composed, and particularly the vegetable part of his composition; and the second, which includes almost the whole of the volume, treats on the animal part of the composition of man. Our opinion concerning the character of this writer was given, somewhat at large, in our Annual Register for 1783; and we adhere to the estimate which was then formed by us of his intellectual and literary talents. The volume before us is entitled to the same approbation and the same censure which have been bestowed by the most judicious critics on the preceding volumes. Sorry we are to say, that the censure must far exceed the approbation of the work now published. The preface, containing the history of Ancient Philosophy, is the most instructive and entertaining part. At the same time, it is by no means unexceptionable, as our readers will easily judge, when they are informed that Lord Mon-

boddo believes Pythagoras to have been something between God and Man, a superior intelligence inhabiting such a body as ours. That his lordship has read a great deal of Greek Philosophy, cannot be denied; and when he simply confines himself to historical facts, in his account of the principles and systems of the ancient Metaphysicians, he merits attention. But his extravagant applauses of them, and his bigoted adherence to their distinctions must be condemned. Indeed, we scarcely ever met with an instance in which learning was more completely divorced from good sense. The author's absurdities are surprising, and his credulity highly ridiculous. We had a design of inserting, in the miscellaneous department of our Register, what he hath advanced concerning the varieties of men. But the passage is so risible, that we were apprehensive our readers would not imagine that we were exhibiting the serious opinions of the writer. The extract would have looked like an attempt at wit and humour, which was certainly no part of Lord Monboddo's intention. So far are we from being enemies to the ancient philosophers, that we have a sincere veneration for them, wish them to be closely studied, and are persuaded that excellent use may be made of their works. But may not all this be done without idolizing them, without thinking that they, and they alone, penetrated into the whole of truth? May not all this be done without neglecting and despising the discoveries and reasonings of the moderns? A real admiration of the ancients is perfectly consistent with paying the proper tribute of respect to the wisdom and science of later ages. Lord Monboddo seems to

hope that the Aristotelian philosophy will again become predominant in England. It may, perhaps, be cherished by a few ingenious men, with a view of attaining some theological purposes : but the dominion of the school-men, to any great degree of extent, is over. It cannot stand against the keen attacks of liberal and philosophical enquiry. Ancient and modern literature, we trust, will go hand in hand together, and be accompanied with that good sense, of the want of which our author has set us a deplorable example. During a visit which he lately made to London, an instance of his supreme contempt for the most eminent writers of this age appeared in a large company where we happened to be present. Dr. Samuel Johnson being the subject of conversation, Lord Monboddo asserted that his name would soon die. For our parts, we do not regard the memory of Dr. Johnson with that idolatrous adoration which has recently been paid to it by some of his fond admirers. We think that he was narrow and contracted in his religious and political sentiments, and that his works have their faults as well as their excellencies. Nevertheless, it would be the result of the most contemptible ignorance, or the most contemptible bigotry, to say that he is not a great and distinguished writer, who has reflected honour on his age and country. His Dictionary, his Rambler, his Rasselas, his Imitations of Juvenal, his Lives of the Poets, will always assert his claim to that character. These productions of Dr. Johnson will be read with improvement and applause, when Lord Monboddo's volumes of Ancient Metaphysics are consigned to the dust of libraries. This we apprehend to be a fate which speedily awaits them.

However, we do not deny that they may usefully be consulted as an historical repository of the doctrines of the Grecian Philosophy, whilst the conclusions drawn from them, and the pertinacity with which these conclusions are maintained, will be totally disregarded.

An "Essay on the Immortality of the Soul," is in answer to Mr. Hume. The author lays great stress on an axiom, admitted by that writer, that nature does nothing in vain. Upon this principle our essayist concludes, that she would not have given us an unbounded love for happiness; together with ideas of all kinds and degrees of happiness, if such happiness and degrees of happiness did not exist, or were not attainable. We imagine that this mode of reasoning may appear inconclusive to some who are far from agreeing with Mr. Hume in his infidelity. At the same time, we receive pleasure from every attempt to prove that the doctrine of a future state is conformable to the best dictates of the human mind.

There is no subject on which Mr. Locke was generally thought more completely to have obtained the advantage, than in his attack upon innate ideas. So decisive was the victory, that, when the doctrine came to be much exploded, that part of the "Essay" concerning human understanding, which was employed in confuting it, was found, in consequence of being deemed no longer necessary, tedious and disagreeable to read. Mr. Locke's discussion of the question has, however, occasionally been animadverted upon ; and we have observed of late years, especially among the sentimental philosophers, some tendency to recur to the old system. This object is pursued in the "Review of Locke's Denial of innate Ideas."

It was long ago observed by Professor Hutcheson of Glasgow, that the doctrine of innate ideas is by no means necessary to the admission of innate principles.

The design of "A Plain and Concise Apology for the Permission of Natural and Moral Evils in a State of Trial," is pious, judicious, and useful. It is sufficient, the author thinks, to prove that every work of God is perfect in its kind, and complete with respect to its present ends and purposes; and he endeavours to shew that this world, as a state of probation, is adapted in every view to its ultimate object. Such sentiments are well calculated to silence our complaints against divine Providence, and to engage us to sustain with dignity the several trials to which our integrity may be exposed.

In directing our attention to the objects of government and law, we rejoice in an opportunity of testifying our regard to so eminent and respectable a writer as Dr. Adam Smith. His "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," is one of the best productions to which this or any other country has given birth. We entirely agree with the eulogium which has been pronounced upon it, that it is a work which will, probably, in future times, be referred to in political science, as the first just and systematic account, that has appeared in any language, of the principles of public economy, and the phenomena of commercial states. A third edition of this great work in three volumes, octavo, is now published, and the author hath increased its value by several important additions, which are the result of close and diligent investigation and reflection. The

subjects chiefly discussed, are, the State of Commerce between Great Britain and France; the Effects of the Bounty on Corn; that on the White Herring Fishery, and other Bounties; the Restrictions and Prohibitions respecting the Materials of Manufacture, particularly Wool; and regulated and joint-stock Companies. Under the last head, Dr. Smith has given an Account of the Hamburgh, the Russian, the Eastland, the Turkey, the African, and the East-India Companies. His View of the History and Present State of the East-India Company, is peculiarly instructive. For the advantage of the purchasers of the two former impressions of our author's work, the corrections and additions are separately printed in quarto.

Wight's "Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of Parliament, chiefly in Scotland, and a complete System of the Law concerning the Elections of the Representatives from Scotland to the Parliament of Great Britain," we have not had leisure to examine with that attention which so large a publication might seem to require. We are, however, competent to declare, that we by no means agree with him in what he has advanced concerning the origin and constitution of the English parliament. He concurs too much with Dr. Brady, a writer, who, though able, learned, and industrious, was hindered by his narrow principles, and interested views, from examining the subject with due impartiality. We have observed, with dissatisfaction, that the generality of North British writers rest principally upon Brady as an authority, though his errors and misrepresentations have so often been exposed, by men whose knowledge and litera-

ture entitle them to a careful perusal. Dr. Gilbert Stuart is an eminent exception to the censure we have passed upon some of his countrymen. With the rise and progress of the parliament of Scotland, we are not sufficiently acquainted to give a decided opinion from our own original inquiries. But the sentiments upon that head which we have derived from an attentive reading of Dr. Gilbert Stuart's various and important works, can only be eradicated by stronger evidences than have yet fallen under our inspection. Whatever may be thought of Mr. Wight's determinations as an antiquary, we understand that the professional part of his performance is entitled to the highest praises. His system of the law concerning the elections of the representatives from Scotland to the parliament of Great Britain is complete, and cannot fail of eminently conducing to the purposes for which it is more immediately intended.

The grand question concerning the necessity and expediency of a reform in parliament, has been carried on in various publications. Mr. Soame Jenyns, who always writes with elegance and vivacity, and sometimes with wit, and who usually employs these qualities in opposition to the best interests of mankind, has assumed the pen on the present occasion. In a short tract, entitled, "Thoughts on a Parliamentary Reform," he has treated the whole matter as absurd, ridiculous, and impracticable, and seems to dread nothing so much as an independent house of commons. However defective Mr. Jenyns may be in argument, the spirit of his compositions never permits them to fall into that contempt which

disdains a reply. Accordingly, his pamphlet was soon followed by "Some other Thoughts on a Parliamentary Reform," and by "An Answer to Thoughts on a Parliamentary Reform." Major Cartwright, the strenuous advocate for equal and universal representation, has appeared with great vigour in the controversy. His "Internal Evidence, or, An Inquiry how far Truth and the Christian Religion have been consulted by the Author of 'Thoughts on a Parliamentary Reform,'" is directed to three points. First, the major delineates the character of the author of the Christian Religion, and the character of the author of "Thoughts on a Parliamentary Reform." Secondly, he states the end proposed to himself by each of those authors; and lastly, the means which each has employed to promote the end in view. Though we cannot mention every publication upon the subject, we must not omit "An Essay on Parliamentary Representation, and the Magistracies of our Boroughs Royal; shewing, that the Abuses at present complained of respecting both, are late Deviations from our Constitution, as well as from common Sense; and the Necessity of a speedy Reform." This tract, which has a particular reference to the state of Scotland, is the result of deep enquiry, and will carry conviction with it to the discerning and impartial reader. Upon the whole, the opinion that a reform of parliament is in some degree necessary, though it produces no violent agitation in the public mind, seems gradually to be gaining ground, and may in time be productive of considerable effects. Unless such an opinion had obtained an extensive spread, it would scarcely

scarcely have been supported by a prime minister. Whatever the declaimers against innovation may assert, the improved and improving state of society will require correspondent alterations. When evils are deeply felt, they must be remedied, or worse consequences ensue. In fact, the introduction of the Christian religion, the establishment of it by the emperor Constantine, the reception of it in this country, the Reformation in Germany, the Reformation in England, the Revolution, in short, the several additions that have been made, from time to time, to the religious, the civil, the commercial advantages of mankind, all have arisen from the doctrine of innovation.

The trial of the dean of St. Asaph was a very important event with regard to constitutional liberty. The result of it at Shrewsbury was an undecisive verdict; an error into which the most upright juries have sometimes been led, when, on the one side, they are unwilling to condemn the defendant in a criminal prosecution, and, on the other, are deterred, by the positivity of the judge, from bringing in the direct acquittal of "Not guilty." The affair has since been heard at the court of King's-Bench, and the proceedings against the dean have been quashed by one of those legal subtilties which an ingenious magistrate can easily find out, when he is desirous of getting rid of a perplexing cause, without a disavowal of his arbitrary principles. This matter hath again brought into agitation the important question concerning the right and power of juries. In the publications of the trial at Shrewsbury, by Mr. Gurney and Mr. Blanchard, the speech of Mr.

Erskine, in defence of his client, makes a distinguished figure. In this speech, the able and learned advocate has maintained the competency of the jury to determine the whole cause before them, as combined of law and fact, with a perspicuity, spirit, and energy which reflect great credit on himself, and are highly serviceable to the cause of liberty. Mr. Erskine's pleading, for the sake of being rendered more extensively beneficial to the country, has been separately printed.

The revival of this subject has given rise to other publications, the greater part of which belong to the year 1785. In 1784, the most distinguished Tract upon the question was Dr. Towers's "Observations on the Rights and Duty of Juries, in Trials for Libels." On this topic the doctor was peculiarly qualified to excel, both by his principles and habits of enquiry. It is a point that has long engaged his study, and on which he hath formerly had occasion to deliver his sentiments. Accordingly, he hath collected his whole strength in the pamphlet before us, and appeared in it to great advantage. His knowledge of the law of libels is much superior to what might have been expected from one who is not of the legal profession. His acquaintance with the history of proceedings in matters of this kind is very extensive, and scarcely any thing that relates to the argument has escaped his notice. We scruple not to declare, that our author has fully established his doctrine, that it is the right and duty of juries to determine both the law and the fact, in trials for libels; and he has clearly and strongly shewn how essential this point is to the liberties of the people. The nation,

nation, we trust, will become every day more and more enlightened upon the subject, and jurymen more and more courageous in withstanding the encroachments of arbitrary power. It affords us peculiar pleasure to find, from conversation in the world, that the gentlemen of the law in general do not agree in sentiment with those judges who are for restraining the rights and privileges of juries.

The "Letters to a young Nobleman, on various Subjects, particularly on Government and Civil Liberty," are supposed to have been written by a peer of the realm, whose son, though not absolutely perverted, had however been flattered by the "specious and artful publications of some over-zealous friends to the pretended natural rights of man." The danger of seduction principally arose from Dr. Price's publications. To guard against so dreadful an event, the noble lord has addressed his son in a series of Letters which constitute a six Shilling volume. Dr. Price's principles, in the Opinion of his lordship, sap the very foundations of the British government, and ultimately tend to anarchy, rebellion, and all the evils of popular violence and confusion. It may reasonably be objected, on the other hand, to the positions of the present author, that they are too favourable to prerogative, and too hostile to the rights of the people, to be admitted by any true friend to liberty. We cannot, therefore, avoid being so wicked as to express our sincere wish that the noble writer's son may so far restrain his filial reverence, as not to become a convert to his father's reasonings.

Mr. Knox's "View of the British Empire, more especially Scotland, with some Proposals for the

Improvement of that Country, the Extension of its Fisheries, and the Relief of the People," is a publication which merits, and which hath excited, no small degree of attention. The author writes with an eccentricity of zeal, which does honour to his heart, and is no discredit to his understanding. Various topics are discussed by him, but his grand view is directed to the improvement of Scotland, and to the forwarding of a more liberal system of polity with regard to that country. His description of the wretched state and treatment of the inhabitants of the Highlands is very striking, and uncommonly affecting. We hope that Mr. Knox's patriotic and pathetic representations will not be without effect, as the affair of the fisheries seems to be taken up with ardour in the house of commons.

In our last Register, we mentioned the first part of Mr. Reeves's "History of the English Law." A second volume is now published, and dedicated to lord Mansfield, who had expressed his approbation of the former part. The history is carried on from the beginning of the reign of Edward the Second to the reign of Henry the Seventh. It is to the profession of the law that this work is chiefly calculated to be acceptable and useful, and not to general-readers. The author has in some respects changed his plan, and, we are afraid, has a little remitted of his original diligence. The true apology for him we believe is, that he has not met with the encouragement which so laborious and important an undertaking deserved.

"The Law of Simony," by Mr. Cunningham, contains all the statutes, cases at large, arguments, resolutions, and judgments concerning

cerning it, under their proper heads. The usefulness of such a compilation, not only to the clergy in general, but to all who have any concern whether immediately or remotely, with matters of church preferment, is apparent at first view. What adds peculiarly to the value of the present publication, is its giving an ample detail of the proceedings on the celebrated cause between the bishop of London and Lewis Disney Efyche, esq. respecting bonds of resignation.

The author of "Facts fully established, and submitted to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament, the Lords of Manors, &c. on the Cruelty and Oppression of the Game Laws," proposes to render the right of killing game as beneficial as possible to the public, by making all persons who enjoy this distinction pay for it to the state. Two hundred thousand pounds a year, he thinks, may with great ease, be drawn from this source, without producing one murmur from the poor, the manufacturer, or the merchant. However reasonable such a plan may appear, it is not probable that the narrow views by which country gentlemen in general are actuated, would permit it to be carried into execution.

The new situation of North America will naturally give rise to the reflections and observations of speculative men. Those philosophers and politicians in particular, who were ardently devoted to the Americans, and zealous for their independency, will be anxious for their welfare, watch over their proceedings, and interpose their opinion and advice, with regard to the future conduct of provinces

thus recently exalted to the rank of sovereignty and dominion. Of this cast is the abbé de Mably, who, in his "Remarks concerning the Government and the Laws of the United States of America, in Four Letters, addressed to Mr. Adams," has opened the treasures of his political wisdom. He is very desirous of assisting the Americans in improving and perfecting their system of government; and for this purpose hath particularly examined the constitution and laws of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Georgia. Sometimes his Remarks are just and profound; sometimes they are dubious; and there are cases in which we are clearly of opinion that they are erroneous. His advices will not in every instance be hearkened to, and obeyed. His declamations against foreign commerce will be totally disregarded; and that purity of republican manners which he recommends, if admired in theory, will not be reduced to practice. There are certain points in which the Americans will be justified in rejecting his counsel. His ideas are too favourable to aristocracy, and his sentiments concerning religion and religious liberty remarkably crude and indigested. On the whole, we have not read this performance with any extraordinary degree of satisfaction. We found ourselves wearied before we came to the end of it; and we esteem it much inferior, both in point of instruction and entertainment, to the abbé's Dialogues on History.

When we come to Dr. Price's "Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution, and the Means of making it a Benefit to the World," a more interesting publication will demand our attention. The work was written in

1784, and an impression was printed off, to be sent to America, a few copies only being privately distributed in England, to some particular friends. The doctor hath since thought fit to publish it in this country; but as it belongs to 1784, it will more properly be referred to that year. We beg, however, permission to observe, that in an aversion to foreign commerce Dr. Price and the abbé de Mably perfectly coincide, whilst upon the head of religious establishments and religious liberty, their ideas are totally opposite.

Mr. Adams's "History of the Disputes with America, from their Origin in 1754," relates chiefly to the first causes and beginnings of a quarrel which has been productive of such surprising events. As this Tract was written in the year 1774, the composition of it preceded the transactions of the late war. The design of the author is to pursue the tories through all their dark intrigues and wicked machinations, and to shew the rise and progress of their schemes for enslaving America. Whether a plan for enslaving America was formed so early as Mr. Adams supposes, or whether it was formed at all, will by many be disputed. If however, the intentions were not evil, the policy was fatal that produced a train of consequences which, perhaps, both England and America will long have reason to deplore.

In pure Mathematics, Great Britain continues to assert, as we trust she will always do, her long established glory. The "Arenarius of Archimedes," has been translated from the Greek, with notes and illustrations, by Mr. Anderson, of Wadham-College, Oxford. This is a short tract of that ancient geo-

metrician, the design of which is to demonstrate the possibility of enumerating the particles of sand which would compose a mass equal in bulk to the whole solar system, or any other determinate magnitude whatever. The ingenious and learned translator, in his preface, has given some account of the knowledge of the ancients in arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and of the Pythagorean or Aristarchian system of the world; and to render the present publication as complete as possible, he hath added, from the Latin, the Dissertation of Christopher Clavius, on the same subject as the Arenarius. It were to be wished that Mr. Anderson might be encouraged to undertake a translation of the whole works of Archimedes. The geometrical method of demonstration, in consequence of its being more elegant and perspicuous than any other, was held in such high esteem by the ancients, that they were hence injudiciously led to neglect mechanical experiments in philosophy.

Mr. Atwood, of Cambridge, is known to be one of the most eminent proficient of that university, in mathematical science. The Philosophical Transactions have testified his profound knowledge in this respect; and he has lately afforded an illustrious proof of it, in his "Treatise on the Rectilinear Motion and Rotation of Bodies." In using this language, we pretend not of ourselves to decide upon the subject; being satisfied with delivering the sentiments of those who, from the nature of their studies, must be the best judges in matters of this kind. The same gentleman has printed an "Analysis of a Course of Lectures on the Principles of Natural Philosophy." Though the work is in-

tended for the use of the learned author's pupils, it may be of great service to many other persons. No one can be better qualified to direct the philosophical pursuits of young men than Mr. Atwood; and happy ought the students to esteem themselves who enjoy the benefit of such a director and guide.

Minto's "Researches into some Parts of the Theory of Planets," unite Mathematics with Astronomy. One of his objects is, to solve the problem, to determine the circular orbit of a planet by two observations. This problem Mr. Minto exemplifies in the new planet; concerning which he has given a number of circumstances, from Mr. Herschel, professor Slope of Pisa, professor Robinson of Edinburgh, and other astronomers. It appears from the language of foreign philosophers, that the name of the new planet must be Herschel.

Among the productions of a mathematical kind, Mr. Keeble's "Theory of Harmonics; or, an Illustration of the Grecian Harmonica," is a work of very considerable importance. Mr. Keeble is organist of St. George's church, Hanover-square, and is in the highest reputation for his manner of playing upon the organ. In his taste for music he is in the old style, having learned his theory from Dr. Pepusch. Hence it is his firm persuasion, in common with his master and other great men, that we must recur to the Grecian school for the true principles of music. That the ancients were acquainted with harmony, as well as melody, is maintained by Mr. Keeble. His treatise contains an Account of the ancient System, as delivered in the authors collected by Meibomius; and such of our

readers as are desirous of knowing what the Grecian writers have advanced upon the subject, will here find satisfaction. Concerning the points of musical doctrine vindicated by Mr. Keeble, we are wholly incapable of pronouncing a decided opinion.

Mr. Gordon's publication, entitled, "Principles of Naval Architecture," is upon a subject that must ever be of peculiar importance to this kingdom. His grand aim is to improve the form of ships, besides which he hath added some Observations on the Structure of Carriages for the Purposes of Inland Commerce, Agriculture, and other Objects. With regard to ships, his first proposal is, to extend their length without increasing their breadth, and to render them proportionably stronger. His second proposal is, to join together two very long and narrow vessels, placed at a proper distance from each other, by means of strong beams and a platform, or deck reaching from one to the other. On this construction, he thinks, that ships of war would have no less than eighteen capital advantages over ships built in the common way. Mr. Gordon proposes, in the third place, to form vessels, very long, and very broad, in proportion to their weight, with flat bottoms, and a great number of keels to each vessel. His last proposal is, to construct the masts hollow, either of a pyramidal or conical form, with framings of wood in the inside, at proper distances, to support and strengthen the upright pieces. Masts, he contends, may be thus formed which are vastly stronger, and, at the same time, lighter, than those that are now in use. All these are matters so remote from our ordinary studies,

dies, that to determine upon them would be highly improper. The author is said to be ingenious and original, but somewhat eccentric in his plans of naval architecture. In objects of this kind, experiment is the grand test of excellence.

Mr. Nicholson's "Navigator's Assistant; containing the Theory and Practice of Navigation, with all the Tables requisite for determining a Ship's Place at Sea," is the production of a man of abilities, who has the courage to go out of the beaten line. Novelty, united with utility, will always be pleasing. If the author has sometimes fallen into errors, there can be no doubt but that he will be ready to correct them in the next edition of his work.

[The Royal Society continue to publish their Transactions with the usual regularity. The 73d volume is not inferior to that of the last, and some preceding volumes. The first part of it was mentioned in the last Annual Register: in the second, we receive from Mr. Herschel, his "Observations on the proper Motion of the Sun; and Solar System; with an Account of the several Changes that have happened among the fixed stars, from the time of Flamsteed." To mark the changes in those bodies, we have relatively called fixed, after so long an interval, is of great consequence, as very inconsiderable ones may now become obvious. But Mr. Herschel attempts also to account for them; and, by supposing a slight motion of the sun, perhaps in a part of some orbit round an imaginary point, or the general center of gravity, he finds, that the alteration in many of the stars may be explained. This, however relates to the changes slowly

produced, for some of the fixed stars, particularly Algol, as Mr. Goodricke has satisfactorily shown; are periodically obscured. A writer, in a very respectable journal, has conjectured, with much reason, that it may be effected by a planet revolving round it. The congelation of quicksilver, a subject in philosophy not hitherto examined, has also been the object of the Society. Mr. Thomas Hutchins, governor of Albany-fort, in Hudson's-bay, has been furnished with proper instruments; and directions for this purpose: we may add, that his accuracy and diligence have effected every thing that the Society could have wished. The point of congelation is now ascertained, and fixed at about 39° below the beginning of Fahrenheit's scale; so that the extraordinary fall of the quicksilver observed in Siberia, must be attributed to the irregular contraction of the metal, after it has been frozen. In the late accounts, which we have received from the continent, and particularly from Russia; we find, that they have been engaged in nearly the same researches; but, when quicksilver is frozen with cold of this intensity, they seem to suspect some impurity of the metal, and think that the congelation of pure quicksilver is only affected by cold of a somewhat greater severity, viz. about two degrees more of Reaumur's scale, nearly four of Fahrenheit's. In this part of the volume also, Dr. Blagden has given a very interesting and compendious account of all that has been already observed on this subject.

Mr. Cavallo's improved air-pump is also a valuable addition to our philosophical apparatus. The description of it occurs in this part of the volume, and we find, that, by

by means of the improvement, air can now be rarefied 1000 times. That we may in our future annual publication mention the principal subjects of an entire volume, we shall not enlarge on the first part of the succeeding one, though it appeared before the end of the year.

In the part of the volume before us, we find also some valuable chemical papers. Mr. Wedgwood has published his own analysis of the black wad, and the duke de Chaulnes has informed us of the "Method of making the Salt of Urine pure and white, with little loss; as well as that of making the Phosphoric Acid perfectly transparent." Practical chemists best know their obligations to the nobleman, whose method has been found successful in repeated trials.

Dr. Priestley's "Experiments, relating to Phlogiston, and the seeming Conversion of Water into Air," are proofs of his diligence and candour. He observes, and this fact, if sufficiently established by different operators, will have a very extensive influence, that inflammable air is alone sufficient to revive metals from their calces: it at least proves, that this kind of air is composed of phlogiston, with few other ingredients. There are some other facts in this article which deserve the attention of philosophers. The water indeed seemed only to be converted into air: in reality it escaped in the form of steam, while, at the same time, the external air entered.

In the more professed chemical works of this period, we meet with little addition to the aerial philosophy. Dr. Pearson, in some interesting "Observations and Experiments for investigating the Chemical History of the tepid Springs at Buxton," has shewn

that phlogisticated air is more frequently present in mineral waters, than we have hitherto suspected; and that some of their heating and intoxicating effects, are owing to this principle. In other respects, he has added somewhat to our chemical knowledge in general, and somewhat to the history of the waters, which are the subjects of his work. It has however been thought, that he has been a little too diffuse. Dr. Walker's "Essay on the Waters of Harrowgate and Thorp-arch," is executed with care; but it is less exact on account of his not having been sufficiently informed of the nature of some of the modern re-agents. We wish to adopt this term, as a very expressive one, from the French: we mean some new discovered substances, whose more powerful affinities with particular bodies, contribute to detect them where they have not hitherto been suspected, or where they cannot, by other means, be easily discovered. We ought not to omit, in this account, "Dr. E. Cullen's Translation of Bergman's Opuscula." Two volumes are already printed: the greatest praise they can expect, is for their accuracy, since the principal notes are to be subjoined to the third volume, not yet published. The original is known to every chemist; and to praise this author's attention, accuracy, and address, would now be impertinent.

The Society for the Encouragement of Arts have not been inattentive to a science, on which they so much depend; and different premiums have been offered of the chemical kind; but nothing occurs in their late volume, which merits particular observation. Mr. Richardson's "Statistical Estimates of the Mate-

Materials for Brewing," as a chemical work, deserve to be mentioned. By his experiments, the qualities of the malt can be accurately estimated; the strength of the liquor will be necessarily uniform, and all the fermentable parts of the materials extracted. His hydrometer is more simple, and equally accurate with that described in the last volume of the *Dijon Memoirs*, by M. Morveau. It is adapted nearly to a similar purpose, viz. to measure the degree of concentration in the juice of the sugar-cane, by boiling.

In other branches of philosophy, little occurs which deserves our notice, excepting Dr. Young's "Enquiry into the principal Phenomena of Sound and musical Strings." This work is clear, accurate, and elegant; it lays the foundation of a more exact popular system on this subject, than we have yet received; for the principal part of our knowledge has been hitherto confined by diagrams and equations. Mr. Hancock has also published "The Doctrine of Eclipses both Solar and Lunar." His promises are ample; but his success inconsiderable. Mr. Minto's "Researches," already mentioned are more correct. But, while these authors pursue nature in some of her operations, Mr. O'Gallagher has presented the public with his "Investigation of the first Principles of Nature." We shall not transcribe his magnificent promises, because he has not fulfilled them, and really seems deficient in what ought to be the foundation of every system, an accurate knowledge of facts.

"The General Dictionary of Husbandry, Gardening, &c." is an useful compilation on the subject which it comprizes. The compilers are sometimes mistaken,

by having drawn their intelligence from improper sources, and have sometimes omitted what ought to have made a part of their plan; but, as they have collected useful information in a small compass, they deserve our praises. "A particular Enquiry into the Cause of that Disease in Wheat called Brand," is an useful Work of the same kind, by Mr. Bryant. It will, at least, teach the practical husbandman, not to trust to the boasted recipes for preventing it. We must not omit mentioning "Useful and Important Observations on Agriculture;" "An Essay on the Construction and Use of an improved Foot-plough;" or even, "A Description of a Net invented effectually to destroy the Turnip-fly." The objects of the two last works are obvious; and the observations, in the first, are general only.

Mr. Young's "Annals of Agriculture," which are published in Numbers, are not, on that account, the object of our attention; but, as they have now made some progress, and are distinguishable for their accuracy and utility, we cannot omit wishing the ingenious editor the success he so well deserves.

Mr. Curtis continues his very accurate work, the "Flora Londinensis;" and, while others are improving the cultivation of our fields, he describes the ornaments of their inclosures;—a work indeed of less importance, but, in our author's hands, exceedingly meritorious, and frequently useful. Dr. Lettsom, in a volume sold separately, but really a part of his edition of Dr. Fothergill's works, has described the plants, in the Upton garden, under the title of "Hortus Uptonensis." Aikin's "Calendar of Nature," scarcely deserves

serves a place as a scientific performance. It is a luxuriant description of the different plants peculiar to each month, illustrated by poetical quotations. It is a gardener's calendar, — virginibus puerisque. "Observations on the Oheero," a species of "palm-tree, are also very trifling.

The Botanical Society, in this year have completed their design of translating Linnæus' "System of Vegetables." It is now entirely in an English form, and, to the English botanist a valuable acquisition. On the botanical resemblance of plants, an anonymous author has endeavoured to establish a relation, in their medical virtues, under the title of, "A Short Attempt to recommend the Study of Botanical Analogy, in investigating the Properties of Medicines, from the vegetable Kingdom." This is an elegant, lively performance, in which the author has added to the observations of his predecessors, and copied theirs in an agreeable form. Dr. Lewis, in his *Materia Medica*, has arranged medicines in a more arbitrary order; and another edition of this work has been just published, under the care of Dr. Aikin. Some trifling additions have been made to it, but not sufficient to correct its defects. "A Practical Treatise on the Efficacy of Cowhage," as an anthelmintic, and "A Short Essay on the Goose-grass," by Dr. Edwards, have both appeared in the year; but either are of little consequence. The medicines were before well known. To this short account of medicines we are only to add Dr. Houston's "Observations on Poisons," which it is enough to mention.

In the other departments of Natural History, we have received

"Philosophical Essays on the Manners of various foreign Animals; with Observations on the Laws and Customs of several Eastern Nations," translated from the French of M. d'Obsonville. This work is mentioned in this place, as an account of the essays and manners of animals. Of many of these, the author gives an entertaining description: as he copied from observation, we have reason also to think it exact. The translation of Spalanzani's "Dissertations, relative to the Natural History of Animals and Vegetables," is also a valuable addition to Domestic Literature. These two volumes contain the author's Observations on Digestion, and on the Generation of the lower Orders of Animals. The character of Spalanzani is well known; and these Dissertations have already obtained the character of accuracy as scientific works, and they greatly extend our knowledge on these subjects. Mr. Boys's "Collection of minute and rare Shells, found on the Shore at Sandwich" is curious, but the species belong to genera already established. The principal work of this year, in Natural History, we have not yet mentioned, the "Elements of Mineralogy," by Mr. Kirwan. He follows the chemical system, and has given us a greater variety of careful analyses, than we have yet found, in any one work. Many of these are the result of his own labours, and deserve the highest praises. His Dissertations, on subjects connected with mineralogy, are also extremely valuable.

There is one work, which belongs to this class in its form rather than its substance, viz. the "Specimen Monachologiæ, or a Specimen of the Natural History, of the various orders of Monks, after the Man-

ner of the Linnæan System." It is a pleasing reflection, that this piece of satire should have originated from Vienna, once the great support of papal tyranny; but we were surprised, that baron Born, to whom it is attributed, should have made some fundamental mistakes in classification. He has owned indeed, in his letters, that he is no botanist; so that it will be no very severe imputation, to suppose him not well acquainted with the classification of animals.

While we wander in the regions of philosophy, we are attracted by a particular title, the "Philosophy of Physic." It is interesting and attractive; since in a science so uncertain, much depends on the sagacity of the practitioner on the decision of the moment. On examining Mr. Dewell's pamphlet, we were somewhat disappointed; for much of it was unintelligible; and what we understood, we did not approve. It is the system of Dr. Brown, a castle-builder, on an airy foundation, who is well known to our medical readers. If this is the philosophy, Mr. Moss's "Medical Survey of Liverpool" may be styled the poetry of physic. It is superior to vulgar prose; but, as a medical work, of no great importance. Dr. Pugh's "Observations on the Climates of Rome, Nice, and Naples," are more strictly philosophical, and more correctly medical. They deserve attention, and ought to stimulate physicians to examine more exactly the effects of different climates, a branch of knowledge, which men of the first eminence seem to have neglected. Fashion rules, in this respect, rather than reason. Dr. Pugh seems to think, that the neighbourhood of the sea was injurious to his patient, whose disease seem-

ed to be a phthisis. In this year's catalogue, we find also a translation from the celebrated Feejoo, entitled "Rules for preserving Health," which are distinguished by the usual shrewdness of this celebrated ecclesiastic; and an "Essay on the Prevention of an Evil highly injurious to Health," a quack-bill, to recommend a secret specific.

Mr. Rymer's "Chemical Reflections on the Nature of some Diseases," approach more nearly to a work of a practical kind. This author's peculiarities are well known; but his observations on the scurvy, deserve some attention. He supports, as the title intimates, the humoral system on this subject, the only vestige of that system, which we find in Dr. Cullen's last volume of the First Lines of the Practice of Physic. This work is now completed, with the learned professor's usual attention; and it does not disgrace the former ones, which have been received with the greatest respect. The whole indeed, has received the author's last corrections: it is illustrated with a suitable introduction, on the most prevailing systems of medicine, some diseases are added to the former volumes, and the theory of fevers is rendered more exact and scientific. But physicians still hang, with a rooted fondness, on their old systems. Dr. Charley, in his "Essay to investigate the Causes of the general Mortality of Fevers," still adheres to the doctrine of Kell and Bellini, to the old systems of derivation and revulsion; and Dr. Hufsey in his "Physical Enquiry into the Cause and Cure of Fevers," is almost wholly a Boerhaavian. We do not mention these circumstances, as in themselves wrong, but to explain the

the particular complexion of the several works. With these disciples of systems, we may contrast the mild benevolent Fothergill, who followed nature only, and yielded when he could not contend with success. The edition, so long promised, of his entire works, is at last completed; but we find little in it, that had not been before published. His chief medical observations are in the collection by a society of physicians, under the title of "Medical Observations and Enquiries:" of this work, the 6th volume has been lately published; and it is highly probable, that we shall receive no more.

Of the more miscellaneous productions, which relate to the practice of medicine, the "Treatise on the Diseases of Children," by Dr. Underwood deserves particular attention, as the work of a correct and intelligent author. Mr. White has published an useful "Essay on the Struma," and Dr. Hendy an ingenious one on the Elephantiasis of Barbadoes, which he calls, perhaps improperly, the "Glandular Disease." The "Address on the consequence of common Colds," is an earnest and serious exhortation, to guard against this most pernicious enemy, which at first seems to threaten no very formidable attack.

In the department of Anatomy and Surgery, we meet with little that is interesting. A compilation from the systems of Monro, Winslow, &c. has been published at Edinburgh, and is an useful work. The new edition of Monro's "Comparative Anatomy," is very greatly improved, and contains all the modern discoveries; and we have received, with pleasure, Dr. Hunter's two introductory lectures to his course. The only work which may be styled new, is Mr. Sheldon's

1784.

"History of the Absorbent System." The plates are highly finished, as well as the most exact representations, and the text is full of information. This is however only the first part, and contains an account of the Lacteals.

Mr. Bell continues to publish successive volumes of Surgery, with his usual attention; and we have received a 4th edition much enlarged of Mr. Warner's Cases in Surgery. The publications of this kind, in the present year, have indeed been few, and we must conclude our annual history of Surgery, with mentioning Mr. Frye's "Remarks on a morbid Retention of Urine." They are the production of an attentive and promising young man.]

The distance of our learned correspondent from London, and the lateness of some publications have prevented him from receiving various books of the year, soon enough for being now mentioned under the departments of science which he has kindly undertaken. His opinion of these he proposes to favour us with in our next Annual Register. To that, therefore, we must refer our readers for the view which will be given of Pennant's Arctic Zoology, Barbut's *Généra Vermium*, the Husbandry of Scotland, and several other works that will be found deserving of notice. There are, however, a few more productions of 1784, belonging to the objects now before us, with regard to which we shall entreat the liberty of anticipating our anonymous and ingenious friend. This we think it necessary to do with respect to the seventy-fourth volume of the Philosophical Transactions, for two reasons; first, because, in consequence of a new arrangement of business, the publication of the whole volume is completed within

the year ; and secondly, because our extracts, as strictly belonging to 1784, have all been taken from the 74th volume. It must be a great satisfaction to the lovers of philosophy, that the Transactions continue to maintain their value and importance. Of this many proofs occur in the present volume. In the mathematics we have professor Waring's profound paper, which obtained Sir Godfrey Copley's medal, on the Summation of Series, whose general term is a determinate function of n , the distance of the first term of the series ; and Dr. Hutton's "Project for a new Division of the Quadrant." In Astronomy, the communications are rich and numerous. Not to mention the observations on the variations of light in the star Algol, by Sir Henry C. Englefield, Palitch, a farmer, and Mr. Goodricke, and Mr. Edward Pigott's account of a new comet, discovered by him, on the 19th of November, 1783, there are four astronomical papers which are of peculiar importance. These are, "On the Means of discovering the Distance, Magnitude, &c. of the fixed Stars, in consequence of the Diminution of the Velocity of their Light, in case such a diminution should be found to take place in any of them, and such other Data should be procured from Observations, as would be farther necessary for that Purpose," by Mr. Mitchell ; "On a Method of describing the relative Positions and Magnitude of the fixed Stars," by Mr. Wollaston ; "On the remarkable Appearances at the Polar Regions of the Planet Mars, the Inclinations of its Axis, the Position of its Poles, and its spheroidical Figure, with a few Hints relating to its real Diameter and Atmosphere," by Mr. Herschel ; and the "Ac-

count of some Observations tending to investigate the Construction of the Heavens," by the same gentleman. The principal communications of the chemical kind, are, "Experiments on Air," by Mr. Cavendish ; "Remarks on Mr. Cavendish's Experiments on Air," by Mr. Kirwan ; Mr. Cavendish's Answer, and Mr. Kirwan's Reply ; "Experiments and Observations on the Terra Ponderosa," by Dr. Withering ; "Thoughts on the constituent Parts of Water, and of dephlogisticated Air," "Sequel to the Thoughts on the constituent parts of Water and dephlogisticated Air ;" "On a new Method of preparing a test Liquor to shew the presence of Acids and Alkalies in chemical Mixtures ;" all three by Mr. Watt. "Experiments on mixing Gold with Tin," by Mr. Alchorne. The extraordinary meteor that was seen on the 18th of August, 1783, has been productive of various papers, from Mr. Cavallo, Mr. Aubert, Dr. Cooper, Mr. Edgeworth, and Mr. Nathaniel Pigott. But Dr. Blagden's "Account of some late fiery Meteors, with Observations," comprehends the most curious detail of facts, and the best philosophy upon the subject. There are some other valuable communications in the seventy-fourth volume of the Philosophical Transactions.

In our last Annual Register, we forgot to mention the second volume of "Letters and Papers on Agriculture and Planting, &c." selected from the correspondence book of the Bath society. This volume is enriched by the communications of Mr. Arthur Young, Mr. Wimpey, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Swaine, and other intelligent men, who, with the spirit of true patriotism, direct their zeal and their labour

bours to the internal improvement of the country. Publications of the kind now before us are of the most essential benefit to the kingdom.

Mr. Lamport's "Curfory Remarks on the Importance of Agriculture," have the same useful tendency. It is the importance of agriculture in its connection with manufactures and commerce, that is the particular object of our author's illustration. In this view he earnestly recommends the better and more general cultivation of the LAND of England, as the best of funds, a fund which never fails, and is the most capable of bearing the burthen of the state. He strongly condemns the suffering of waste land to lie in its present torpid, unfruitful condition. He is equally an enemy to large farms; but inclosures he considers as what might be rendered productive of the most beneficial consequences. Mr. Lamport is ready to stand forward, and assist in the execution of the plans which he recommends; and we wish, for his own sake, as well as for the sake of the public, that his offer may be accepted.

Mr. Adams's "Essay on Electricity" is not intended for those who are already considerable proficient in this branch of science. It has been his endeavour to collect and arrange, in a methodical and concise manner, the essential parts of electricity, and by these means to render its application easy, pleasant and obvious to the young practitioner. The experiments are two hundred and twenty-six in number, and are distributed under sixteen heads. A small tract on magnetism is added by the author, merely to illustrate the use of an apparatus, constructed in order to exhibit the

general phænomena of that subtle agent.

We cannot avoid taking notice of Mr. Moore's "Method of preventing or diminishing Pain in several Operations of Surgery." The author, who is son to Dr. Moore the traveller, is a young man, zealous for the honour of the profession he has studied, and full of the sentiments of humanity. Being very desirous of relieving the pain attending on amputations, he has contrived a method, by the pressure of the nerves, which he thinks will in a great measure, and perhaps effectually, answer the purpose. The method has only been brought to full proof in a single instance, and there it was remarkably successful. If future experience be as much in its favour, the discovery will be of eminent importance. Mr. Moore's tract is recommended by the perspicuity and elegance with which it is written.

Concerning the late Dr. William Hunter's two introductory lectures, which are noticed by our correspondent, we shall beg leave to add, that they contain a very instructive and pleasing view of the rise and progress of the study of anatomy, and of the importance and usefulness of this science. What the author hath said concerning Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, will by some persons be thought rather singular, and, to have the intention of depreciating that great man's fame. This charge having been brought against Dr. Hunter, he supports more largely, in the present impression of his lectures, what he had before advanced; and, after shewing Harvey's inferiority to Columbus and Copernicus, asserts, that, in merit, his rank must be comparatively low indeed.

deed. We do not agree with our author upon this subject.

With regard to Dr. Aikin's pretty book entitled "The Calendar of Nature," we have been desirous to convey a request to him, that, in a future edition, he would enlarge his design, so as to accommodate his work to the instruction of young persons who are arrived to fifteen or sixteen years of age.

Among the historical productions of the year, Mr. Mitford's "History of Greece" seems entitled to the first place in point of originality and importance. A capital work on the subject hath long been a desideratum in this country. There is a fund of information in the ancient Universal History; but, as it constitutes a part only of a great undertaking, it is not easy of access, independently of any faults which might be pointed out in the plan or the execution. Mr. Stanyan's two volumes convey pleasing and useful instruction to young persons, but do not go to the bottom of the matter. As to some later compilations, we are afraid that they are scarcely worthy to be mentioned. We are indebted to Mr. Mitford for forming the design of such an accurate and extensive history of Greece as should comport with the public wants and wishes. It is only the first volume of the work that is now published, and it is divided into ten chapters. The first chapter contains the history of Greece, from the earliest accounts to the Trojan war. The second includes that war, and the early state of Asia Minor. In the third, the religion, government, jurisprudence, science, arts, commerce, and manners of the early Greeks are distinctly displayed. The fourth chapter, besides

giving the history of the country from the Trojan war to the return of the Heracleids, considers the Grecian oracles, the council of Amphyctions, and the Olympian games. An appendix is added concerning the Greek chronology, in which our author gives the preference to sir Isaac Newton's system. The fifth chapter exhibits the events of the southern provinces of Greece, from the return of the Heracleids to the completion of the conquest of Messenia by the Lacedæmonians. In the sixth we have a summary view of the northern provinces of Greece, and of the establishment of the early Grecian colonies, with the history of Athens from the Trojan war to the first public transaction with Persia. The seventh chapter comprizes a view of the nations politically connected with Greece; and the three remaining ones continue the history of the country through all the brilliant exploits which occurred, during the reigns of Darius and Xerxes, kings of Persia, to the conclusion of the last Persian invasion. On these various heads, Mr. Mitford's information is most exact and judicious. His history is drawn from original sources, which he hath examined with the greatest attention; and he has made an admirable use of Homer, in delineating the early state of Greece. His remarks, in which there is no affected parade of sentiment, appear to be the result of close thinking and of a sound judgment. The style of the history is not carried to that perfection which would be desirable in a work of so much importance. It is, indeed, in general, perspicuous, and sometimes it rises to elegance; but frequently there is a certain awkwardness in the disposition of the sentences, which

which the author might easily have avoided, and which, we trust, he will take care to avoid in his succeeding volumes. We cannot but express our ardent wish for the continuance of Mr. Mitford's history; though we know that another work of the same kind is in the press; from which, the abilities and learning of the writer, Dr. John Gillies, lead us to form very considerable expectations.

The next historical publication, in point of importance, is the second part of the "History of Modern Europe," consisting of two volumes, 8vo, in addition to the two volumes formerly printed, and carrying on the narration from the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, to the peace of Paris, in 1763. It is an useful design to collect from a prodigious mass of materials, and to compress into a small compass, the events that are most necessary to be known by the body of readers, and especially by young persons. Such is the design of the present writer, and it is executed with ability and judgment. At the same time, the style of Mr. Russell, for that is the name of our historian, is clear and unaffected, and proper to the end he has in view. In declaring our sincere approbation of the work before us, we do not mean to assert that we agree with every sentiment which the author hath advanced. Perhaps he is not so competent to decide on literary characters and literary subjects, as he is to execute the other parts of his undertaking.

The appearance of "The Diary of the late George Bubb Doddington, Baron of Melcombe Regis," afforded a high gratification to public curiosity. The time included in the Diary is from March the 8th, 1748-9, to February the 6th, 1761, and comprehends an entertaining

and interesting account of various court intrigues during that period. The politics of Carleton-house, previously to the death of Frederic Prince of Wales, are particularly displayed, as well as many circumstances relative to the same house after that event. As to the light in which the noble author himself appears, it cannot be said to contribute to the honour of his character. His lordship could easily break his engagements with one party, and enter into new ones with another. His political conduct, as is honestly acknowledged by the editor of the Diary, Mr. Henry Penruddocke Wyndham, shews him to have been wholly directed by the base motives of avarice, vanity, and selfishness. While such appear to be his views, he records his actions without any seeming sense of their impropriety, or of the meanness of the principles from which they proceeded; nay, there is good reason to believe that he intended his Diary for publication, so little did he imagine that it would redound to his dishonour. Who will be warm in his zeal for political men, when he recollects how much Mr. Doddington was extolled in the patriotic writings of his time, and that he was celebrated by such poets as a Young and a Thomson? What, in the present work, exhibits Lord Melcombe's character in the best light, is his Memorial to the Prince of Wales, dated on the 12th of October, 1749, and printed in the appendix. The advice delivered in this memorial is equally honest and judicious, and, if it had been put in practice, would have rendered his royal highness's conduct wise and honourable.

D'Ivernois's "Historical and Political View of the Constitution and Revolutions of Geneva, in the eighteenth

eighteenth Century," is the production of a citizen who has been much concerned in the divisions which have lately agitated that little state. He is of the republican party, and has been obliged to leave his country, in consequence of the disputes which have been so fatal to the cause of Genevan liberty. Writing, therefore, under the impression of these events, and his affections being deeply interested, his style of composition is warm and animated. His dedication, in particular, to the King of France, has a wonderful pathos and energy. Alas! the ears of monarchs are deaf to the sacred voice of freedom. Notwithstanding the warmth of Dr. D'Ivernois's manner, there is no reason to call in question the truth and fidelity of his narration. At a time when the contests at Geneva had excited a considerable degree of public attention, it could not but be agreeable to have a book which throws so much light upon the constitution of the republic, and which traces to their source the incroachments that have been productive of the most unhappy consequences. Dr. D'Ivernois's work, which was originally written in French, is translated by Mr. Farrell.

Habesci's "Present State of the Ottoman Empire," is upon a subject which wanted farther illustration in this country. The writings of Busbequius and Ricaut, though very valuable, are not sufficiently accommodated to later times; and even the more recent publications of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Sir James Porter, do not contain all the information that could be wished. Elias Habesci, from whose French manuscript the work before us is translated, has had great advantages in point of situa-

tion. He is by birth a Greek; he was brought up by an uncle, who enjoyed an office of honour and trust in the Seraglio; he acted, some time, as secretary to a grand vizir; and, besides an intimate acquaintance with the Turkish capital, has visited every city under the Ottoman government in Asia, and almost every one in Europe. With these qualifications, he could not fail of adding to the stock of our knowledge upon the subject he has undertaken.

"The History of Ayder Ali Khan, Nabob Bahader," relates to a prince who, for many years, made a great figure in the East Indian part of the world. So much has been said of him, from time to time, in the newspapers and other publications, and so interesting have been the wars in which he was engaged, especially with the English, that a faithful account of his personal character and military exploits could not fail of being acceptable to a number of readers. Such an account is professed to be given in the present performance, and we know not of any sufficient reason to dispute the truth of its representations. The war most minutely detailed in this work, is that which commenced between Ayder and the English in 1767. The late war is omitted by the author, for want of what he deems authentic information.

Clark's "Concise History of Knighthood, containing the Religious and Military Orders which have been instituted in Europe," is the production of an ingenious engraver, whose pursuits have led him to the study of heraldry, and other branches of knowledge connected with that object. With heraldry the institutions of knight-

hood have a very close conjunction. The subject is curious, and contributes to the better understanding of general history. Though, therefore, the author is not wholly free from errors and defects, and though his language is no model either of correctness or elegance, his work will be instructive and pleasing to those who have not inclination or leisure for deeper investigations.

Mrs. Dobson has translated, from the French of Monsieur de St. Palaye, "*Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry*, to which are added, the *Anecdotes of the Times*, from the *Romance Writers and Historians of those Ages*." This lady is already well known to the public by her *Translations of the Life of Petrarch*, and the *History of the Troubadours*, works which have conveyed very pleasing information to the world; and the former of which, especially in the original, is one of the most entertaining books that ever was written. The present volume probably completes her design of delineating the literature and manners which some centuries ago were prevalent in Europe. Though it contains many extraordinary anecdotes, and throws no small light on the spirit and customs of our European ancestors when chivalry was the fashion, it hath not interested us quite so greatly as Mrs. Dobson's other publications. Better judges than ourselves may form, perhaps, a different opinion; and it would be doing injustice to the translator not to say, that the *Memoirs* before us will afford to the reader some instruction, and more amusement. We have a suspicion, that in several instances the fictions or exaggerations of romances are too much

relied upon, as testimonies of historical facts.

The utility of such a publication as the "*Supplement to the Fifth Edition of Collins's Peerage of England*," is too evident to be denied. The changes in families, and new creations, continually call for alterations and additions in works of this kind. Mr. Longmate is well qualified for the business he hath undertaken, and appears to have exerted great diligence of enquiry. We apprehend that in some cases, and especially in those of lord Rawdon and the earl of Leicester, he must have received assistance from the noble peers themselves. It is the interest of titled families to give all the aid in their power to the compilers of peerages, and especially to such a work as Collins's, which is a book of authority. The genealogies which are the most laboured in the present volume, besides the two already mentioned, are those that relate to lord Dacre, baroness Willoughby of Eresby, lord Say and Sele, lord Loughborough, lord Bagot, and the earl of Norwich.

Fielding's "*New Peerage of England, Scotland, and Ireland*," in two small volumes, is, from its conciseness, intended only for common readers, or for occasional consultation, and appears to be well adapted to the purpose. Besides containing accounts of noble families, it treats on the Origin and Progress of Honours on the Manner of creating Peers, and on the Orders of Knighthood. A short Introduction to Heraldry is likewise given, with the Genealogical Descents and Intermarriages of all the Sovereigns of Europe.

The "*Journal of the Siege of*

Gibraltar" being merely a Journal, and not deserving the name of a History, it is sufficient barely to announce it to our readers.

The year 1784 hath been very fruitful in biographical productions, both collectively considered and with regard to new lives. In this year hath appeared the third volume of the second edition of the "Biographia Britannica, with Corrections, Enlargements, and the Addition of new Lives." The editor, Dr. Kippis, apologizes, in his Preface, for the delay of the work, by reciting the labour which it requires. More than double the proportion of new lives has fallen to his share; the additions to the old articles, which are very numerous, and, in many cases, very large, are almost exclusively his own; the previous revision and subsequent correction of the whole work come within his department; no small compass of reading is absolutely necessary to the due execution of the undertaking; and often the requisite information cannot be obtained without a correspondence by letters, and a variety of personal applications. Nearly one half of the volume now published consists of fresh matter. The new lives are thirty-six in number, and the additions to the old articles are as important and valuable as the new lives. It seems to have been the wish of the editor to improve the *Biographia Britannica* to the utmost of his power. He avails himself, in particular, of his reading, to give, wherever an opportunity offers, an extensive view of British literature, and of the controversies which have been carried on in this country. As the design is on a large scale, and, in-

deed, may be considered as a national work, it affords room for many historical and critical enquiries and discussions which could not be admitted in smaller publications. In the conduct of so great an undertaking, several things will almost unavoidably be exposed to exception and stricture; but that the editor has not been deficient in attention and diligence is generally acknowledged. It is, likewise allowed, that he has come prepared to his business with a considerable portion of that sort of knowledge and learning which qualified him for biographical researches and communications. At the same time, he hath been very solicitous to apply to living sources of intelligence. This is evident from many of the articles, the materials of which have been derived from the most authentic information of a personal and domestic nature.

The "New Universal, Historical, and Literary Dictionary," in twelve volumes, 8vo, is more extensive in its object than the *Biographia Britannica*, but much more confined with respect to the length of its lives. Its title will inform us that it includes persons of all nations, and in all ages. Like the *Biographia* it is an improvement of a former edition, though comprised in the same number of volumes of which that edition consisted. For this purpose some of the old articles are left out, and others, we imagine, must be not a little curtailed. Six hundred new lives are given in the present impression, many of which are necessarily very short, while others of them have as much length as is competent to the nature of the undertaking. The utility of such a compilation is undeniable, as al-

most

most every reader must have occasion to consult a work of this kind. The editors will forgive us for suggesting, that there are some articles, especially in the Appendix, the subjects of which were too insignificant to merit a place in any collection.

Mr. Middleton's "*Biographia Evangelica*," the third volume of which is now published, shews itself, from its very title, to be a work of a confined nature. It is intended to give an historical account of the lives and deaths of the most eminent *evangelical* authors or preachers, both British and foreign, in the several denominations of Protestants, from the beginning of the Reformation to the present time. Our collector's favourite divines, several of whom were of great and deserved fame, are of the Calvinistical persuasion. Mr. Middleton is not possessed of those powers of composition which enable him to exhibit his original materials to the best advantage.

Noble's "*Memoirs of the Protectorate-house of Cromwell*;" deduced from an early Period, and continued down to the present 'Time;" constitute one of the most laborious investigations of family-history that hath ever fallen within our notice. The first volume hath collected together whatever can be met with concerning the ancestors of Oliver Cromwell, his private life, his children and descendants. The second volume gives an account of those who have been connected with the Cromwell family, by the collateral ties of blood, or by alliance. The materials which Mr. Noble has brought to light are not always worthy of the pains and labour which it must have cost him to procure them. His work, however,

cannot fail of gratifying the curiosity of a number of readers. In speaking of Cromwell's character, he doth not betray either the bigotry of adherence, or the bigotry of aversion. Though the author is a clergyman of the church of England, we imagine, from several inaccuracies of style, that he has not had an university education. These inaccuracies, we trust, will be corrected in a second edition, which is said to be in agitation, and which may be expected to contain other improvements.

Though Mr. Davies's "*Dramatic Miscellanies*," are not strictly biographical, yet, as they furnish a variety of anecdotes concerning the writers and actors of plays, they may fitly be mentioned under the head of Biography. In the point we are speaking of, they may be considered as an agreeable Supplement to the author's *Memoirs of Garrick*.

With regard to single lives, Mr. Sheridan's *Life of Dr. Swift* is entitled to peculiar attention. No one, now existing, could be so well qualified to write it from personal knowledge. No one can have a greater, or, perhaps, an equal reverence for the memory of the dean of St. Patrick's. Accordingly, the account of this extraordinary man, now published, is written *con amore*; and most people will think that the biographer's admiration of his hero, is carried to a prodigious excess. Mr. Sheridan represents Dr. Swift as utterly free from vice; and, indeed, as one of the most perfect and exalted characters that ever existed: and yet it requires only to read the work before us, to be satisfied that he had many defects. It is evident, from the relation here given of his behaviour to miss Vanhomrigh and Stella, that his conduct towards these

these ladies was highly blameable, and that it can never be reconciled to honour and humanity. In other respects, Mr. Sheridan applauds the dean where he did not deserve to be applauded. It will, at the same time, be readily acknowledged, that he was possessed of very eminent virtues. Mr. Sheridan has succeeded in shewing that Dr. Swift was of far greater importance with Harley and Bolingbroke, and more confidentially admitted into the secret of affairs, than some persons have imagined. He hath made, likewise, a number of just strictures, though, perhaps, delivered with too much severity, on the misrepresentations of lord Orrery and Dr. Johnson. Many of Mr. Sheridan's anecdotes are equally new and entertaining; and he has enabled his readers to obtain a more exact and comprehensive view of dean Swift's character than could possibly have been acquired from any former publications. This *Life* is prefixed to a new edition of the dean's works which Mr. Sheridan hath superintended. We could have wished that some of the nonsense which has been too sedulously collected, had been left out of the present impression; and we have no doubt but that the editor's good sense, as well as his veneration for the memory of his favourite author, would have led him to do it, had it been permitted by the booksellers. The arrangement of Dr. Swift's writings is considerably improved.

Mr. Gilpin has so well recommended himself to general esteem by his *Lives* of some of the principal Reformers, and by his other instructive and agreeable productions, that his appearance in the literary world is always received with satisfaction. This year he has

favoured the public with a "*Life of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury*," which is written with great truth, impartiality, and elegance. While Mr. Gilpin is fully sensible of Cranmer's excellencies, he is not blind to his errors and defects. The genuine character of the good archbishop is displayed, in its various lights, with vivacity and spirit; and our author's sentiments on ecclesiastical subjects are rational, liberal, and candid. There are few better models of Biographical composition than those which have been exhibited by Mr. Gilpin; and, therefore, we hope that he will embrace farther occasions of exercising his abilities in this walk of literature.

We cannot speak with the same applause concerning Mr. Masters's "*Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late rev. Thomas Baker*." Though the materials for this work, which formerly belonged to Dr. Zachary Grey, have been fourteen years in the possession of the present biographer, he has made such an indifferent use of them, that he has given to the public a very crude and indigested performance. Mr. Masters, we doubt not, is a learned antiquary; but he has no pretensions to the character of a good writer. More bustle has been made about Mr. Baker himself than he appears to have deserved. His reputation principally rests on his "*Reflections upon Learning*," which it was long the fashion to applaud; but which, though well written, are too defective, and too full of prejudices, to be esteemed a very capital production. He was certainly a man of distinguished literature, and a deep explorer of antiquities; but what was the result of his mighty labours? He spent almost

almost his whole time in collecting and transcribing papers; and, though he lived to be considerably more than eighty years of age, his main design was never carried into execution. If, like honest Anthony Wood, he had formed his materials into an *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, he would justly have been entitled to the gratitude and praises of posterity. At present, his collections are only useful for occasional consultation. His "*History of St. John's College, Cambridge*," which was left by him in a more finished state, is said to have been withheld from the public on account of the prejudices with which it is replete.

The "*Historical and Critical Dissertation on the Life and Writings of James the First, King of Scotland*," contains a variety of particulars concerning him, which were not known to the generality of readers. It is the literary character of this monarch that is the chief object of our Dissertator's attention. James was undoubtedly an excellent, learned, and accomplished prince, whose memory is entitled to high veneration; and the public is obliged to the present author for doing justice to his merit.

Mr. Robinson of Cambridge has prefixed to his "*Translation of Saurin's Sermons*," a short Life of that eminent Divine, written with spirit; and Mr. Nichols, in his "*Topographical*," has inserted several pieces of a biographical nature. Among the rest, there is a curious communication by Mr. Badcock, relative to the Westley family. The account, likewise, of the Spalding Society, and of Maurice Johnson, esq. the great soul of it, will be not a little entertaining, especially to antiquaries. A

Supplement to the former Life of Sir John Hawkwood, corrects its errors, and supplies its defects.

Voltaire's "*Memoirs of Himself*," which were printed here both in French and in English, furnish the last biographical article that calls for our notice. The authenticity of the work was at first doubted, but the doubt was soon given up. Indeed, the turn of style and sentiment, the petulance, wit, and spirit which prevail in the *Memoirs*, are sufficient indications of their original author. Monsieur Voltaire is very severe on some persons, and especially on the king of Prussia; and his severity is said to have excited the resentment of that monarch. It is not from such books as the present, that mankind will be inspired with any extraordinary veneration for sovereign princes.

Dr. Playfair's "*System of Chronology*," which is printed on a large scale, is a work of great consequence on that important subject. It contains 1. An Explanation of the principles of the Science; together with an Account of the most remarkable Epochs, *Æras*, and Periods, the Dates and Extent of which are ascertained. 2. A Chronological History, which exhibits a connected View of the Time, Mode, and Circumstances of the Origin, Progress, Decline, and Fall of every considerable Kingdom, from the earliest Period to the present. 3. A List of several Eclipses before the Christian *Æra*, observed by Astronomers, or recorded by Historians, and of all the Eclipses from A. D. 1; to A. D. 1900, with an explanatory Preface. 4. A Chronological List of Councils, in which the Date, Place, and Subject of every Council are specified. 4. Chro-

Chronological Tables and Charts from B. C. 2300, to A. D. 1784, adapted to a Scale, and ascertaining the Duration of the Lives and Reigns of the most eminent Personages in all ages. 6. A List of remarkable Events and Occurrences relating to every Kingdom and Nation, from the earliest Ages to the present Times; with the Dates of many Celestial Phænomena. 7. Supplemental Tables, illustrating the several Parts of the System. 8. A Copious Biographical Index, in which the Dates of the Reigns of Kings, and of the Lives of remarkable Men in all Ages, are inserted, and concise Characters of both are occasionally given. Under these several heads, Dr. Playfair appears to have taken uncommon pains, and to have been solicitous to give his work as much perfection as was in his power. When we deliver our opinion that it is still, in certain respects, capable of improvement, perhaps we say no more than what may ever be said concerning any undertaking of so extensive and multifarious a nature. We apprehend that some Chronological questions might have been considered with greater precision, and that sufficiently judicious discriminations and distributions of epochas are yet wanting. However, we do not upon the whole, know of any System of Chronology which unites in it so many advantages as this of Dr. Playfair's.

A posthumous piece of the late Dr. John Blair's has been published, entitled, "The History of the Rise and Progress of Geography." It is an ingenious performance, in which the subject is treated with great accuracy and learning. The author's apology for the errors of

Ptolemy the geographer, which errors many writers have severely condemned, is equally candid and judicious. Ptolemy's mistakes arose from the ignorance of the age in which he lived, and not from the ignorance of the man; his knowledge being as perfect as the low condition of science at that time allowed. The Present State of Geography is not discussed by Dr. Blair.

Mr. Lemon's "English Etymology, or, a Derivative Dictionary of the English Language," may as properly be mentioned under the head of Antiquities, as under that of Critical Learning. The work is divided into two alphabets, tracing the etymology of those words that are derived, first, from the Greek and Latin languages, and, secondly, from the Saxon and other Northern tongues. The whole is compiled from Vossius, Meric Casaubon, Spelman, Somner, Minshew, Junius, Skinner, Verstegan, Ray, Nugent, Upton, Cleland, and other etymologists. The Preface contains a Defence of the English Language, and treats on the Use of Etymology. Our author's grand position is, that, through whatever channels the words of our modern English have been derived, whether Roman, Gothic, Celtic, Saxon, Teutonic, or Icelandic, still it is the *Greek alone* which is the true basis of the English tongue. Every rational scholar will be sensible that this is a position too bold and too precarious to be maintained by full and solid evidence. It has been the fault of etymologists to pursue the derivation of words to a ridiculous excess, and of antiquaries to assume some favourite doctrine, to which every object is referred. If Mr. Lemon has

has not escaped these faults, his Dictionary may, notwithstanding, contain much useful information, and be a book that may often be consulted with advantage.

Mr. Asple's "Origin and Progress of Writing, as well Hieroglyphic as Elementary, illustrated by Engravings taken from Marbles, Manuscripts, and Charters, Ancient and Modern," is a very curious performance. It is written by a gentleman deeply conversant in the knowledge and study of antiquities, of which he has given many decisive proofs to the public; so that no one who has the least acquaintance with his character can doubt of his having been eminently qualified for the present undertaking. The work before us, is divided into nine chapters, the subjects of which are, Hieroglyphics; the Origin of Letters; the Antiquity of Writing; General Account of Alphabets; the Manner of Writing in different Ages and Countries; Characters and Signs; Numerals, and Numeral Characters; Writers, Ornaments, and Materials for Writing; the Origin and Progress of Printing. With regard to the Origin of Letters, Mr. Asple does not think, as some learned men have done, that alphabetical writing was first communicated to Moses, or that it was of Divine original. In this opinion we entirely agree with him, as well as in his account of the progress of the human mind toward the formation of an alphabet. With respect to the claims of different nations to the invention of letters, our author considers the arguments which have been advanced in favour of the Egyptians, the Phenicians, the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Indians, and the Arabians; and pronounces that, up-

on the whole, the Phenicians have the best title to the honour of this invention. Mr. Asple does not concur in sentiment with those who have asserted, that all alphabets are derived from *one*, there being a variety of alphabets used in different parts of Asia, which differ from the Phenician, ancient Hebrew or Samaritan, in name, number, figure, order, and power. The alphabets that seem to be immediately derived from the Phenician, are, the ancient Hebrew, or Samaritan, the Chaldaic, the Bactrian, the Punic, Carthaginian, or Sicilian, the Pelasgian Greek, and its derivatives, which are written in the Eastern manner, from right to left, and the Ionic Greek, written from left to right. The Ionic Greek is the source from whence not only most of the alphabets of Europe are derived, but also many others which have been adopted in different parts of Asia and Africa. But we are in danger of trespassing on the compendious nature of this department of our Annual Register; and, therefore, shall only add, that on the several topics discussed in the present work, the reader will find a variety of instruction much out of the common way, and which could not easily, if at all, be met with in any single author. Mr. Asple's Introduction contains a review of the events that contributed to the decline and restoration of science.

The value and excellence of Mr. Grose's "Antiquities of England and Wales," have been too long known to the public, for them to stand in need of our commendation. He hath now obliged the world with a new impression of them, in large octavo, on fine imperial paper, and on a plan which he conceives to be better adapted to

to a work of this kind than the former edition. Every purchaser, we believe, will concur with him in this opinion. Besides the improvement of the plan, large and important additions are made to the Preface, which is farther enriched by new plates, and rendered much more useful by a complete Index. The body of the work is, likewise, greatly improved, many of the plates being re-engraved, the descriptive parts enlarged, and the whole advanced to a higher degree of beauty and perfection.

Of Mr. Jones's "Musical and Poetical Relics of the Welch Bards, preserved by Tradition, and authentic Manuscripts, from remote Antiquity," and never before published, we have not been yet so fortunate as to obtain a perusal. We can, therefore, only announce them to our readers, as objects that are likely to afford gratification both to the curious antiquary, and the lovers of polite learning. This may the more certainly be expected, as we understand that the editor, in order to throw light upon these ancient compositions, has given an historical account of the bards, their poetry, their music, and their musical instruments. Another circumstance much to the honour of Mr. Jones is, that he hath taken care to obviate all suspicions relative to the authenticity of these poems, by printing the originals. The same justice, we hope, will soon be done to Ossian. A number of Scotch gentlemen residing at Bengal have, we are informed, sent over six hundred pounds, for the purpose of publishing the original Erse of the old bard. This zeal for the glory of their native country, at so remote a distance from it, while it is very honourable to themselves, may be

expected to bring to a decision a question concerning which critics have been greatly divided, and which hath never been cleared up so fully to satisfaction, as not to leave some doubts remaining even in the most candid mind.

Mr. Samuel Pegge, jun. continues his "Curialia, or an Historical Account of some Branches of the Royal Household." The Second Part contains the Establishment and History of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners. The institution of this band has been commonly referred to the time of Henry the Seventh; but from the original statutes, discovered by Mr. Pegge, it appears that it did not take place till the early part of his successor's reign. How much the importance and splendor of the body of gentlemen pensioners have been diminished, is evident from a description which lord Hunsdon gave of their consequence, in a letter to king James the First, and from the testimony of lord Clare, who, in a subsequent period, declared, that, when he was in the band, he did not know a worse man in it than himself, though he had then an inheritance of four thousand pounds a year. Such discussions as those of Mr. Pegge gratify an innocent curiosity, and serve to throw some light on the manners of the times.

The "Miscellaneous Remarks on the Enquiry into the Evidence against Mary Queen of Scots," are the production of a profound and learned antiquary. The letters supposed to have been written by the queen to Bothwell, are examined with a very deep knowledge of the old French, and internal evidences of their spuriousness are hence deduced. A mistake of Mr. Tytler's, who confounds James earl of Bothwell with his father

Patrick,

Patrick, is here exposed; and it is shewn, that the former was a young man in 1560. The disquisition before us will appear dry and uninteresting to the generality of readers. It is to be wished, that the author of the present tract had rendered it more popular by giving a summary view of the controversy relative to Mary's correspondence with Bothwell. Such a view, from so accurate an enquirer, might have been useful in directing the opinions of those who have not leisure to enter minutely into the subject.

Mr. Nichols continues to carry on, with vigour, the "*Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*," nine Numbers of which have been published in the course of the year. These are, Mr. Duncombe's *History of Reculver and Herne*; *Additions to the Memoirs of Sir John Hawkwood*; *The History of the Spalding Society*; Mr. Pegge's *History of Eccleshall-Castle*; Mr. Effex's *Observations on Croyland-Abbey*; Sir John Cullum's *History of Hawsted*; Mr. Pegge on the Roman Roads, and on the *Coritani*; the same Gentleman on the *Textus Roffensis*, the *Elstobs*, and Mr. Johnson, Vicar of Cranbrooke; and a Continuation of the *Collections towards the History of Bedfordshire*. It is evident from the subjects treated of, and from the characters of the communicators, that these different publications will, upon the whole, afford much entertainment to the curious antiquary.

Books of Travels, which formerly were much confined to France and Italy, and the countries closely adjoining, have lately taken a different turn, and occupied a wider

range. The northern kingdoms of Europe have for some time past been assiduously explored, and Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, in particular, have employed the pens of various travellers. No less than three publications of this kind have appeared in the year 1784. The first we shall mention is not, indeed, wholly appropriated to the north of Europe, as will be evident from the title, which is "*Observations on the present State of Denmark, Russia, and Switzerland; in a Series of Letters*." The Letters are forty-two in number, and were written at considerable intervals, from the 20th of May, 1777, to the 18th of October, 1782. They are the productions of a gentleman of sense and observation, who does not aim at elaborate composition. His accounts of Denmark and Russia seem in part to be superseded by the narrations of travellers, whose visits to these countries have been more recent. The eight Letters, in a Correspondence from a young Student at Copenhagen, to his Friend at St. Thomas's, containing various Remarks on the Genius and Spirit of the Danish Nation, have a vivacity and a mixture of adventure, which give them something of the novel form. In the Account of Switzerland, the Description of *Sauenland*, in the Canton of Berne, and of the Shepherd-Life of the Inhabitants, is particularly curious. The author closes the work with a ludicrous relation of the entertainment given at Stutgard, in 1782, to the grand-duke and duchess of Russia. It contains a strong picture of the absurdity, fatigue, and disappointment, resulting from the display of false magnificence. Some entertaining circumstances respecting

Rouss-

Rousseau, Lavater, and other writers, are interspersed in the present publication.

The “Anecdotes of the Russian Empire, in a Series of Letters, written a few years ago, from St. Petersburg,” are the production of Mr. Richardson, now Professor of Humanity, in the university of Glasgow, and well known in the literary world, by his elegant poems, and especially by his admirable Essays on the Characters of Shakspeare. He doth not mean to give a complete Account of the Russian empire, but to relate principally such circumstances as struck him in the manners of the natives. The work is partly of a miscellaneous nature; for, besides Anecdotes concerning Russia, it contains Imitations of several Fables from the German of Lessing and Gelert; some Copies of Verses, both Originals and Translations, and Historical Narratives. The Relation of the Abdication of Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, in the Year 1730, and of his Attempt to remount the Throne which he had quitted, furnishes one of the most curious and entertaining parts of the volume before us. Several other letters are upon subjects not a little interesting and instructive, and all of them are well written. The poetical communications will please every reader of taste; and the whole of the present performance cannot fail of being perused with much satisfaction.

But the grand work of the year concerning the northern kingdoms of Europe, is Mr. Coxe’s “Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark; interspersed with Historical Relations and Political Inquiries,” and illustrated with Charts and Engravings. How well Mr. Coxe was likely to be qualified

for an undertaking of this kind would in part be collected from his former publications; and his readers will have the pleasure of finding that, in writing the performance before us, he came prepared with every advantage. He has gone farther into the interior parts of Poland and Russia than any other English traveller; and hence his description of the real state of these countries is as new as it is exact and authentic. It is not, however, by his travels alone that he fitted himself for the present design, but by a diligent course of reading, and the closest enquiries among those who were best able to furnish him with proper intelligence. In regard to Poland, he was honoured with information from persons of the highest rank and authority; and fortunately obtained possession of some original letters written from Warsaw, before and during the partition, which have enabled him to throw a considerable light over that interesting period. With respect to Russia, as the empress herself deigned to answer some queries relative to the state of the public prisons, this gracious condescension in so great a sovereign facilitated Mr. Coxe’s farther inquiries. To this it must be added, that the late celebrated historian, Mr. Muller, favoured him with various communications on some of the most important and intricate parts of the Russian annals, and pointed out to him the most approved writers on this empire. The nature of the Swedish government rendered the sources of information easy of access; and, since our author’s return to England, several Swedish gentlemen, well versed in the constitution of their country, have supplied him with much additional intelligence;

Not having possessed the same advantages with regard to Denmark, he has confined himself to those circumstances which he was able to ascertain, it having been his invariable resolution never to adopt uncertain accounts, but to adhere solely to those facts which appeared to be derived from the most unquestionable authorities. In the historical relations he has had recourse to many English and foreign authors, and particularly several German writers of unimpeached veracity, who were resident for a considerable time in some of the northern kingdoms. With all these aids, and from all these sources, Mr. Coxe has produced a book which is much more than a mere book of travels. It is a book which contains, in a great measure, the History, the Constitution, the Legislation, the Policy, and the Literature of the countries through which he passed; as well as the present Manners and Customs of the inhabitants. It is enriched, likewise, with biographical accounts of several illustrious persons. In short, the work before us is a standard work in point of authority, and is replete with information upon subjects hitherto very remote from the knowledge of the generality of English readers.

Of captain Smyth's "Tour in the United States of America," we scarcely know what character to give. With respect to style and composition, it is easy to say that it has no extraordinary merit; the language being careless, incorrect, and sometimes ungrammatical. It must be acknowledged, at the same time, that our traveller writes with vivacity. It is with respect to more important objects that we find it difficult to pronounce a decided judgment on the present publica-

tion. The author professes great things in the title-page of his book: The work is said to contain an Account of the present Situation of North America; the Population, Agriculture, Commerce, Customs, and Manners of the Inhabitants; Anecdotes of several Members of the Congress; and General Officers in the American Army; many other very singular and interesting Occurrences; a Description of the Indian Nations; the general Face of the Country, Mountains, Forests, Rivers, and the most beautiful, grand, and picturesque Views throughout that vast Continent; and, to crown the whole, Improvements in Husbandry, that may be adopted with great Advantage in Europe. How far captain Smyth has satisfactorily accomplished all these mighty promises, we are not able to determine. Every thing rests upon his own authority. The value of the book, and the credit we are disposed to afford it, are somewhat lessened by the author's conceited mode of writing; by the importance he gives to himself, by the romantic air of several of his adventures, and by the strong political prejudices of which he appears to be possessed. Nevertheless, we are ready to believe, that this Tour exhibits a variety of real information with respect to the country and inhabitants of the North American States.

The "Journal kept on a Journey from Bassora to Bagdad; over the Little Desert, to Aleppo, Cyprus, Rhodes, Zante, Corfu, and Otranto, in Italy," furnishes instruction on a subject which has lately acquired a considerable importance. The passage over land, to and from the East Indies, is now, from political and commercial views, become more frequent

than ever, and will be facilitated by publications of this kind. The Journal commences on the 10th of March, 1779, when the author, in company with four other English gentlemen, departed from Basfora. The chief incidents of the journey arise from the extortions practised by governors, and other civil officers, and the treachery of linguists and interpreters. Some account, likewise, is given of the barbarous countries through which the travellers passed, and of the manners of the inhabitants. A remarkable anecdote is related, concerning the danger to which the celebrated Aaron Hill, and two other gentlemen were exposed, in visiting a catacomb, when in Egypt.

The year 1784 hath produced the last Voyage of the great Captain Cook. It was a Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, undertaken by the Command of his Majesty, for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere, to determine the Position and Extent of the West-side of North America, its Distance from Asia, and the Practicability of a Northern Passage to Europe. The two first volumes were written by captain Cook, and the third by captain King. Concerning the importance of this work too much cannot well be said. Of this a sufficient sensibility has been shewn, in the rapid sale it has met with, in the large extracts that have been inserted from it in every periodical publication, and even in the dishonourable abridgments to which it has been exposed. The nautical part, though less pleasing to the bulk of readers, is undoubtedly of the first consequence with regard to navigation, and constitutes a capital excellence in the present per-

formance. The discoveries that have been made in the seas and regions of the globe hitherto unvisited, will be instructive, entertaining, and interesting to every inquisitive mind. By captain Cook's second navigation round the world, and by this last voyage, two points of prodigious importance have been ascertained; the one is, that there is no southern continent, or, at least, no continent which can be visited for any purposes of utility. The other is, that a northern passage to Europe, through the straits which divide America from Asia is absolutely impracticable. It is of great moment to know, in certain cases, the *ne plus ultra* of science and discovery. On the additions that are now made to our knowledge of nations and of mankind in the Southern and Pacific Oceans we cannot enlarge. In the three volumes before us, an immense variety of objects is presented to the reader. The figure made by captain Cook in this work is highly interesting; and the circumstance of his unfortunate death, as related by captain King, will be perused with much concern. Another subject of regret arises from the decease of Mr. Anderson, whose descriptions of the natural history of the countries discovered, and of the manners of the inhabitants, are peculiarly excellent. It is a still farther cause of lamentation, that captain King, by whom the third volume of the voyage hath been so well written, has lately departed this life in Italy. We should be unpardonable, if we did not take particular notice of the Introduction to the present work. It contains a view of the several voyages of discovery that have been made during his majesty's reign, and an estimate of the knowledge which has been

been acquired by them, and the benefits they have produced. The Introduction is, indeed, an elegant, masterly, and philosophical performance, which reflects no small honour upon the writer, who is generally, and we believe justly, supposed to be the reverend and learned Dr. John Douglas, canon residentiary of St. Paul's.

Of the Political Productions of the year 1784, which have been prodigiously numerous and multifarious, it would be as undesirable as it would be difficult to give a distinct account. In fact, though they are frequently written by persons of eminent abilities, they can scarcely be considered as coming under the head of literature, properly so called. The truth is, that they are hurtful to the general cause of knowledge and learning, by diverting too much the attention of men from scientific and literary works, an effect which has not a little been experienced in the course of the year. We shall, therefore, as in our last Annual Register, content ourselves with pointing out the subjects which have chiefly employed the pens of our political authors.

One grand object of discussion was Mr. Fox's East India bill. This was not only warmly debated in the houses of parliament, but vigorously attacked and defended in a variety of publications. Among these, the speeches in favour of the bill, by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, and separately printed, contained the strength of the argument on that side of the question. On the other side appeared the earl of Stair, Mr. Pulteney, and Major Scott. The last gentleman, who is the avowed advocate for Mr. Hastings, and was a strenuous op-

poser of Mr. Fox's East Indian measures, hath written several pamphlets in the course of the year. One of the most important of his tracts was, his "Conduct of his Majesty's late Ministers considered, as it affected the East India Company and Mr. Hastings." Mr. Dalrymple's "Retrospective View of the Ancient System of the East India Company," was the production of a gentleman who, from his abilities and knowledge, was well qualified to treat upon the subject. His plan of regulation is very different from that of lord North's bill in 1773, to which our author gives the appellation of the Anarchy Bill.

The removal of Mr. Fox and his party from power was another great object of contention, and occasioned the question concerning the secret influence of the crown to be warmly agitated. That this influence had been improperly exerted, was strenuously maintained by the writer of "Popular Topics, or the Grand Question discussed;" by Mr. Burke, in his "Representation to his Majesty," moved in the house of commons; and by Alfred's "Three Letters to the People of Great Britain, and particularly to those who signed the Addresses on the late Changes of Administration, and the Dissolution of Parliament;" supposed to be the production of the same gentleman. That the king had wisely interfered, and that the new ministry was formed on constitutional principles, was asserted on the other hand, in the pamphlets, entitled, "A Letter to a Country Gentleman;" "A Second Letter to a Country Gentleman;" and "A Candid Investigation of the present prevailing Topic." An elaborate vindication of the royal prerogative,

as it had lately been exercised, was first privately dispersed, and afterwards published under the title of "Political Letters." They were ascribed, and we believe upon good grounds, to Sir William Meredith.

Mr. Pitt's East India Bill was chiefly discussed in parliament. Mr. Francis printed the speech he had delivered in the house of commons upon this occasion, and several collections appeared of the debates in general which had taken place in that house upon the subject. The bill was the object of enquiry, and held out to praise or censure, in other publications.

The commutation-act was too important a measure to pass unnoticed. "Remarks" on that act were written by a gentleman who was capable of displaying with great ability its apprehended defects. When, in consequence of this bill, teas came to be sold at reduced prices, disputes arose between the tea-dealers and the directors of the East India company. One effect of these disputes was the raising of Mr. Twining from the character of a tradesman to that of an author, in which last character he appeared to very considerable advantage. Three tracts were written by him, the first of which was entitled, "Observations on the Tea and Window-Act, and on the Tea Trade;" the second, "Remarks on the Report of the East India Directors, respecting the Sale and Prices of Tea;" and the third, "An Answer to the second Report of the East India Directors, respecting the Sale and Prices of Tea." We suppose, likewise, that Mr. Twining had no small share in drawing up the "Narrative of the Conduct of the Tea-Dealers,

during the late Sale of Teas at the India House."

The Westminster election was another fruitful source of altercation. A number of pieces could not, indeed, fail to be produced upon an affair in which the political passions were deeply interested. We shall, however, take notice of those only that related to the conduct of the duchess of Devonshire. The zealous part which this great lady took in favour of Mr. Fox, exposed her to many strictures in the Newspapers: besides which she was called to an account in a distinct publication. It was addressed to her in the form of a Letter, and was the production of a sensible correspondent, who had offered some wholesome admonitions to her grace several years before. On the present occasion, the duchess was not left without a defender. An answer to the letter soon appeared, in which it was strongly maintained, that the noble lady deserved no kind of censure for the part she condescended to assume during the Westminster election; but that, on the contrary, it was an act particularly virtuous in her grace to exert herself in the service of so good a cause.

The question concerning the American commerce has been farther discussed in various pamphlets. Lord Sheffield's "Observations on the Commerce of the American States," and the "Considerations on the present Situation of Great Britain and the United States of North America, with a View to their future commercial Connections," were mentioned by us last year. It must not be forgotten, that lord Sheffield's Observations have been greatly improved, and much enlarged, in subse-

Subsequent impressions. The chief performances, of 1784, on the same subjects, were Edwards's "Thoughts on the late Proceedings of Government, respecting the Trade of the West India Islands with the United States of North America;" "A Letter from an American, now resident in London, to a Member of Parliament, on the Subject of the restraining Proclamation, and containing Strictures on lord Sheffield's Pamphlet on the Commerce of the American States;" "A Free and Candid Review of a Tract entitled, Observations on the Commerce of the American States;" Stevenson's "Address to Brian Edwards, Esq." and "Remarks on Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the American States, by an American." Without presuming to decide on the merits of these several productions, we shall beg leave to take notice of what has occurred to us in the course of our conversation in the world; which is, that lord Sheffield's sentiments and reasonings seem to have gradually been gaining upon the good opinion and approbation of many gentlemen who formerly entertained different views of things. We should have been very blameable if we had forgotten to mention Mr. Chalmers's "Opinions on interesting Subjects of public Law and commercial Policy, arising from American Independence." The abilities of this writer, and the strength of his arguments on several of the topics he has treated upon, must be acknowledged even by those who are the least disposed to agree with him in all his positions.

There have been many political publications, during the course of the year, which do not fall under the heads we have specified. Of

these we apprehend the most distinguished to be, "Dr. Price's Postscript to his Pamphlet on the State of the public Debts and Finances, at signing the preliminary Articles of Peace, in January, 1783;" Dr. Benjamin Franklin's "Two Tracts," containing Information to those who would remove to America, and Remarks concerning the Savages of North America; Mr. Silas Deane's "Address to the United States of North America;" "The Corn Distillery stated to the Consideration of the Landed Interest of England;" sir George Oncliphorus Paul's "Considerations on the Defects of Prisons, and their present System of Regulation;" Mr. Wedgewood's "Address to the Workmen in the Pottery;" and Mr. David Hartley's "Address to the Mayor and Corporation of Kingston upon Hull."

If we have been guilty of any mistakes, or of any improper omissions, in this department of domestic literature, we hope to obtain forgiveness, as we have spoken chiefly from the information of others; it having been in our power only to read the publications that were the most distinguished, either by the importance of their matter, or by the elegance and spirit of their composition. We have not neglected to peruse the "Criticisms on the Rolliad." Under the pretence that an ancient Epic poem has been discovered with that title, and that it gives a prophetic view of Mr. Rolle and his friends, the author introduces satirical characters of Mr. Pitt, and of the noblemen and gentlemen who support his administration. The justice of them may be disputed, but not the wit and humour with which they are drawn. Whilst we allow considerable merit to this writer, and

are particularly sensible how much he is a master of classical allusion; we cannot afford him indiscriminate praise, or assert that he excels in every part of his performance.

The productions of the year 1784 in critical, classical, and polite Learning, though not equal in point of value and importance to those of some former years, have been sufficiently numerous, and several of them are entitled to honourable notice. The publications of Mr. Blaney, Dr. Owen, and Mr. Lemon, have been mentioned under other heads. Besides Blaney's "Jeremiah," we do not recollect any thing which has appeared in Oriental literature, excepting Uri's "*Pharus Artis Grammaticæ Hebrææ*." It is intended to guide those to a more grammatical acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, who have already some knowledge of the language; besides which it contains an explication of the Divine Names, and a version of the Songs that are found in the xxxviiith chapter of Isaiah, and the vth chapter of Judges. The author is in the number of those who defend the antiquity of vowel-points; and he apprehends that most of the difficulties which perplex the sacred writings may be more effectually removed by an improvement of the common grammars, than by alterations of the received text. We may hence collect that Mr. Uri is no very ardent admirer of Dr. Kennicott's Collection.

Mr. Duncombe has this year favoured the literary world with a very valuable performance. It is a translation, from the Greek, of "Select Works of the Emperor Julian, and some Pieces of the Sophist Libanius." The novelty of

this publication will much recommend it, as scarcely any of Julian's writings have hitherto appeared in an English dress. A farther recommendation of them will arise from the merit of the writings themselves, most of them being ingenious, and highly worthy of perusal. The "Cæsars," in particular, is an admirable satire, which has not many things superior to it among the remains of antiquity. What Julian hath written against the Christian religion constitutes no part of the present undertaking. The pieces here collected together are; A Letter from Gallus to Julian; Julian's Epistle to the Philosopher Themistius; a Consolatory Oration on the Departure of Sallust; Epistle to the Emperor Constantius; Epistle to the Senate and People of Athens; an Allegorical Fable; the Duties of a Priest; the Cæsars; the Misopogon; Sixteen Epistles of Libanius to Julian; and Seventy-seven Letters of Julian to different Persons, besides Fragments of Epistles. To these Mr. Duncombe has added, the Life of Libanius, translated from the Latin of John Albert Fabricius; Libanius's Monody on Nicomedia, destroyed by an Earthquake; the same Philosopher's Monody on the Daphnæan Temple of Apollo, destroyed by Fire, or, as it is said, by Lightning; the History of the Emperor Jovian, from the French of the Abbé de la Bleterie; and an Abstract of that Abbé's Essay on the Rank and Power of the Roman Emperors in the Senate. What greatly increases the value of the work before us, is its being enriched with a large number of notes, which clearly explain, and fully illustrate the objects referred to in the original. These notes are selected from Petau, Span-

Spanheim, Gibbon, Bleterie, and others. The Abbe Bleterie is by far the principal contributor. We are rather surpris'd that a gentleman of Mr. Duncombe's liberality of mind should not have expressed his disapprobation of the bigotry and narrowness of sentiment that are sometimes apparent in Bleterie's Annotations. But, while in this respect we think that our translator might have improved the work, we sincerely testify our gratitude to him for the instruction and entertainment which we have derived from his learned labours.

Mr. Huntingford's "Monostrophica" were mentioned by us, in due terms of commendation, in the last year.—A variety of observations having been made upon them by a very acute and profound critic in the Monthly Review, our author has thought proper to publish an "Apology" for them, in which he endeavours to vindicate himself from the objections that were urged against the quantity and metre of his verses. The controversy turns upon nice and difficult questions; and, though curious and eminently learned, will not be generally interesting. Mr. Huntingford hath added a second "Collection of Monostrophics," which are forty-four in number, and which, whatever disputes may be raised concerning the propriety or measure of particular words, afford an ample demonstration of his extraordinary proficiency in Grecian literature.

Mr. Seale's "Analysis of the Greek Metres" is designed as a Supplement to the Elementary Rules of Greek Prosody. With this View he has given a perspicuous and accurate account of the various metres employed by the Grecian poets, especially the Dra-

matic and Lyric. For his materials he is principally indebted to the prosody of Morell, and to Heath's Preface to his Notes on the Greek Tragedians. Mr. Seale's performance is divided into two chapters. In the first he considers metre as an arrangement of syllables and feet according to certain rules. In this sense he divides it into nine species. The second chapter describes the various compositions and modifications of these metres, and the names by which such as deviate from common rules are to be distinguished. Works of this kind, when executed with acknowledged ability, as in the present case, cannot fail of being acceptable and useful.

From the Clarendon press at Oxford hath lately proceeded a complete edition of "Cicero's Works, with Indexes and various Readings," in ten volumes, quarto. Olivet is the standard of the text, to which some critics have objected. Many things, however, are omitted that are to be met with in Olivet's edition, and the want of several of which will be regretted by the classical reader. On the other hand, we here have, what are not to be found in Olivet, the Collation of the Oxford and York Manuscripts; *Desiderii Jacobi Libellus de Doctrinâ Philosophorum*, published at Paris in 1554; and Ernestus's Index; which, being upon a new, exact, and very comprehensive plan, is uncommonly valuable. The great merit of the present edition of Cicero seems to consist in its correctness. If another volume had been added, containing a collection of the most curious, judicious, and important notes that have been furnished by Tully's various editors and commentators, perhaps, it would have been

been no small improvement of the design. Every man of literature will rejoice in the capital books which, for some years past, have been printed at the university of Oxford, and more of which there is good reason to expect. That learned university is not a little indebted to the late excellent sir William Blackstone, for reviving the glory of the Clarendon press.

Mr. Knox, who hath written so admirably on education, carries on his laudable designs for the benefit of young people. With this view he has published, for the use of schools, an edition of Juvenal and Persius, and another of Horace, purged from every exceptionable passage. In the first of these books the Lives of Juvenal and Persius are given, by Juvencius and others, together with Brewster's Translation of Persius, and Dr. Johnson's Imitations of the Third and Tenth Satires of Juvenal. To the edition of Horace are prefixed Suetonius's Life of him, the notes subjoined to it by Dacier, and that critic's Chronology, digested according to the Roman consuls. To these are added the Testimonies of the Ancients concerning Horace, and the Account of him by Desprez. The *Ars Poetica* is preceded by Mr. Colman's explanation of the motives from which that poem was composed. In the *Carmen Seculare* Mr. Knox has followed the common editions, and not Sanadon's arrangement, of which, however, we confess ourselves to be no small admirers. Our editor is entitled to the warm gratitude of the public, for thus contriving to improve the understandings, and to form the taste of youth, without injuring their morals.

With regard to modern Poetical Criticism, scarcely any thing of

consequence has appeared, excepting the "Historical Essay on the Origin and Progress of National Song." This is prefixed to a "Select Collection of English Songs," in three volumes, and is a very pleasing performance. The writer traces the subject, with great ingenuity and learning, from the earliest ages down to the present time. His enquiries shew him to be possessed of an eminent degree of antiquarian knowledge, accompanied with good sense and good taste. His account of song-writing in our own country will be particularly entertaining to the generality of readers. This essay is understood to be the production of the same person who wrote, with so much bitterness of spirit, the "Observations on the Three First Volumes of the History of English Poetry," and the "Remarks, critical and illustrative, on the Text and Notes of the last Edition of Shakspeare." We rejoice that in the performance before us there are no traces of a malignant temper; and the author may be assured that the moderation and candour which he has now displayed will be equally useful to the cause of literature, and much more conducive to his own reputation.

Mr. Davies, who succeeded so well in his *Memoirs of the Life of Garrick*, has again appeared before the world, in three volumes of "Dramatic Miscellanies." These consist of critical observations on several plays of Shakspeare, with a review of his principal characters, and those of various eminent writers, as represented by Mr. Garrick, and other celebrated comedians. Through the whole are interspersed anecdotes of dramatic poets, actors, and persons connected with the theatres. The plays of Shaks-

Shakspeare which are the objects of Mr. Davies's remarks, are, King John, Richard the Second, the Two Parts of Henry the Fourth, Henry the Eighth, All's well that ends well, Macbeth, Julius Cæsar, King Lear, Antony and Cleopatra, and Hamlet. Our author has also distinctly considered Ben Jonson's Every Man in his Humour, Beaumont and Fletcher's Rule a Wife and have a Wife, Lee's Rival Queens, and the duke of Buckingham's Rehearsal; besides which he has allotted a chapter each to Dryden, Otway, Congreve, Betterton, and Cibber. Though Mr. Davies's criticisms are not all of them of equal importance, we think that for the most part they will be read with pleasure, and that some of them are deserving of particular notice. It must, however, be confessed, that the chief recommendation of the present work arises from the anecdotes of comedians and dramatic poets with which it is interspersed, and from the accounts that are given of the manner in which the several characters of the plays here described were represented by different actors.

The purpose of Mr. Walker, in his "Rhetorical Grammar, or Course of Lessons on Elocution," is to give young persons an idea of the principles of speaking and reading with propriety. With this view he has entered deeply into the subject; and it is a subject upon which long study and large practical experience have enabled him to decide with uncommon precision and judgment. The first part of the Grammar consists of Instructions, addressed to Parents and Teachers of Elocution; and the remaining part contains an Explanation of the Figures of Rhetoric,

with Directions for the proper Manner of pronouncing them. There can be no doubt but that much advantage must arise from a careful attention to this work of our ingenious author, and to others which he has written of a similar kind.

Of the "Essay towards an English Grammar," we cannot speak so particularly as might be desirable. For though we are possessed of the book, and have read part of it, we have not perused enough to enable us to deliver an opinion concerning the merit of the whole. From what we have seen, we are satisfied that the author hath taken no small pains in ascertaining the rules of our language, and that many of his remarks will be found deserving of regard.

The "Essay on Medals" is upon a subject a farther acquaintance with which must be desirable to a number of persons. The foreign treatises on the Numismata are usually so large and so learned as not to suit common readers. As to the smaller tracts which have hitherto appeared in our own country, they are for the most part too superficial and defective to answer the purposes of sufficient information. The present work is divided into twenty-four sections, including the Rise and Progress of the Study of Medals; its Utility; its Connection with the Fine Arts; the various Sources of Delight arising from it; the Metals used in the Fabrication of Coins; their different Sizes; their former (ancient) Value; their Conservation; Portraits on them; their Reverses; Symbols on them; their Legends; the Medallions; the Contorniates; the Greek Medals; the Roman; Medals of other Nations; Modern Coins, &c.; Coins, &c. of Great Britain

Britain and Ireland; Observations on the Progress of the British Coin; Rarity of some ancient and modern ones; Counterfeit Medals, and how to distinguish them; Directions for forming Cabinets; and present Prices of Medals. An Appendix follows, containing an Explanation of the more common Abbreviations on Roman Medals; a Valuation of English Coins since the Conqueror; brief Notices and Rarity of the Scottish Coins; and the Rarity and Prices of the Coins of the Roman Emperors. So much useful instruction is conveyed under these several heads, that a candid critic will easily be disposed to overlook some peculiarities of sentiment, and inaccuracies of orthography and language, which, however, it would be advisable to correct in a future impression.

Sir William Jones's "Discourse on the Institution of a Society for enquiring into the History, civil and natural, the Antiquities, Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia, delivered at Calcutta, January 15th, 1784," is a fresh instance of this eminent gentleman's zeal to extend the bounds of knowledge, and to promote the improvement and happiness of mankind. The plan which he has laid down is very extensive, and, if vigorously pursued, cannot fail of producing considerable effects. It is a fortunate circumstance to the literary world, that Sir William Jones is now placed in a situation that will probably enable him to be signally useful in carrying on the ends of an institution from which treasures of learning hitherto unknown may be imported into Europe.

Perhaps we cannot find a better place than the present to mention Dr. Percival's "Moral and Literary Dissertations." The subjects

of them are, Truth and Faithfulness; Habit and Association; the Inconsistency of Expectation in literary Pursuits; a Taste for the general Beauties of Nature; a Taste for the Fine Arts; and the Alliance of Natural History and Philosophy with Poetry. To the Dissertations are added, a Tribute to the Memory of Charles de Polier, esq. and an Appendix. The work before us is chiefly intended as a sequel to "A Father's Instructions," published some years since by our author. He has long had it in contemplation to teach his older children the most important branches of ethics in a systematic and experimental manner, by examples; and the first Dissertation, which is a Socratic discourse, is the beginning of the plan. The plan is so excellent, that it gives us concern to find that various causes have hitherto prevented, and will probably continue to prevent, Dr. Percival from completing his design. He modestly expresses his wishes that some moralist, of more leisure and superior abilities, would execute, in its full extent, what, he says, is here so partially and imperfectly attempted. But who will be found better qualified, or more disposed to accomplish the undertaking than himself? The whole of the present work is well calculated to improve the understandings, meliorate the hearts, and refine the taste of young persons. The historical illustrations and anecdotes introduced by our author are judiciously chosen, and happily applied. We admire the elegance of his composition, and have no doubt but that the usefulness and pleasure arising from these Dissertations will be extended far beyond the sphere of the ingenious and worthy doctor's own family.

In Poetical Translation, we do not recollect any thing of so much consequence as the version of Virgil's first and second Georgic. The attempt is in blank verse, the author being convinced, that rhyme, from its very nature, must exclude any approaches to a just similitude. The pauses and varied cadence, the simplicity and latent art of Virgilian numbers, must, he thinks, ever totally frustrate the attempt in any quantity of lines so fettered; the very excellence of which, whatever it may be, is of a form utterly dissimilar and incompatible. Accordingly, Trapp is in part our translator's model, concerning whom he observes, that had he been as happy in the diction and versification in general, as he must be acknowledged to have been in not a few lines (indeed in a considerable part of the arduous undertaking), any version, after his, might have been judged superfluous. We do not concur in these sentiments of our ingenious author. Perhaps it may be considered as a want of just taste, but we must confess, that no translations in blank verse, either from Homer or Virgil, have ever given us any great degree of pleasure. With regard to Virgil, the poetical versions of Dryden, Warton, and Pultney have been perused by us with a satisfaction far superior to what we have experienced from reading that of Trapp, or from other attempts of a similar kind. At the same time, we are ready to acknowledge that the present writer has improved greatly upon his model; that his translation is close, faithful, and correct; and that it is not without a considerable portion of merit. We would not wish him, therefore, to be discouraged from completing his undertaking, which may be accept-

able to a number of readers. Admitting the fact, it might not be unworthy of enquiry, whence it happens that blank verse always appears much more beautiful in an original poem than in translations. The fact can scarcely be doubted by those who are acquainted with Milton and with Akenfield. The causes of it, did not the limited nature of our work prevent such a discussion, would not, perhaps, be of difficult investigation. The translator of the two books of the Georgics, who is Capel Lofft, Esq. a gentleman well known for his zeal in the cause of parliamentary reformation, is such a determined enemy to the name of a tyrant, that he has left out, both in the original text and in his version, Virgil's flattery of Augustus. With an equal aversion to tyranny, we apprehend that a different conduct ought to have been pursued. It seems to have been the duty of an editor to have permitted the obnoxious lines to keep their place, at least in the original, while a disapprobation of them might have been expressed in a note.

In our last Register, we mentioned Mr Colman's admirable translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, and the excellent notes with which it is accompanied. We did not expect so soon to see another version of the same poem. But it does not appear that the present author was at all acquainted with Mr. Colman's work. However, he has fallen into something of the same train of reasoning with regard to the design with which the Epistle to the Pisos was written. The translation is in verses of eight syllables, which are not so well adapted to the nature of the undertaking as the heroic measure, when rendered properly familiar; neither do they

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come recommended in the case before us, by an uniform degree of correctness. It seems to have been the design of the translator, in his notes, critical and explanatory, rather to have consulted the instruction of young scholars, than of those who have made any great progress in classical learning.

In looking back upon the general poetical productions of the year, we are surprized at the number of them that are derived from the ladies. Two of our first female poets, Miss Seward, and Miss Helen Williams, have distinguished themselves in a particular manner. Miss Seward has struck out a new and very pleasing form of composition, in a poetical novel, to which she has given the title of "Louisa." The story is simple, and the incidents are few; but they are worked up with great beauty and tenderness. The poem consists of four Epistles, the first of which is from Louisa to Emma, her friend in the East-Indies; the second from Eugenio to Emma, returned from the East-Indies; the third from Louisa to Emma, written after she had received from her, Eugenio's exculpating letter; and the fourth from Louisa to the same correspondent, concluding the story. The rise and progress of Eugenio's and Louisa's love for each other, his being obliged to marry Emira in order to rescue his father and mother from ruin, the death of Emira, and the subsequent marriage of the two lovers, form the basis of the novel. The fair author's design is to unite the impassioned fondness of Pope's *Eloisa*, with the chaster tenderness of Prior's *Emma*; avoiding the voluptuousness of the first, and the too conceding softness of the second. We may venture to say, that she has admirably succeeded in the ac-

complishment of her design. It will be remembered, that Miss Seward's plan rather leads her to a description of passions than of incidents. The whole poem abounds with beautiful passages, among which, though it is difficult to make a selection, we may observe, that the first interview between Eugenio and Louisa, their mutual sensations, and the happiness they felt in the consciousness of each other's affection, are delightfully displayed. In a work replete with so many excellencies, we are not disposed to waste our time in criticizing on a few places which the severity of judgment may deem somewhat too redundant, or in any respect less perfect than could be wished.

Miss Helen Williams's "Peru" is the production of a truly poetic genius, and it will appear the more extraordinary when it is considered that it is written by a very young person, who has had no peculiar advantages of literary education, and that the completion of the poem, as we have reason to believe, took up but a small portion of time. To write on such a subject was rather a bold undertaking; but our poetess apologizes for it, by declaring, that she has not had the presumption even to attempt a full, historical narration of the fall of the Peruvian empire. To describe, she says, that important event with precision, and to display with just force the various causes which combined to produce it, would require all the energy of genius, all the strong colouring of the most glowing imagination. Conscious, she adds, of her utter inability to execute such a design, she hath only aimed at giving a simple detail of a few incidents in that affecting and romantic history; where the unparalleled sufferings of an innocent and amiable people afford the finest subjects

fects for true pathos, while their climate, entirely dissimilar to our own, furnishes new and ample materials for poetic description. Miss Williams has performed more than her promise. Her descriptions are admirably picturesque, the incidents very affecting, and her versification eminently beautiful. It is in pathos that she greatly excels; pathos is her fort; to the pathetic she recurs on every occasion. The fine imagination of Miss Williams perpetually supplies her with images and expressions, perhaps too richly luxuriant. To point out the striking parts of the poem before us, would carry us too far; and, therefore, we shall only observe, that we were much pleased with the episode of Zamor and Anciloe. He must be a fastidious critic indeed, who will not, upon the whole, give his verdict to the great merit of the present work. It must be acknowledged that the fair author has redundancies to correct; and we doubt not but that they will be corrected by maturer years and judgment. It is the fault of some modern poetry that it affects too splendid a dress, and that it is loaded with epithets not sufficiently precise, appropriated, and expressive. The chaste and beautiful reserve of the ancient classics in this respect would be a proper object of imitation. We must not forget to mention, that Miss Williams has dedicated her Peru to Mrs. Montagu, in a copy of verses wherein simplicity and elegance are happily united.

The "Elegiac Sonnets and other Essays" of Miss or Mrs. (we know not which) Charlotte Smith, of Bignor Park, in Sussex, are the next female productions intitled to applause. No one can be insensible how much the sonnet hath of late years become a favourite mode of

writing; and a judicious critic may possibly think that it has been cultivated something more than it deserves. That the sonnets before us are truly elegant, will be manifest from the specimens of them which we have inserted in the poetical department of our work. The poem on the origin of flattery, which makes a part of the present publication, is a pleasing fiction, very beautifully and happily conducted.

To the other poetical ladies of the year we are not able to render that justice to which, perhaps, their merit may be entitled; for, not having had the pleasure of perusing their productions, we must rely, for what is said concerning them, on the testimonies of others. The performances we have in view are; Miss Ryves's "Epistle to the right honourable Lord John Cavendish, late Chancellor of the Exchequer;" the same lady's "Dialogue in the Elysian Fields, between Cæsar and Cato;" Mrs. Upton's "Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose and Verse;" and Mrs. Hughes's Poems. Of Miss Ryves it is asserted that her verses are spirited, and sometimes elegant, but not always correct. Nearly the same character is given of Mrs. Upton; and Mrs. Hughes is represented as having written pleasing moral pieces, and as having composed the legendary tale of Edwin and Matilda with taste and simplicity.

The Poetical Publications of the year by male authors have exceeded rather in number than in excellence. Indeed, few of them have been so distinguished by their merit, as to be entitled to any eminent degree of applause. Mr. Jerminham's "Rise and Progress of the Scandinavian Poetry" is the work of a gentleman whose name is already well known in the literary world. His poems

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are in the hands of most readers, who need not be informed that he principally excels in the elegiac and tender species of composition. In the performance before us he aims at a higher strain, but not with the success that could be wished. The fault, perhaps, is not so much in himself, as in the subject which he hath chosen. The imagery supplied by the Scandinavian poetry is oftentimes more horrible than sublime; and the machinery it affords is far less captivating to the imagination than that which is furnished by the Greek and Roman mythology, and by the tales of chivalry. Those poems of the late Mr. Gray which were formed upon the model of the Runic bards, are, notwithstanding the power of his genius, the least pleasing of his writings. We do not deny that there are some energetic passages in Mr. Jerminham's poem, but we are persuaded that it will never be popular.

Gray's admirable Elegy in a Country Church Yard has given rise to various imitations, some more and some less successful. It was very natural that Westminster Abbey should furnish a subject of the elegiac kind, and it is an agreeable circumstance that it should fall into the hands of a gentleman so well capable of doing justice to it as Mr. Maurice. His poem, taking its title from that Abbey, breathes the spirit of Gray. The descriptions and reflections suggested by a theme so awful, when so happily expressed, will, at the same time, promote the sentiments of piety and gratify the feelings of taste. Mr. Maurice has prefixed to his poem a summary account of the first foundation, and final completion of Westminster Abbey.

The "Verses on her Majesty's

Birth-Day" are a voluntary tribute to royal merit; a voluntary tribute to the universally acknowledged virtues of the queen, which give her a just title to poetical applause. Whoever may be the author of the present composition, it proceeds from a person of a truly classical taste, his verses being correct and elegant, and judiciously adapted to the occasion.

The "Regular Ode to Mr. Pitt" rises above many productions of the same kind, being the work of one who is well acquainted with the nature of this species of poetry, and who is possessed of abilities that qualify him for appearing in it with advantage. The writer we believe to be a very respectable clergyman, who is not unknown in the literary world, and who has here offered a testimony of regard arising from his understanding and his heart.

Mr. Irwin, whom we have formerly mentioned in terms of approbation, hath published an "Ode to Robert Brooke, Esq; occasioned by the death of Hyder Ally." Though the author is not destitute of fancy, and writes with taste and harmony, he doth not seem to be animated by that native fire which is requisite to give to Lyric Poetry its full vigour and elevation. In making this remark, we only say what may be asserted concerning the greatest number of Ode-writers, in our own or any other country.

Mr. Stockdale's "Three Poems" come from a gentleman who hath appeared before the public in various forms of composition, and in all of them with very considerable ability, though his writings are not totally unexceptionable. Mrs. Siddons is the subject of the first poem; the second is addressed to Sir Ashton Lever; and the third is an Elegy

on the Death of a Young Officer in the Army. In all these we observe the traces of a lively and vigorous mind; of a mind capable of forming strong ideas, and of expressing them in energetic and harmonious versification. Mr. Stockdale has it always in his power to write in such a manner as to be read with pleasure and advantage.

The Historical Essay on national Song, prefixed to "A select Collection of English Songs" we have already mentioned. With regard to the Collection itself, it is sufficient to take notice that it consists of Love Songs, Drinking Songs, Miscellaneous Songs, and Ancient Ballads. The choice appears to have been made with great judgment, though, from the diversities in the tastes of men, it will always be asked, in cases of this kind, why such and such things are omitted.

The third and fourth volume of "Old Ballads" we have not seen, and, therefore, cannot say whether they be or be not judiciously selected.

"Two ancient Scottish Poems, Gaberlunzie Man, and Christ's Kirk on the Green, with notes and Observations," by Mr. Callandar, had better, perhaps, have been spoken of under the head of Antiquities. What the editor hath said concerning etymologies is worthy of attention, Mr. Callandar being a gentleman much conversant with the original state of the literature and language of his country, and well qualified to write upon it.

There were many other Poetical productions published during the year, which the limits we are confined to will not permit us distinctly to characterise; so that we must be satisfied with a bare recital of the titles of some of them that other-

wise, perhaps, might have been found worthy of more particular notice. The publications we refer to are, "Poems, by a literary Society;" Major Waller's "Familiar Epistle to Thomas Lamb, Esq.;" his "Rump and Dozen," and his "Avaro and Tray;" the "Poetical Attempts;" "A Supplement to the Miscellanies of Thomas Chatterton;" "Courcy and Adelaide;" "Carmen in Honorem Georgii Savile;" "Trifles in Verse;" "Shooting, a Poem;" "Lippscombe's Poems;" "Aerophorion," "Fontenoy, a Poem;" "Chatsworth;" "Fashion, an Ode, with other Poems;" and "The Cave of Neptune."

When we consider that poetry is understood not to be the prevailing taste of the age, that it scarcely meets with any degree of patronage from the great, and that works are comparatively neglected which in the beginning of the century would have made the fortunes of the writers, we are surprised at the number of poetical pieces that are printed every year. We apprehend that, in many cases the sale does not defray the charges of publication. Some persons may be capable of sustaining the expence; others may be instigated by the applause of injudicious friends; and others may be carried to the press merely by the impulse of their own vanity. This last circumstance is probably very extensive in its operation; for we believe that no people are so fond of appearing in print as the writers even of the most indifferent verses. They think themselves entitled to praise, and therefore rush upon the public, often to their own mortification; unless vanity again intervenes, to console them for the neglect of an undiscerning world.

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With respect to the Dramatic productions of the year, written for the Stage, we shall pursue our accustomed method of reciting only the titles of the pieces, and the names of the authors, when their names are known. In Tragedy was exhibited Mr. Cumberland's "Carmelite." The Comedies of 1784 were, "Reparation," by Mr. Andrews; "Deception," by Mr. Vaughan; and "The Follies of the Day," by Mr. Holcroft. Various Dramatic performances have been represented, under the titles of Musical Comedies, Comic Operas, and Musical Farces. The Musical Comedies were, "Two to One," by young Mr. Colman, and "The Noble Peasant," by Mr. Holcroft. The Comic Operas were, "The Double Disguise;" "Robin Hood," by Mr. Macnally; and "Fontainebleau, or the Way to France," by Mr. O'Keefe. Two Musical Farces, "Peeping Tom," and "The Spanish Rivals," were, likewise produced by the same prolific author. The Farces, without Music, were, "The Tobacconist," "Hunt the Slipper," and "Aerostation;" the last by Mr. Pillon. A Petit Piece, of two Acts, was also performed, called "A Mogul Tale."

But though, with respect to the productions in general brought on the stage, and which occupy so much the remarks both of newspaper and periodical critics, we content ourselves with a bare enumeration of them; this must not be the case with regard to Mr. Hayley's "Plays of three Acts, written for a private Theatre." This work is of too much consequence to be passed over without particular notice. The diversity of Mr. Hayley's genius, which has been so finely displayed in his other

poems, has now appeared in a form of composition totally new in this country. This character, however, does not extend to his Tragedies, which are two in number, "Marcella," and "Lord Ruffel." The story of Marcella was recommended to Dr. Young by the author of *Clarissa*. The poet adopted it, and wrote a single act; but this shared the fate of his other unfinished manuscripts, and, according to the direction of his will, was committed to the flames. Mr. Hayley was at length induced to take up the story, which is a very dreadful one. In general, we greatly admire the "Marcella:" but there is one point in which we must object to it, and that is, in regard to the character of Hernandez. It is a character not suited to the dignity of Tragedy; it excites horror rather than terror, and is indeed loathsome. We are surprised that Mr. Hayley's fine taste and sound judgment did not suggest to him that the catastrophe might have been effected by a person equally wicked, but more elevated. Some offended nobleman, of black and daring passions, might, with less disgust to the reader, have wrought the evil which gives the terror to the Tragedy. The story of Ruffel will always be pleasing and affecting to a true Englishman, and our author has conducted it with eminent propriety and beauty. In the characters and incidents he hath adhered much to the real history, while, at the same time, they have received such heightening as was necessary to dramatic composition. The sentiments, moral and political, will command the applause of every well constituted mind, and the language is admirably adapted to the Tragic Muse. In this respect Mr. Hayley has held out a model which is highly worthy

worthy of imitation. We must not forget to mention, that the "Lord Ruffel" was voluntarily taken up by Mr. Colman, and represented at the Hay-market Theatre. It is in his Comedies that our ingenious poet hath assumed a form wholly new. They are in rhyme; of that species of verse which has been used by the author of the Bath Guide. For this he hath apologized, in a very able manner, in his preface; and hath even gone so far as to suggest, that a Comedy in rhyme may be still more entertaining than a Comedy, of equal merit in other points, which confines itself to prose. Without being converts to his opinion, we highly admire the manner in which he has executed his design. His rhymes, to express ourselves in the language of a judicious critic, are, "so familiar, so easy, so flowing, that prose itself can scarcely appear more natural, more convenient for the purposes of dialogue, or the business of the Drama." But it is not to this matter only that our praises are to be confined. The characters are well supported, and the Comedies are replete with wit and humour. They are three in number; "The Happy Prescription," "The Two Connoisseurs," and "The Mausoleum." Each of these we have read with peculiar satisfaction, and think that they are all of them extremely entertaining; but it seems to be the general voice to give the preference to the "Two Connoisseurs." It is applauded for the "Compactness of the fable, the natural humour of the characters, the justness and delicacy of the sentiments, and the elegant vivacity of the style." While we entirely concur in this encomium, we must be permitted to say, that we did

not peruse the "Happy Prescription" with an inferior degree of pleasure. The play of the "Two Connoisseurs" has, since its publication, been acted on Mr. Colman's stage, and received with applause.

Dr. Downman's Tragedy, entitled "Editha," must not be passed over unnoticed. Though not represented in London, it is said to have been acted in Exeter, near which the scene of the story is laid. The piece is not without its faults; but there is such a vigour in it, that, with proper alterations, it might well deserve to be introduced in a larger theatre.

"The Patriot, a Tragedy, altered from the Italian of Metastasio," is not, we apprehend, so far altered as to raise it much above a mere translation. Not having been translated by Mr. Hoole, it may, on that account, be the more acceptable to such readers as cannot have access to the original. The story is that of Themistocles, at the court of Persia.

Our article of Domestic Literature hath extended so far, that we must be as brief as possible in mentioning such miscellaneous publications as cannot wholly be omitted. For this purpose, it may not be amiss to throw them into groups, by which means a number of them will more easily be discerned in a single view. The first group we shall introduce will be relative to the late disputes of the Royal Society. A measure taken by the president and council, which produced Dr. Hutton's resignation of the office he sustained as foreign secretary, and which was intended to produce that effect, gave so much offence to the Doctor's friends, as to occasion a variety of motions and debates, at the weekly meetings

of the members in Somerset Place. The contests, at length, arrived to such a height, as to become the object of discussion in various pamphlets. The first that appeared was entitled, "An Authentic Narrative of the Dissensions and Debates in the Royal Society; containing the speeches at large of Dr. Horsley, Dr. Maskelyne, Mr. Maseres, Mr. Poor, Mr. Glenie, Mr. Watson, and Mr. Maty." This Narrative, which was well written, was entirely on the side of Dr. Hutton; and the speeches were those only that had been delivered in defence of the Doctor, and in condemnation of Sir Joseph Banks's conduct. There was great spirit in several of the speeches; and that of Dr. Horsley, in particular, was very energetic and eloquent. It was, indeed, more distinguished by its energy and eloquence than by its moderation and candour. The next publication was "An Appeal to the Fellows of the Royal Society, concerning the Measures taken by Sir Joseph Banks, their president, to compel Dr. Hutton to resign the Office of Secretary to the Society for their Foreign Correspondence." This tract, which was professedly the work of a friend of Dr. Hutton, and was entirely in his favour, was, nevertheless, drawn up with calmness and temper. The third pamphlet was uncommonly violent. The title of it was, "An History of the Instances of Exclusion from the Royal Society, which were not suffered to be urged in the Course of the late Debates; with Strictures on the Formation of the Council, and other Instances of Despotism of Sir Joseph Banks, the present President, and of his Incapacity for his high Office." In this production every charge was urged against Sir Joseph, which extreme dislike, and an earnest desire

to criminate him as much as possible, in conjunction with considerable abilities, could produce. Hitherto the publications being entirely on one side of the question, the enemies of the president triumphed greatly, and it was boasted that no defence of him could be given. But, after some time, came out "Canons of Criticism, extracted from the Beauties of Maty's Review." In this piece, which was written with learning and with wit, the errors of Mr. Maty's Reviews were severely exposed, and Dr. Horsley's conduct was displayed with equal severity. The author was understood to be a dignitary of the Church of England. Last of all appeared, "Observations on the late Contests in the Royal Society," by Dr. Kippis. This was the only tract upon the subject to which the writer prefixed his name. Dr. Kippis professed to give a fair and candid view of the dissensions that had arisen in the Society: and it is certain that his history of them is drawn up with perspicuity and moderation. While he acknowledges that Sir Joseph Banks had been to blame in some respects, he condemns the behaviour of his opponents, vindicates him with regard to most of the accusations that had been brought against him, and strongly asserts his capacity for the station he holds, and the integrity and zeal with which he had discharged the duties of that station. In one instance, Dr. Kippis was thought by several persons to depart from his usual candour; and that was in the latter end of his pamphlet, where he exposes Dr. Horsley's haughtiness as a divine. Others approved of that part; whether justly or not, is of little consequence to determine. It may be proper to acquaint our readers, that the dis-

putes in the Royal Society have subsided, with a very general acquiescence in, and, indeed, approbation of the president's conduct.

The next group we shall introduce, is that of those publications which, in some shape or other, may be considered as relating to education and the forming of the minds of young persons. These are, "Letters to Honoria and Marianne, on various Subjects;" "Dramatic Pieces;" "Tales of the Castle;" "Letters from a Mother to her Children;" "The Children's Friend;" "Letters from a Peeress of England to her eldest Son;" "School Dialogues, for Boys;" Dr. Andrews's "Letters to a young Gentleman on his setting out for France;" and "Female Tuition, or an Address to Mothers on the Education of Daughters." When we say that the *Tales of the Castle* are a translation from *Madame de Genlis*, our readers will be able, from that lady's already established character, to form some judgment of their merit. From Dr. Andrews's known acquaintance with France, it will reasonably be supposed that he is well qualified for pointing out the proper objects of attention to those who mean to prosecute their studies in that country. The books published by the Marshalls in St Aldermary Church Yard, and written for the most part, we apprehend, by one of the partners, carry on, in a very pleasing and useful manner, the instructions of children, of different ages. "Female Tuition" is entitled to no small degree of praise. The author's design is to convince mothers of the great importance of making their daughters good women. In prosecuting this purpose, he treats on maternal authority, domestic attention, diligence and activity, œconomy, simplicity, female pursuits, honour, knowledge,

virtue, and religion, with excellent sense, accompanied with a sprightly manner of composition.

The third group, which is a very large one, consists of the Novels and Romances of the year. While some do not deserve to be mentioned at all, the rest are sufficiently numerous. They have appeared under the following titles: "The Denouement, or the History of Lady Louisa Wingrove;" "The History of Christina, Princess of Suabia, and of Eloisa de Livarot;" "Dangerous Connections;" "Barham Downs;" "The Independent;" "Original Love Letters, between a Lady of Quality and a Person of inferior Station." "Italian Letters, or the History of the Count de St. Julian;" Mr. Potter's, "Virtuous Villagers;" "The Magdalen, or the History of the First Penitent received into that charitable Asylum;" "Siberian Anecdotes;" "Imogen, a Pastoral Romance;" and "The History of Lord Belford and Miss Sophia Woodley." It will not be expected that any person, whose time is principally devoted to the more serious and important parts of literature, can have read all these productions. Four of them we have perused with much pleasure; *Barham Downs*, *The Independent*, the *Original Love Letters*, and the *Italian Letters*. Each of these has its distinct and peculiar merit, as will readily be felt and acknowledged by every reader of sensibility and taste. For *Barham Downs* we are indebted to the pen of the author of *Mount Hienneth*, to whose mode of writing a due tribute of praise was rendered in a former Annual Register.

We shall conclude our article of Domestic Literature with a short notice of three or four publications, which are entitled to a separate attention.

Mr. Ramsay's "Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves, in the British Sugar Colonies" is a work of the highest importance to the interests of humanity. The reverend and benevolent author hath pleaded the cause of the Negroes with great energy, and has described their sufferings in a very pathetic manner. He is entitled to the warm thanks of every rational and feeling mind, for his zealous endeavours to meliorate the condition of slavery. It is a pleasure to us that his book, in which he has displayed much knowledge upon the subject, has excited a general notice; and we trust that, in conjunction with other efforts, it will tend to produce an important revolution in the state of mankind.

Mr. Day's "Fragment of an original Letter on the Slavery of Negroes," is another plea for this injured and distressed part of the human species. It was written in 1776, at the request of a gentleman of America, who desired to know his sentiments on the subject. Our author has represented, with admirable address and energy, the inconsistency of an American patriot's being zealous for the rights and liberties of his country, while he holds the poor Africans in bondage. The iniquity and cruelty, and, we might add, the ill policy of slavery, will, we hope, continue to be urged by the friends of reason, justice, and compassion, till at length it shall be banished from the face of the earth.

Mr. Howard, whose name is above all praise, perseveres, with unremitted ardour, in his zeal for the purification of prisons, and the relief and comfort of prisoners. He has published an "Appendix to the State of the Prisons in England and Wales, &c. containing a farther Account of foreign Prisons and

Hospitals, with additional Remarks on the Prisons of this Country." This Appendix, consisting of nearly three hundred pages in quarto, is distributed gratis to the purchasers of the former editions of the work; and the whole of the new edition, being the third, and including the Appendix, though a book worth five and twenty shillings, is sold for thirteen shillings in boards. Hence our readers will perceive that Mr. Howard's generosity keeps pace with his humanity.

Dr. Hey, who last year exposed the pernicious effects of gaming, has this year done the same with regard to duelling. His work is a Dissertation which obtained a prize in the University of Cambridge, and is published by appointment. The affair of duelling is considered, by the ingenious author, in every point of view, and shewn to be in all respects highly absurd and criminal. It would be happy if his arguments were attended to by the persons for whose benefit they are more immediately designed; but these men will be the last to read and to profit by what is here advanced. Surely some principles and regulations might be adopted, which would contribute to put an end to a practice that is replete with the most destructive consequences.

It is proper to mention, at this conclusion of our article of Domestic Literature, that three productions of the year, in critical and classical learning, have been omitted by us, in consequence of our not having had an opportunity of paying them a due attention. These are Mr. Weston's "Hermesianax," Mr. Routh's edition, from the Clarendon Press, of the "Euthydemus and Gorgias of Plato;" and Mr Dunster's Translation of Aristophanes's Comedy of "The Frogs."

FOREIGN LITERATURE,

Of the Year 1784.

IN giving the short and imperfect sketch of Foreign Literature to which we are necessarily confined by the multifarious nature of our work, we are presented with an opportunity of first introducing to our readers a writer of uncommon dignity in point of external rank. This is no less a personage than Catherine the Second, Empress of all the Russias; who has condescended to add her illustrious name to the small catalogue of royal authors. Her object is the instruction of her two grandsons, and her performance is intitled, “The Library of the Grand Dukes *Alexander* and *Constantine*.” It has been published at Berlin, in two octavo volumes. Among the pieces contained in them, are, “Fundamental Principles of the Instruction of a Citizen;” “Materials for a Russian History;” “Select Collection of Russian Proverbs;” and “The Story of the Czarewitz Fewei,” a Romance, designed to give an idea of the education and character of a good prince. Though we are not competent to determine concerning the precise merit of the work in respect of composition, it may safely be pronounced, that the endeavours of her Imperial Majesty to form the minds and manners of her grandsons are worthy of praise.—Mons. Pallas, who, by his preceding publications, has thrown so much light on the general state, and on the

natural history, of the remotest parts of the Russian Empire, and the north east parts of Asia, has prosecuted his design in another volume, printed at Petersburg, the title of which is, “New Memoirs, relative to the Northern Regions.” This is the fourth volume of the undertaking; and among the most valuable parts of the volume, may be reckoned, the description of the *Kuril* Islands, accompanied with a history of their discovery, and an account of their inhabitants; the observations of M. Hablitz on the Persian province of *Gilan*, in the year 1773; and the curious journal of a captain of the Cossacks, who, in 1779, passed from the point of *Tschuktsh* to the Islands of the Straits, with the inhabitants of which he conversed amicably, and discovered from thence the coasts of two parts of the globe.—At Riga has appeared, in three volumes, octavo, “Collections relative to the History of Peter the First, Emperor of Russia.” Whatever relates to a character so illustrious, and a reign so extraordinary, cannot fail of exciting a certain degree of attention.—In our last Annual Register we mentioned Mr. Le Clerc’s “Natural, Moral, Civil, and Political History of ancient and modern Russia.” He has lately published, at Paris, a third volume of this large undertaking. The

volume now printed, is the second volume appropriated to the ancient part of the Russian History, and concludes that part. It exhibits a lively picture of the inward commotions in Russia, till the Tartarian hordes rushed upon the divided people, and reduced them to a state of servitude. The invasion of the Tartars, and the conquests of Gengis Kan, are among the important narrations of the present volume. Mr. Le Clerc's account of the Tartars is curious; and the History of Iwan the Third, who ascended the throne in 1462, introduces to our knowledge a prince who was distinguished by his wisdom, prudence, mildness, and magnanimity. A dispute has arisen between our author and another late historian of the Russian Empire M. L'Évesque. The latter was the aggressor, in some critical remarks on Mr. Le Clerc's work, to which a reply hath been made with great freedom. On each side hath been exerted a sufficient degree of asperity. Though we have no doubt of the general merit of Mr. Le Clerc's performance, we cannot help mentioning, that a very learned and judicious gentleman of our acquaintance, who has examined the productions of both the rival historians, gives a decided preference to that of M. L'Évesque.—There was expected to be published in Russia, in 1784, a completion of the History of the Manjore and Mongol Tartars, translated from the Manjore language. This work, which has been translating and printing for many years past, comprizes sixteen octavo volumes. A Russian translation of all Plato's works, in three volumes, quarto, was likewise expected. The execution of such a design must be regarded as a considerable proof that there is in Russia a rising

spirit of attention to ancient and classic literature.

It gives us pleasure to find, that, notwithstanding the losses sustained by Sweden in the extinction of the Linnæan family and the death of professor Bergman, the honour of science and learning is still maintained in that kingdom. Dr. Thunberg and Dr. Sparrman, both of them eminent disciples of Linnæus, and who resided long and far abroad, have, on their return to their native country, enriched the world with the knowledge they have gained. Dr. Thunberg's residence of sixteen months in Japan has enabled him to present to the public a "*Flora Japonica*." This subject is in a great measure new; little having been known before, excepting the inaccurate things to be found in Kempfer's *Amœnitates*, and a few other scattered publications. Dr. Thunberg has given twenty-two new families of Japanese plants, and three hundred and sixteen new genera. Japan has many plants in common with Europe, America, China, and the East-Indies. Those which the author has observed he has distributed according to the sexual system, with such a change, however, and diversity of arrangement as suits his own ideas. It is hoped that he will favour the lovers of botany with the Floras of Ceylon, Java, and other parts to which his enquiries and observations have extended.—The same gentleman has written a short tract concerning the different kinds of coins which, either in ancient times or more lately, have been struck and are current in the kingdom of Japan. This publication, which was originally drawn up in the Swedish language, and is accompanied with engravings, has been translated into

German

German. Dr. Sparrman has obliged the public with the fruits of his long residence at the Cape of Good Hope. The work is entitled, "The Voyage of Dr. Andrew Sparrman, Professor of Physic at Stockholm, Fellow of the Royal Academy of Sweden, and Keeper of the Cabinet of Natural History to the same, to the Cape of Good Hope, the South Pole, and round the World; but principally into the country of the Caffres and Hottentots, from the year 1772 to 1776." This voyage has been translated from the Swedish into German by Christian Henry Groscurd, rector of the Gymnasium at Stralsund, and has been published, with a preface, by George Forster, professor at Cassel, and since removed to Wilna in Poland. A map and a number of copper-plates furnish an additional recommendation of the book. As to the work itself, it is valuable on many accounts, and is much superior to every thing which hath hitherto appeared on the same subjects. Dr. Sparrman went farther than any man had ever been before him; and he happened to be at the Cape at a time when the Dutch thought it no longer necessary to make a mystery of their operations. Besides this, he had access to the best information; and having been a scholar of Linnæus, he was well qualified to describe the vegetable and animal productions of the country. With these advantages, his account both of the civil policy and natural history of that part of the world may be depended upon as genuine. It is a proof of his good sense, and of the truth of his representations, that he rejects the strange things which occur in some former travellers, with regard to the customs and appearance of the Hottentots.—The two first volumes

of an Historical Library of Sweden, after the manner of Le Long's *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, have been published in the Swedish language. They were written by Baron Warmholmtz, and cost him a preparation of twenty years. Mr. Gorwell, the editor, and who is the king's librarian at Stockholm, proposes to translate the whole work into French, and to make additions to it, particularly with regard to medallic history. The completion of such a design will be a desirable addition to the stock of historical knowledge.—A collection of tracts, in Latin, under the title of "*Acta Medicorum Suecicorum*," relating to physic and natural history, by the younger Linnæus, Professor Adolphus Murray, Thunberg, and others, has lately appeared. The collection is partly new, and partly consists of pieces which have formerly been printed. The present volume, which is adorned with nineteen copper-plates, is only the beginning of a design intended to be carried on in future publications.

Denmark would offer little to our notice, for the year 1784, if it were not for the labours of M. Adler. This gentleman, whom we have formerly mentioned as rising to great eminence in Oriental and critical literature, has lately been appointed professor at Copenhagen; and it is an appointment which promises to be highly favourable to the interests of learning in Denmark. One of the first effects of his new situation was his preparing a short grammar of the Syriac tongue, for the use of his pupils; and it will be their own fault if they do not derive much benefit from so able an instructor. The same gentleman has published "*An Expli-*

cation, from the genius of the Syriac Language, of some phrases in St. Matthew and St. Mark, to which are added observations on the history of each of their Gospels. From the Syriac forms of expression used by St. Matthew, Mr. Adler thinks it evident that his Gospel was originally written in that tongue. It is, also, our professor's opinion, that St. Mark first epitomized this Gospel into Greek, leaving out the things which the heathen converts, for whom he wrote, could not understand. It is maintained by the professor, that it was not till after this that the whole of St. Matthew was translated, for the use of the Hellenistic Jews. Our learned Lardner held different sentiments upon these points, and has advanced reasons for them, which many judicious men may consider as of no little importance. — "A Chemical Essay on the Principles of the Formation of the Nitrous Acid" has been published at Copenhagen. It was the result of a premium offered by the Royal Society of Sciences in that city, and had the honour of obtaining the prize. The author is Dr. Thouvenel, corresponding member of the Royal College of Physicians at Nancy.

The United Provinces will be found more fruitful in Literary Publications than Russia, Sweden, or Denmark, though the abundance of them doth not appear to equal that of some former years. In Theology we know not whether "The select Acts of the Belgic Saints," printed in Latin, and written by Joseph Gesquierus, deserve to be mentioned. The work extends from the commencement of the christian church to the year 582. How edifying the transactions of these

good saints may be, it is not in our power to determine; but it may reasonably be supposed that the perusal of them will chiefly be confined to the Dutch divines. — A "Specimen Arabicum," containing a description of, and extracts from a book of Feifaschius on gems and precious stones, unites Oriental learning with natural history. Feifaschius was an Arabian jeweller of the thirteenth century, whose work is mentioned in Golius's Lexicon. The present editor, Sebastianus Fulco Rau, has been assisted in the execution of his design, by the use of four new manuscripts. Feifaschius's book is divided into twenty-five chapters, comprehending accounts of twenty-four stones, which are either precious, or so called by the Arabs, from their shining quality. — In Grecian literature and criticism, two writers occur, who are worthy of being particularly distinguished, Valkenar and Wassenberg. Mr. Valkenar has published four dissertations of Hemsterhusius on curious and important subjects, together with three dissertations of his own. But what constitutes the principal value of the work is the addition of a Schediasma, exhibiting a specimen of critical notes on sundry places in the books of the New Testament. The author occasionally illustrates and amends some passages in profane writers. It is, however, to the New Testament that his remarks are chiefly confined. Two Orations of Chrysostom, and an ancient Latin version of them by Anianus, are prefixed to the present publication. It is the opinion of Mr. Valkenar that Mr. Toup is not so happy in his conjectures on the New Testament, as he is in his explanation of fragments of the comedies, and Greek epigrams. — Mr. Wassenberg has given

given an edition of the first and second Books of Homer's Iliad, with a Greek Paraphrase hitherto unpublished, and ancient Scholia in the same language, many of which are now for the first time brought to light. Our author, who is a scholar of Rhunken and Valkenar, has been encouraged to the undertaking by these learned gentlemen. The paraphrase is from a manuscript, probably of the eighth century, which contains the whole Iliad in the same way. Rhunken thinks it elegant; Valkenar, that it is very useful; and Wassenberg that it is far preferable to any Latin translation. This editor, in his Notes on the Life offers a conjecture (not indeed entirely new), that the story of Homer's blindness took its rise from his name, which in Æolic signifies *blind*. Some ingenious reasons are produced, to shew that Homer wrote a poem called the Margites, but that it was lost, and that the poem under this title which now subsists was written by Pigres, the brother of Artemisia. By the transposition of some verses, Mr. Wassenberg has been enabled to give us an entire Elegy of Theognis, addressed to Cyrnus.—Saxius's Onomasticon is the continuation of a great work with regard to literary history. It is the fourth part of it which is now published, and it extends from the year 1586 to the institution of the society *Naturæ Speculatorum* in 1612. The same accuracy in investigating the age of the writers, in estimating the merit of their works, and in pointing out the sources from which farther information concerning them may be derived, is found in the present that was admired in the former volumes. When it is objected that several considerable names are

omitted, an objection is made which perhaps might more or less be urged against every large biographical undertaking. Acknowledged defects may be supplied in an Appendix.

“A Philosophical and Critical Dissertation has been published, at Amsterdam, concerning the Philosophy of Cicero, with Regard to the Divine Nature.” The author, M. Van Wesele Scholten, delivered it at a public disputation, at which professor Daniel Wytttenbach presided. M. Scholten begins by collecting all the pieces of Cicero to his purpose; and these he endeavours to explain both grammatically and with reference to the particular design which Tully had in view in each treatise. In consequence of the writer's just arrangement of his matter, and his accurate acquaintance with ancient philosophy, he has been enabled to throw great light upon the subject.—In medicine two publications have appeared which it may be sufficient barely to announce. These are the second volume of Caldanus's “*Institutiones Physiologicæ et Pathologicæ*,” published, with a Preface and Index, by Dr. Sandifort, professor of anatomy and surgery at Leyden; and Bonn's “*Descriptio Thesauri Ossium Morbosorum Hoviani*,” to which is annexed, “*Dissertatio de Callo*.” The nineteenth and twentieth volumes of the “*Memoirs of the Haarlem Philosophical Society*,” have lately been printed. It is the design of the directors of this institution, whilst they endeavour to promote the interests of science in general, to pay a particular regard to the exigencies of their own country. Hence, by their prize-questions, they often direct the enquiries of philosophers into such

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channels as are calculated to alleviate the inconveniences, and to improve the advantages, that are peculiar to the Low Countries. Among the subjects of a more general nature, may be mentioned a Dissertation “On the Utility of Psychology,” by Mr. John Trembley. It is a prize dissertation, written in an answer to a question proposed by the Society, and is divided into three parts. The Influence of Psychology on Education is first considered; secondly, its Effect on the Welfare of Society, and thirdly, the best Means of improving and extending this science. The author writes with vivacity and spirit, and possesses an enlarged and liberal turn of sentiment.—A very ingenious and elaborate dissertation has been published by M. Meerman, entitled “A Discourse concerning the Achæan, Helvetic, and Belgic Confederacies,” which obtained the prize proposed in the Year 1782, by the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. The question was stated by the academy in the following terms;—“To compare with each other the Confederacy of the Achæans, 280 Years before the Christian *Æra*,—that of the Swiss Cantons, in the Year of Christ 1307—and that of the United Provinces in the Year 1579; and to point out the *Causes*, the *Origin*, the *Nature*, and the *Object* or End of these political Associations.” In the discussion of this subject, M. de Meerman first considers, in three separate articles, the *Causes* that led to the three celebrated confederacies; and, in a fourth article, he forms the comparison, and shews in what respects these causes were similar or dissimilar. The same method and the same number of articles are em-

ployed, successively, in developing each of the other parts of the question, viz. the *Origin*, the *Nature*, and the *Object* of these famous associations. It is hence evident, that the discourse is not of a digressive and declamatory nature, but strictly methodical; besides which, it is entitled to high praise for the attention, judgment, and learning, with which it is written. M. de Meerman is a young gentleman who has already afforded several valuable proofs of his literary abilities, and who will probably rise to great reputation in the republic of letters.—The Belgic confederacy hath received farther illustration in the next publication which is to be mentioned, we mean the “Political Writings of M. Simon Van Slingelandt.” This gentleman, who died in the year 1736, successively filled the three great offices of secretary to the council of state, treasurer-general of the United Provinces, and grand pensionary of Holland, and was esteemed one of the greatest men who have adorned the annals of his country. The subjects treated of in the two volumes now published will be deemed highly important by every intelligent Dutchman. The author enters very deeply into the history, constitution, and defects of the government of the United Provinces, and considers very particularly the causes of the decline of the republic, together with the remedies which ought to be applied to the recovery of its affairs. Two remaining volumes, which are promised by the editor, will contain Dissertations concerning the Council of State, Military Jurisdiction, and the Three Admiralties. Though M. Slingelandt’s work will be chiefly interesting to the inhabitants

bitants of Holland, there are many things in it which are well calculated to engage the attention of political men, and political readers, in other countries.—The “Travels through Flanders, the Netherlands, Holland, France, Savoy, Italy, Switzerland, in the Years 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778, by a Lover of the Arts,” are not destitute of information and entertainment. What particularly recommends the work is the plan it lays down for making the tour of Europe. The errors with which this performance abounds in certain respects, must considerably detract from the reputation it would otherwise have gained.—Baron de Tott’s “Memoirs of the Turks and the Tartars,” were published at Amsterdam. As these Memoirs have been generally read, and two translations of them have appeared in our own language, it is the less necessary to enlarge concerning their merit. The baron possessed every advantage for giving new information to the world. He resided twenty-three years at Constantinople, where he was employed to fortify the Dardanelles, and otherwise discipline the Turks in the last war; besides which, he attended Krim Gueray, Krim of Tartary, in an expedition against the Russians. As he began by making himself acquainted with the language of the country, and hath had opportunities of seeing things which could not fall to the lot of common travellers, he has hence been enabled to throw peculiar light on the manners and customs of the Turks and Tartars, and the present condition of the Turkish government. The account which he gives of the deplorable State of Morals, of Knowledge in general, and of military

Science in particular, must strike every reader.—At Amsterdam, as well as at Avignon, has been published, “An Essay concerning the Revolutions that have happened in French Jurisprudence, designed as an Introduction to the Study of the Law.” The author is M. Bernardi, advocate in the parliament of Provence, who is already known to the literary world by a treatise concerning the Criminal Jurisprudence of the French Nation.—The last production we shall mention, belonging to the United Provinces, is “An Historical and Political Description of the original State of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, compared with the actual State of that Colony.” This is said to be an authentic and important publication, filled with original papers. In this work the secrets of the Dutch East-India company are laid open in a manner that will not be pleasing to the directors of that company.

To the brief account, given last year, of the fourth volume of the “Memoirs of the Imperial and Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Brussels,” we shall now add the number of communications, and the names of the contributors. The papers include Antiquities and polite Learning, in conjunction with Natural Philosophy. The Memoirs are thirty in number, and the communicators are chevalier Nieuport, M. Van Bouchante, the (late) Abbé Needham, the Abbé Mann, the marquis de Chasteler, M. Rondeau, M. Caels, M. Limbourg the younger, the Abbé Chevalier, M. de Launay, the Abbé Ghesquiere, P. S. Heylen, M. des Roches, and the count de Fraula.—A philosophical work has appeared which is

the first of its kind in the Low-Countries. It relates to the fossils of these countries, and especially of the places round the city of Brussels. This performance, which is adorned with thirty-two illuminated plates, is the result of eighteen years labour. The author is *Monf. Francois Xavier Burtin*, member of several academies.—A treatise has been published at Brussels, “Concerning Morals, Power, Courage, and Laws, considered as relative to the Education of a Prince.” The writer, who is *M. Hilliard d’Aubertail*, has divided his work into three parts, the first of which relates to the Method that should be pursued in educating a Prince, and the second and third to the Moral and Political Principles in which he ought to be instructed. The book, if not of the most eminent order, is replete with solid instruction, and is the produce of a mind endued with a just taste and sound judgment. This treatise has been published at Paris as well as at Brussels.

In Germany, agreeably to the studies and pursuits of the learned men who are seated in the different sovereignties of that extensive country, the greatest number of publications will be found to relate to critical literature, respecting either the Oriental languages, or the Greek and Roman tongues. These, at least, being for the most part written in Latin, and not in German, more easily present themselves to our notice. *Michaelis* continues to apply himself to the Eastern learning with his usual vigour and diligence, one fresh proof of which arises from his having recently printed a Syriac grammar. The same eminent professor has attempted to shew, in a Dissertation lately

published, that something answering to conductors, on the temple of Jerusalem, is the reason why we have no account of its having ever been struck by lightning. We apprehend that this conjecture will appear to most of our readers more ingenious and fanciful than solid. In another Dissertation, *M. Michaelis* has endeavoured to prove that the fire which struck one of the Herods, on attempting to open the grave of David, was a natural fire. The same gentleman hath entered, likewise, into some discussions relative to the supernatural fire which is said to have interrupted the workmen who were commissioned by the emperor Julian to rebuild the city of Jerusalem.—For several valuable Dissertations, on various parts of Oriental literature, the public is indebted to professor *Schnurrer* of Tubingen. The subjects of them are the Song of Deborah, certain Passages in Job, the Proverbs, the Psalms in general, the tenth Psalm in particular, the Difficulty of determining the Ages of the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Old Testament, and an Enquiry whether the Arabic Pentateuch, in Walton’s Polyglot, be the same which belonged to Saadias the Jew. The question is determined in the affirmative.—A Treatise on the Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry, by *Mr. Herder*, is represented as likely to afford much pleasure to the lovers of sacred learning. Besides what is advanced upon the Hebrew poetry in particular, the work contains a large stock of curious information concerning the History, the ecclesiastical and civil Constitutions, and the Customs of the Jewish nation.—*Dr. Seiler* has produced a “New Translation of the Prophecies of Isaiah, with Notes.” Perhaps he has been stimulated to this undertaking

dertaking by the admirable example of our own Lowth. Be that as it may, he has made a laudable use of that eminent prelate's labours, as well as of the aids afforded by other modern critics, who have thrown more light on the prophet Isaiah than the voluminous commentaries which were formerly admired.—“A Greek Version of the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, Ruth, the Lamentations, Daniel, and select Places of the Pentateuch,” from a single manuscript preserved in the library of St. Mark's at Venice, has now for the first time been published, and illustrated with Notes, by M. Villoison. The zeal of this learned gentleman in searching out ancient manuscripts is very ardent and highly commendable. The version now printed is the oldest of the Greek versions, of which we have either an account or fragments. An able judge has pronounced, that there are but few various readings in it which are of any great importance.—Divines of every religious persuasion unite in promoting the cause of biblical learning. A Treatise on the Excellence of the Samaritan Pentateuch, in illustrating and amending the Massoretic Text, has been written by Father Alexius, a Carmelite friar belonging to the university of the elector Palatine, and the book is said to have performed more than it hath promised. The General Epistle of St. James, in the original Greek, divided after a new method into sections, and accompanied with a Latin translation, and notes, has appeared from the hands of the Abbé Carpzow, who formerly published St. John and St. Jude in the same manner. A work of a similar nature, with regard to the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, has

been executed by Dr. Seemiller, ecclesiastical counsellor to the elector Palatine, and professor of divinity and Oriental languages at Ingoldstadt. The veneration in which the Vulgate has long been held by the bigotted votaries of the church of Rome is almost every where obliged to give way to the spirit of the times.—An edition of the New Testament, in Greek and Latin, with various Lectures, critical Animadversions, and inedited Scholia, has been carrying on for some time, in detached parts, by Mr. Græstia. St. Paul's Epistles to the Hebrews and to the Colossians, were published in 1784. The design is not yet half completed.—It is in connection with sacred literature that we must not omit to mention an improved edition of the famous Bochart's Hierozoicon, by M. Schoder. This impression of that excellent work is enriched by the editor with the discoveries of modern naturalists and travellers, and by many valuable observations.

With regard to critical learning, as it respects the profane writers of antiquity, various works have appeared, some only of which it will be in our power to notice. M. Brunck, from whom a Sophocles is expected, has published an edition of the Gnomæ Greek poets, which is intended to be more accurate and elegant than any that has yet been given. Accordingly, the present work contains every thing that is in the second part of Winterton's edition of the Greek poets, excepting the supposed Fragments of Orpheus. Instead of these, M. Brunck has inserted the Hymn of Cleanthes, and the “Days and Labours” of Hesiod. The Hymn of Cleanthes is accompanied with the Italian translation of it, and with that which was made in French by Bou-

Bouganvillier. The editor has spared no pains to render the publication as complete as possible; and those who are acquainted with his character cannot be insensible how equal he is to every undertaking of this kind. It would carry us too far distinctly to characterise other editions of classic authors which have appeared in Germany; and, therefore, we must entreat our readers to be satisfied with a bare enumeration of them. The works we have in view are M. Retemeier's *Zozimus*; Reiske's *Libanius*, and *Chrysostom*; Henfinger's *Cicero de Officiis*; Schütz's *Æschylus*; Stroth's *Livy*, and the *Select Epistles of Cicero*; Erdman's *Metamorphoses of Ovid*; Wolf's *Theogony of Hesiod*; and Munter's *Plutus of Aristophanes*.—A Dissertation on the Chorus of the Greek tragedy, which has appeared at Gottingen, is spoken of as having great merit. This, however, is a subject concerning which little information can be wanting in our own country, after what has been written upon it by such men as West, Mason, Hurd, Potter, and Colman.—The investigation of Coins and Medals has by no means been neglected by the literati of Germany. A very important work of this kind is the second part of Neumann's "*Populorum et Regum Numi veteres inediti*." M. Neumann has been encouraged by imperial patronage to cultivate this rich field of study, and to render it as subservient as possible to the general improvement of literature. How well our author is qualified for the undertaking is acknowledged by all who are competent judges on the subject. M. Rasche's "*Lexicon Universæ Rei Numariæ Veterum, et, præcipue Græcorum et Roma-*

norum," with *Antiquarian, Geographical, Chronological, Historical, and Critical Observations*, belongs to the year 1785.—A periodical work, entitled; "*A Magazine of Antiquities*," containing Representations of the principal Gems, Bustos, Statues, Groups, and other Monuments that relate to the Arts and Sciences, is carrying on by M. Prange. The manner in which it has hitherto been executed excites approbation.—Martini's "*Antiquorum Monumentorum Sylloge*," is a publication of much erudition. It exhibits accounts of a sarcophagus at Agrigentum, representing some scenes of the *Hippolytus* of Euripides; an ancient sundial, according to the construction of Berosus; and a coin of Patrae, with the name of a magistrate hitherto unknown.—A learned, but fanciful production has been presented to the Republic of Letters, by M. Victor Albert Plessing. The title of it is "*Osiris and Socrates*." With regard to Egypt, the author assiduously labours to prove, that all religions, and even all philosophical opinions, drew their origin from that country, and have been transmitted to our times, after having undergone, in their passage, various modifications. As to Socrates, he aimed, according to M. Plessing, at nothing less than a momentous revolution both in the religion and politics of the age in which he lived.—A work of far greater importance and merit is Meiner's "*Historia Doctrinæ de vero Deo*," in which the opinions of the ancient philosophers upon the subject are explored with uncommon depth of erudition. This work, however, having appeared some time ago, scarcely comes within our present plan. A more recent publication,
by

By the same author, is a History of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of certain Doctrines among the Greeks and Romans. Of this history it is said, that it is a most excellent piece of criticism, and that it will be studied with good advantage by all those, who desire to be acquainted with the fountains of the ancient philosophy. The first volume is divided into three books; on the State and Condition of the Greeks in the oldest Times; on the Ionic Philosophy; and on the Pythagorean Sect. The second volume is devoted to the sophists, Socrates and Plato.

Under the head of Astronomy, M. John Elert Bode has published a treatise concerning the planet lately discovered by Mr. Herschel. This treatise, the author of which is astronomer to the Royal Academy of Berlin, contains a very accurate and interesting account of Mr. Herschel and his discovery. It is the first work which has appeared in Germany on this curious subject. With regard to Natural History, a Description has been printed, in German, of the Insects comprehended in Schaffer's book, entitled, "*Icones Insectorum circa Ratisbonam Indigenorum.*" At Tubingen have been published, "*Observations, Essays, and Experiments, on the most economical Methods of preparing Saltpetre, with the Materials that are most common in every Place.*" A catalogue is prefixed of all the writings that have hitherto been produced on the subject. Such a catalogue cannot fail of being useful. Another volume of the "*New Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres of Berlin,*" has appeared in 1784. The memoirs relate to the year 1782, and include the History of the Aca-

demy for that year. Under the last article are comprised many particulars respecting Natural History, Meteorology, and Astronomy, resulting from a correspondence between some members of the Royal Academy, and several learned men. The direct Memoirs relate to Experimental Philosophy, Mathematics, Speculative Philosophy, and Belles Lettres. Among the contributors, M. Achard sustains the most considerable part with regard to the number of his communications, as he did in the preceding volume.—We refer our readers to Dr. Simmons's excellent Medical Journal, for an enumeration of such books as have been printed in Germany concerning Medicine, Anatomy, Surgery, and other matters of a physical nature.

Directing our attention, therefore, to different objects, and especially to historical writing, we may observe that one or two publications, under the head of Ecclesiastical History, are peculiarly deserving of notice. The *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica nostri Temporis*," consist chiefly of authentic pieces in German, and exhibit some curious information concerning the clerical transactions of the times. It is observable, that the briefs of the archbishop of Salzburg and Pistoria recommend toleration and simplicity of worship. Another production is of still greater importance: It is the "*History of the Origin, Variations, and Establishment of the Protestant Doctrine, from the Beginning of the Reformation to the Introduction of the Concord Formulas.*" The first volume came out in 1781, the second is now published, and the third is soon expected. The author is professor Planke, of Stutgard, and this work has raised his reputation to that of the best historians of

of his country, and perhaps of Europe. Competent judges have pronounced, that it is long since they have read a history written with so much taste, and with such philosophical acumen. Under the present head may be mentioned the "Memoirs, relative to the History of the French Refugees in the dominions of the King of Prussia." This is the second volume of a publication which contains a most affecting history of the cruel persecutions of the protestants in France. Books of this kind, by exposing the horrid spirit of bigotry and intolerance, are of eminent service to mankind.—We should have mentioned before Stroth's "*Ægyptiaca*," or Commentaries and Fragments relative to the affairs of Egypt; being a collection of what is to be met with in ancient authors concerning that country.—Another historical collection which has appeared in Germany concerns the transactions of the Guelphs. It consists of seventeen tracts, of which M. Gerard is the editor. The work is recommended by two good prints of the emperor Frederick the First and his two sons, the emperor Henry the First, and Duke Frederick.—The celebrated Puffendorf left behind him a manuscript, in three books, containing a narrative of the transactions of Frederick the Third, Elector of Brandenburg, during the years 1688, 1689, and 1690. This is now published by Count Hertberg, one of the King of Prussia's Ministers at Berlin. Though whatever comes from such a man, on such a subject, must be valuable, the work is not equal to Puffendorf's former historical writings. The most remarkable things in it are those that relate to the impression which the Revolution in England

made abroad, and to the steps that were taken to create a ninth Elector.

With regard to Biography, Burigni's Life of Erasmus, which some persons esteem to be preferable to Jortin's, has been translated into German, with various critical Remarks, Annotations, and an Appendix, by Henry Henke, professor of divinity at Helmstadt. This translation is a great improvement of the original. The additions comprehend a more complete history of Erasmus's connections with Faber, Hutton, and other eminent writers of his time, than had hitherto been given. The Appendix contains a critical examination of his several works, and particularly of his labours on the New Testament. Another publication which casts farther light on the character of this illustrious man, is entitled, "*Index et Argumentum Epistolarum ad D. Erasmus Rotterdamm Autographarum, quæ una cum nonnullis aliis ex ejusdem Bibliothecæ Autographis adservantur Lipsiæ in Bibliothecâ D. Jo. Fred. Burcheri.*" All the original papers, of which this is a catalogue, were obtained by the editor from a munificent donor in London. The letters, which extend from 1520 to 1536, belong to that period wherein the fame of Erasmus was at its highest pitch; and they are the more interesting, as distant intelligence was then only conveyed by epistolary correspondence.—A work, containing the Lives of famous Musicians now living, or who lived in the last half century, is now carrying on by M. Hiller. The first part of it, in German, appeared in 1784.—The Life of Reiske, written by himself, is a curious piece of Biographical information. The manner in which this learned

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man relates his studies, labours, journeys, disappointments, successes, and little adventures, and the accounts he gives of the characters of other persons, are often entertaining, and sometimes instructive. The correspondence interspersed through the work is an addition to the literary history of the time.—An interesting book of Travels has been published in the German language. The title of it is, “Letters from a Frenchman travelling over Germany to his brother at Paris.” This, however, is only a cover to conceal the real author, and to enable him to deliver his remarks with the greater freedom. He is understood to be a native of Germany; and it may truly be asserted of his Letters that they are lively and sensible, and that they shew the writer to be a man of close observation, and of a liberal mind.—Professor Meiners, whose erudition we have already had occasion to celebrate, has appeared in another form of composition. Two volumes have been published by him of “Letters concerning Switzerland;” and it is with no small advantage that he sustains the character of a traveller. Among other interesting matter with which the book abounds, we have a very full and fair representation of the learned men of Zurich, and particularly of Lavater; the completest account of the government of Berne that is any where extant; a good description of Lausanne; some sensible and animated reflections on the decay of piety in Geneva; several just remarks on the Genevan character in general; and a splendid display of what the world owes to the genius and labour of the author’s countrymen the Germans.—Of the few remaining publications belonging to Germany, which have

come to our knowledge, we shall recite only the titles. These are M. Plessing’s “Attempt to demonstrate the necessity of Evil and Pain in the state of Beings endowed with Sensibility and Reason;” Retemeier’s “*Conspectus Juris Romani*;” Hertzberg’s “Discourse concerning the best Form of Government;” Schubart’s work concerning Agriculture and Finance; and Heyne’s “*Opuscula Academica*.”

Switzerland presents to us a Mathematical work, in M. John Trembley’s “*Essay on Spherical Trigonometry*.” In this work the whole doctrine of Spherics is deduced from two simple propositions, contained in La Caille and de La Lande. M. Trembley, after having gone over all the properties of spherical triangles, applies them at large to the illustration of astronomy. Indeed, it is said that the whole science of astronomy may be deduced from the author’s formulas.—The first volume of the *Memoirs of the Society of Physical Sciences at Lausanne* was published at that place in 1784, but no account of it has yet come to our knowledge. An historical production has appeared from the pen of M. Léonard Meister, professor at Zurich. It contains the principal scenes of Swiss History, ranged in chronological order. The work is said to be written with judgment and taste, and to unite entertainment with instruction.

The Rev. M. J. Sennebier, librarian to the Republic of Geneva, has obliged the world with a Treatise entitled, “*Analytical Enquiries into the Nature of Inflammable Air*.” This gentleman is rising to a distinguished rank among the attentive cultivators of experimental philosophy. In the present performance

formance many new experiments are recited, which display the author's sagacity and diligence. As some of the results militate with the conclusions of very able philosophers, we shall not presume to determine concerning them, but shall refer the decision of the points in question to the Priestleys, the Cavendishes, and the Kirwans of the age.

With regard to Italy, not many productions of 1784, in Biblical and Critical Learning, have come to our knowledge. The chief is the first volume of Rossi's Collection of the Manuscripts of the Old Testament. His plan is only to give the most important various readings, which he collects not from manuscripts alone, but likewise from the older commentators. The author's labour in this undertaking must be very great. He has had the use of twelve hundred and seventy-five editions and manuscripts. A thousand and twenty-seven of these are manuscripts, four hundred and seventy-nine of which are his own. Mr. Rossi has for the most part examined only the passages pointed out by Dr. Kennicott as remarkable. In some cases, however, he has been able to improve upon Kennicott. It is hoped that Mr. Rossi will be properly encouraged to pursue a design of such consequence.—In the works of Mattei, lately published in eleven volumes, octavo, many things occur, which relate to Biblical and Critical Literature. The first volume contains three dissertations, one on the Greek and Hebrew poetry, another on the authors of the Psalms, and the third on the Dramatico-lyrical poetry of the Psalms. The second volume opens with a new Hebrew Calendar, disposed accord-

ing to the ecclesiastical year, and beginning with the month Nisan. Among a variety of objects, the music of the Hebrews is particularly considered. The Psalms, translated in various forms of Italian verse, take up four volumes. Though not destitute of faults, Mattei is represented as equal to Buchanan or Johnston. The remaining volumes are partly Poetical, partly Critical, and partly Miscellaneous.—With respect to religious controversy, a work has appeared, which, as coming from Italy, may be considered as very extraordinary. It is entitled "The Pope; or Researches concerning the Supremacy of the Roman Pontiff." The design of it is to shew that Peter had no authority and privileges beyond the rest of the apostles and disciples of Christ. What is more surprising still, the author is understood to be a Franciscan Friar.—A Fact of the ancient Roman History is discussed in a "Letter concerning the Defeat and Carnage of the three hundred and six *Fabii*." The aim of the writer is to prove, that these heroic victims were not *all* of the Fabian family, but that some of them were Roman volunteers, who, fighting under the banner of that family, or being otherwise connected with it, obtained the denomination of *Fabii*. We recollect nothing in Livy that favours this supposition. If, however, the author be well founded in his conjecture, it is not a point of consequence enough to deserve an elaborate discussion.—A second edition has appeared of "A new Collection of the Ancient Inscriptions in Sicily and the adjacent Islands, illustrated with Notes and Prefaces." We mention this edition, because the improvement the work has now received is very

considerable, with respect to the corrections and augmentations with which it is enriched. The Prolegomena, which contain a treasure of erudition, are more especially enlarged and amended. Another work, relative to Antiquities, calls for our attention. We mean "The Ruins of Poestum, also called Possidonia, in Latin and Italian; illustrated by six Dissertations." The subjects of these dissertations are the origin, progress, and destruction of the city of Poestum, and the admirable architecture of its buildings. The author, who is Father Paul Anthony Paoli, is of opinion that the City was of Tuscan origin, and he proves its great antiquity from the simplicity of its amphitheatre. But the grandest production of the kind we are speaking of, is the fourth volume of "The Musæum of the Capitol." This is one of the most magnificent works that has appeared in any age, considered as a collection of the precious remains of ancient art. The present volume hath been expected with impatience, by antiquaries, artists, and connoisseurs, for nearly thirty years past. The editor of the three preceding ones was the learned prelate J. Bottari. The first came out in 1747, and contained the engravings of ninety statues with their descriptions. In 1750 the second volume, with eighty-nine statues, was given to the public. The third made its appearance in 1755, adding ninety-one more, with a hundred and ninety-six pages of explications. In the fourth volume are comprehended the basso-relievos, with elegant and learned descriptions in Italian and Latin, to render them more generally useful. The ancient remains here exhibited occupy sixty-nine plates, delineated and

engraved by Dominico Campiglia.

In the different branches of Natural Philosophy, Italy has given birth, in 1784, to some important publications. Among these the first place is undoubtedly due to the works of Boscovich, relative to Optics and Astronomy, hitherto unpublished, and which are now given to the world in five large quarto volumes. The name of this celebrated writer is sufficient to indicate the merit of the collection, which consists of thirty-one opuscula, or dissertations. It will not be doubted whether they will greatly contribute to the advancement of the sciences to which they relate. The edition, which is accurate and elegant, is enriched with copper-plates, and has been conducted under the author's immediate inspection.—It is not to M. Boscovich only that what has been printed in Italy with regard to Astronomy has been confined. "An Astronomical Ephemeris for the Bissextile Year 1784" has appeared, calculated for the meridian of Milan. To this a supplement is added, containing, several observations and memoirs relative to the science of Astronomy. The authors are Messieurs Angelo de Cefaris, Reggio, Oriani, and Allodio. The volume for 1785 has also been published, which comprehends, among other things, a memoir of M. Reggio's concerning the Obliquity of the Ecliptic; "Remarks on the mean Height of the Barometer at the Observatory at Milan, and above the Level of the Adriatic Sea;" and M. Oriani's "Account of his Observations on Herschel's Planet, with a new Determination of its Orbit."—An "Astro-Meteorological Journal for the Year 1784," is the production of the Abbé Tzardo. This a periodical work,

which has been carried on ever since the year 1773. The excellence of it is represented to be such as to deserve being translated into all languages, as a pocket companion for the clergyman, the artist, the husbandman, the physician, the mariner, the traveller, and even the huntsman.—The Italian society was mentioned by us, with becoming respect, in our last Annual Register. The members of it prosecute their enquiries with vigour, and have already produced another volume, being the second of the undertaking. Such ardour might, indeed, be expected from the respectable names of which the society consists. The memoirs of this volume are nineteen in number, and the communicators are, Father Charles Barletti, Father Gregory Fontana, the Chevalier de Lorgna, M. Malacarne, M. Ximenes, M. de Cesaris, the Abbé Spallanzani, M. Volta, M. Bonati, M. Girardi, M. Malfatti, Count Eragnani, M. Paoli, M. Scarpa, and M. Slop.—It is well known that Dr. Crawford's "Theory," relating to animal heat and combustion, has excited much attention at home, and perhaps still more abroad. A dissertation concerning it has been published by Dr. Carradori, a physician at Florence. In this dissertation the theory in question is confirmed by new experiments, and applied to several medical cases.—"A curious Prize-dissertation," which was crowned by the Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Mantua, has been written by Count Augustine Litta. The question proposed was, "How must a Machine be constructed in order to raise, by the Action of one Horse, Water to a superior Height, and in greater Quantity, than has hitherto been accomplished by Ma-

chines?" A model of the machine, and also the machine itself, may be obtained, by writing to the Abbé Castells, the editor of the present tract, and a friend of the late author.—Another publication which was the result of a premium, is Dr. Gardini's "Dissertation concerning the Influence of Atmospheric Electricity on Vegetables." The question was proposed by the Academy of Lyons, and the prize was adjudged to Dr. Gardini's performance, which is esteemed to be an instructive and masterly discussion of the subject.—Representations equally favourable are given of M. Landriani's "Dissertation on the Usefulness of Conductors," and of Dr. Lupieri's "Treatise on the Microscope."—The late dreadful earthquakes in Calabria and Sicily naturally continue to excite the speculations of philosophical men. To the works mentioned last year may now be added, "The Historical Account of these Earthquakes," published by the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Naples; the Chevalier Deodati Dolomieu's "Memoir" on the same subject; and Dr. Mignani's "Enquiry concerning the Effects of Earthquakes on the human Body."—Balloons and the manner of conducting them have been much attended to in Italy, as well as in other countries. M. Stephen Calvi hath written a tract, in which he proposes a method of regulating the ascent and descent of the aerostatical carriages, only by augmenting or diminishing the volume of the balloon, without being obliged to have recourse to the emission or intromission of inflammable air. We need not inform our readers that no mode of directing Balloons in opposition to the current of the wind has yet been

been invented; and perhaps we might add, that no effectual means of accomplishing this end are ever likely to take place.--For the medical and anatomical works published in Italy we must again refer to Dr. Simmons's Journal. We shall, however, just mention M. Burri's "Historico-Anatomical Discourse on a particular Variety in the White Men, called *Heterophobi*," as containing some curious Facts.

With regard to Historical publications, only two books have come to our knowledge that seem to require a distinct specification. The first volume of a History of Milan has been given by Count Pietro Verri, a man of great literary reputation, and who possesses a high station in the government of the country. It contains, besides the common facts, good accounts of the emperors, several of whose characters, and especially that of Frederick the First, are placed in a new light. The manners are particularly attended to in the present performance. The volume concludes with a representation of the flourishing condition of Milan in the fifteenth century.—A large collection of Historical Papers, in eighteen volumes, octavo, has made its appearance at Florence. It consists of Chronicles, Records, Letters, and Diplomas. These are not confined to the particular History of Florence, but comprehend the History of Italy in general. The collection is one of the most elaborate and valuable works of the kind that hath ever been seen in that country. The title of it is somewhat whimsical, it being called "The Pleasures of the learned Tuscans."—In Biography there have been various publications. "The Life of Charles Count Firmian" has been written

by Professor Aug. Theodore Villa. It was a distinction to which this eminent nobleman was entitled on account of his amiable character, which rendered him one of the best models that can be held out for the imitation of men in high rank and power.—The Eulogies of some eminent Italians have been given by the prelate Angelo Fabroni. They are said to be written by a masterly pen; and the remarkable persons to whose genius, talents, and characters justice is endeavoured to be rendered, are Galilei, Giacomelli, Perelli, the Cardinal Leopold de Medicis, Frugani, and Metastasio. ——— A Biographical Work is carrying on in numbers, with regard to the literary and scientific men which Tuscany has produced. It is executed by gentlemen of character, each of whom affixes his name to the life which he writes. Prints are given of the several authors described, most of which are taken from pictures in the gallery of the Grand duke. ——— An Eulogy on Maria Theresia, the late Empress of Germany has been published by the Abbé Frisi. From this gentleman's character, as a profound astronomer, and eminent mathematician, it was scarcely to be expected that he would condescend to become a composer of panegyrics. It is said, however, that he hath acquitted himself well in this capacity, being ingenious, eloquent, and even philosophical.—Literary History has not been neglected in Italy. Indeed, a very important work of this kind has appeared from the pen of M. Signorelli. It is entitled, "Concerning the Revolutions in the Sciences in the Two Sicilies, or a Philosophical and Critical History of their Legislation, Politics, Li-

terature, Commerce, Arts, and Theatrical Exhibitions, from the Arrival of foreign Colonies in that Country to the present Times; in four Parts." The first part, which takes up the first volume, is divided into twelve chapters. The subjects of these chapters are, the original peopling of the two Sicilies, and the degree of civilization that took place at this early period; the civilization of the Italico-Grecian provinces by the colonies from Greece; the progress of philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and other sciences; the Sicilian orators, Grecians, and poets; the different establishments of the country; the objects and causes of luxury; the origin of Naples, and the public games of the inhabitants; the Greek dramatic writers of Sicily; the Greek dramatic writers on the continent or the south of Italy; the *Attelaneæ*, or Mimic Pieces of the *Osci*; the state of Latin literature in the time of the Roman republic; and the writers who, under the first emperors, carried learning to perfection. In the second volume of the work, which also appeared in 1784, the ingenious author pursues his subject, from the Augustan age to the end of the period in which the Two Sicilies were governed by the house of Suabia. Two parts of the design remain yet to be considered.—The fourth volume of "Literary Anecdotes taken from Manuscripts" concludes a curious and learned undertaking, which has been well received in Italy.—An agreeable work of Travels has for some years been carrying on, under the title of "Letters written from Sicily and Turkey to several of his Friends in Tuscany, by the Abbé Dom. Sestini." It is the sixth volume

that is now published, in which we have a view of the characters, amusements, manners, festivals, commerce, arts, legislation, and political œconomy of the Turks, Greeks, and Armenians, together with the geography and antiquities of their respective countries.—The great astronomer and mathematician, the Abbé Boscovich, has condescended to appear before the world as a traveller, in a "Journal of a Voyage from Constantinople into Poland, accompanied with an Account of the Ruins of Troy."—The poetry of the year is the last circumstance to which we shall advert, in our survey of Italian Literature. More of it, however, has without doubt been published than what has fallen within the compass of our information. The "Poetical Sports of Labindo" are the production of Count Fantoni de Fevizziano. Some of the Odes preserve much of the ease and elegance of Sappho and Anacreon.—"The Italian Parnassus" is intended to be a collection of the best Italian classic poets of every kind, and of every age, carefully revised after the most esteemed originals, and adorned with engravings. In the first volume, which appeared in 1784, are contained the Lyric Poems of Petrarch. The plan has been formed by Antonio Zatta, a Venetian bookseller, who designs to publish the works of the most celebrated poets that flourished in Italy, from the year 1300 to the present time, in five classes. Several bards, whose productions have yet been preserved only in manuscript, will find a place in this collection, which, in every point of accuracy, beauty, and perfection, proposes to excel all that has yet been seen in that country. It is hoped that so noble an undertaking will

will not fail for want of encouragement. — The lovers of Metastasio will rejoice in a just and merited tribute of respect that has lately been paid to his genius and character. This has been done in an elegant collection of pieces, in prose as well as verse, the title of which is “The Olympic Games, celebrated by the Arcadians in the Parrasian Grove, in honour of the Memory of the Abbé Metastasio.”

France, for the year 1784, scarcely presents any thing of consequence in Biblical and Critical learning. M. Villoison's edition of a new Greek translation of several parts of the Old Testament, is indeed the production of a French critic, and so far does honour to that country; but, as it was published in Germany, we have mentioned it in what was considered by us as its proper place. — The next work that calls for our attention is the Abbé Para's “Historical and Philosophical View of Religion, from the earliest Periods of the World to the present Times.” It is only the first part that has now appeared, containing the primitive Religion, from the creation to the ministry of Moses. Every one must be sensible that this period affords but a small number of facts; and consequently more scope is left for the play of the imagination, of which M. Para is not destitute. At the same time, however, he has much ingenuity, and is possessed of no small store of erudition. With the principal object of his work, he has connected the manners of the first ages of the world, the commencement of civilization, the birth and infancy of arts and sciences, the original formation of states and monarchies, the primitive state of ancient kingdoms, and

the characters of ancient nations. The opinions of the different nations of the remotest antiquity, concerning the cosmogony or origin of the world, are delivered by our author with precision and perspicuity. The Egyptians are not in high favour with the Abbé Para. He calls in question their valour, their chronology, and their pretended antiquity as well as their science. The doctrines of the primitive religion are reduced by him to four general principles; the existence of one God, a future life, the fall of man, and the hopes of a mediator. Upon the whole, the book may be read with pleasure and advantage, though several positions are found in it, which a man of true judgment and reflection will receive with no small degree of doubt and hesitation. — A curious work has appeared, entitled, “Memoirs concerning the *Secret* Religion of Ancient Nations; or Historical and Critical Researches concerning the Mysteries of Paganism.” The author is the Baron de Sainte Croix, Member of the Royal Society of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. This treatise took its rise from a premium proposed by the Academy for the solution of the following questions: What were the Names and Attributes of Ceres and Proserpine, among the different Nations of Greece and Italy? What were the Origin and Reasons of the Attributes, and what the Worship of these Divinities? In consequence of these questions, the Baron de Croix, who obtained the prize, has endeavoured to give as complete a work as possible upon the mysteries of the ancients. The subject is treated of by him with great learning and penetration. It is however, a subject which is involved in much difficulty, and

which gives scope to the exercise of fancy and conjecture. The secret of the mysteries, according to our author, consisted principally in a particular manner of teaching the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, by which the rewards were supposed to regard the initiated alone, and the punishments only the profane, or those who were not initiated. He does not materially differ from Bishop Warburton, in any point, except in denying that the unity of the supreme Being was a part of the secret doctrine. In other respects they appear to be nearly agreed.— Another very curious book, relative to the antiquities of the early world, has been published in England, by a French gentleman, *Monf. D'Ancarville*. The title of it, in English, is, “Inquiries into the Origin, the Spirit, and Progress of the Arts of Greece; into their Connection with the Arts and Religion of the most ancient Nations; and into the ancient Monuments of India, Persia, the rest of Asia, and Egypt.” In this work there is a bold spirit of investigation, together with the display of much ingenuity and a fine taste. The author lays great stress upon coins in the elucidation of the various objects that pass in review before him; and it must be allowed that the remarks he hath made on the mythology of antiquity are very acute and able. How far he is right in his system, or, as he himself modestly expresses it, his conjectures, we presume not to determine. It is agreed that *Monf. D'Ancarville* is somewhat desultory in his mode of writing, and that he might have been more strictly methodical. We have our suspicions that this work, like many other mythological productions which

have gone before it, will be admired for a time, and then forgotten. It is to be feared that *Monf. Court de Gibelin* and our own learned *Bryant* are not exemptions from this remark. — It is some years since the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres have favoured the world with a volume of their *Memoirs*; and this is the more to be regretted, as the communications of the members have, in general, been very curious, learned, and entertaining. However, pieces are occasionally published, conformable to the views of the Academy, and which are the result of their encouragement. To the instance already mentioned, in the work of *Baron de Croix*, we have now to add, *M. Pastoret*, who hath obtained a prize, in consequence of a discourse “Concerning the Maritime Laws of the Rhodians, the Influence of these Laws on the Marine of the Greeks and Romans, and the Influence of the Marine Establishment upon the Power and Weight of these two Nations.” This academical question was worthy of discussion, on account of its taking in a long and important period of history, the Rhodians having for many centuries sustained an eminent character in the ancient world. *M. Pastoret*, who has treated the subject in a masterly manner, hath divided it into three parts. The first contains an historical account of the Rhodians, and an accurate view of their maritime laws; prefixed to which is a short survey of the rise and progress of navigation in the earliest times. In the second part it is shewn, that the Greeks before they became acquainted with the Rhodian laws were strangers to commerce, and that their knowledge of navigation was little better

better than ignorance. In the third part of the dissertation, the Roman marine is considered as having been one of the principal instruments in aggrandizing, and even in civilizing that people. It doth not appear that the laws of the Rhodians contributed much to the improvement of the navigation of the Romans. — Mably's "Dialogues on the Method of writing History" were characterized and applauded by us in our last Annual Register. This work, though one of the Abbé's best performances, has not passed without censure; and indeed, in some respects, it lies open to criticism. Accordingly, a tract hath appeared, entitled, "A Supplement to the Manner of writing History," in which M. Mably is charged with common place, with omissions, with superficial reading, with incivility, and with partiality, both in regard to the ancients and moderns who did not happen to be in the same way of thinking. Though these charges are unduly aggravated, it must be allowed that the Abbé has not, in his Dialogues, been free from errors and prejudices; and he was particularly reprehensible in condemning certain late Historians with severity, when he had read only a few extracts from their works. The strictures of the present writer upon him, are often sensible, as well as spirited. — The last thing that occurs to us, relative to ancient literature, is a posthumous publication of M. D'Alembert's. It is "A translation of Select Pieces from Tacitus," not said to be performed with remarkable accuracy. The editor has amended the translations, and added some other things to the collection, under the head of Antiquities, not strictly

classical. — We must not omit the work entitled, "Customs considered, as Laws of the French Nation, both in its ancient and present State." This book is a valuable present to the Law Antiquaries of France, as it contains curious and judicious researches into what may be called the *common* or *custom-law* of the old inhabitants of that kingdom. Many of their ancient customs, according to this author, were not derived from the invasion, conquests, and dominion of the Romans, but from marriage, paternity, and the concessions and establishments thence naturally arising. He endeavours, likewise, to prove, that the Visigoths and Franks, instead of being strangers in Gaul, were the descendants of the Saliens, who inhabited the Northern, and of the Goths, who inhabited the Southern part of that country. Whether the writer be well founded or not in the positions which he hath advanced, the praise will not be denied him of treating the subject with ability. — A similar topic is presented to us in M. Chabrit's treatise "Concerning the French Monarchy, or its Laws." The author is not discouraged, by the preceding labours of very able men, from going over the same ground, and tracing from its origin the progress of legislation. In the volume now published the laws only of the first and second race are considered; and consequently, the work is not yet extended beyond the barbarous period of the French monarchy. — Now the government of France is in some degree before us, let us take notice of M. de Valazé's work concerning penal laws. This is a publication of which a very high character is given. It is said to be

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distinguished by its judgment, method, and humanity; by its extensive knowledge of mankind; and by its warm and generous zeal for public felicity.—On Moral and Jurisprudential Philosophy, the works of Count Verri properly belong to Italian Literature, though they were published at Paris, in 1784. They consist of Three Discourses, on the Nature of Pleasure and Pain, on Happiness, and on Political Oeconomy. They were first separately printed in Italy, and have since appeared, in different parts of that country, in a collective form. The discourses are written with elegance and spirit; and though the subjects are common, the author, by uniting the scholar with the man of business, has conferred upon them the graces of novelty. Count Verri is the same gentleman whose History of Milan we have already mentioned.

We now direct our view to Natural Philosophy in its different branches, in which France continues to maintain that eminent rank she hath long held in these parts of science. And here we must begin with the “Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1780,” which were not published till 1784. The divisions are General Physics, Anatomy, Chemistry, and Astronomy. Under General Physics are seven memoirs; under Anatomy, four; under Chemistry, thirteen; and under Astronomy, five. In this volume are found the Eulogies of Messieurs Lieutaud and Buguet, elegantly drawn up by the historian of the Academy. The communicators of the memoirs are M. de Fouchy, M. Lavoisier, M. de la Place, M. Bougeroux de Bondaroy, M. Du Hamel, M. de Montigny, M. Le

Roy, M. Tenon, M. Tillet, M. de Bory, M. Sabatier, M. Vicq d'Azyr, M. Portal, M. Bertholet, M. Cornette, M. Sage, M. Cadet, M. Dionis de Sejour, M. de la Lande, M. le Monnier, and M. Messier. The memoir which, according to annual custom, is sent to the Academy, by the Society of Montpellier, is concerning the different kinds of Dog-Fish, by M. Broussonet.—Another volume of the “Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1781,” has likewise appeared; concerning which we shall only take notice, that it contains the Eulogies of Count Maurepas, M. Bertin, the Marquis de Courtanvaux, and M. Tronchin; and that it comprizes a number of papers by several of the learned academicians, whose names we have just recited, and by other able co-adjutors in the cause of philosophic science.—The first part of the “New Memoirs of the Academy of Dijon,” for the first half year of 1783, consists of fourteen papers, the contributors of which are, M. De Tartelin, M. Maret, M. Camus, M. De Morveau, M. Parumot, M. Enaux, M. Durande, and M. Hoin.—The Encyclopedie proceeds vigorously, according to the new plan, of which we gave an account last year. In the several parts recently published, there are many curious and elaborate articles, and the whole of this grand work, so far as it has hitherto gone, appears to be eminently improved.—The baron de Marivetz and M. Gouffier have pursued their “Cosmological System of Natural Philosophy” in two farther volumes, being the third and the fourth. In these two gentlemen there is a splendid association of poetical description with philosophical

phical science. On this account they have been censured by some critics, and we apprehend with a considerable degree of justice. The third volume considers the Theory of Light, as propagated, reflected, and transmitted; thus including the catoptrical and dioptrical branches of natural science. All the modifications of light are reduced, in the fourth volume, by our authors, to two; *Intensity*, or the greater or less approximation of its rays to each other on the same surface; and *Repercussion*, or their being reflected with more or less force from the surface of bodies, and their performing their vibrations with more or less rapidity. In treating upon the Theory of Colours, they strongly oppose the doctrine of Newton. Whatever praises may be due to the genius, knowledge, and eloquence of baron de Mariwetz and M. Goussier, there appear to be plain traces of too much fancy and hypothesis in their system. They do not write with that simple and calm spirit of investigation, which true philosophy seems to require.—A prime work has been published, entitled “Cometography, or an Historical and Theoretical Treatise on Comets.” The author is M. Pingre, a regular canon of St. Genevieve, chancellor of the university, and member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, at Paris. He has been employed in this work for a course of years, and it was far advanced so long since as 1764; but the publication of it has been retarded by the writer’s voyages to America and the Indies, and by other incidental occupations. M. Pingre begins with a general history of the astronomy of comets, after which he relates all the doctrines and con-

jectures of the ancients upon the subject, concluding with the discoveries of sir Isaac Newton. In pursuing his history, he describes all the comets which have hitherto appeared, and gives a table of their orbits, so far as they can be calculated. The nature of comets, their revolutions, their atmospheres, and their tails; in short, all the circumstances relating to them occupy our author’s zealous attention.—M. Faujas de St. Fond’s “Mineralogy of Volcanos, or a Description of the Substances produced or ejected by subterraneous Fires,” is another book of consequence. This production, which is the result of attentive observation and active industry, is designed to abridge the labours of those who follow the writer in the paths of volcanic science. It is divided into twenty chapters, and accompanied with plates, representing plans of the truncations of all the prisms of basaltic that are mentioned or described in the work; the Hill of Ardenne in the Vivarais, where there is an enormous bowl or globe of basaltic enchased in the mass of that volcanic rock; and a view of one of the lateral aspects of this hill. M. de St. Fond has placed in the French king’s Cabinet of Natural History a rich collection of the volcanic substances described in his book, which are arranged in the most perfect order, and distinguished by numbers corresponding to those which are found in his Mineralogy.—We find that we should be carried quite beyond our limits, were we to give an account of all the works in Natural Philosophy which have appeared in France, or indeed of all that may be thought to deserve particular notice. We must, therefore,
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be satisfied with a mere recital of them; and it must be added, that some of them are of real importance. The publications we have in view are, Rozier's Complete Course of Agriculture; Curra's Essay on Aërial Navigation; Rozier's and Monger's Observations on Natural Philosophy, Natural History, and the Arts; M. de la Place's Theory of Elliptical Motion; an Essay concerning the Mineralogy of the Pyrenean Mountains; M. d'Isjonval's Collection of Chemical and Physical Memoirs; Thouvenel on the Virgula Divina; M. Morveau's Description of the Aerostat of the Academy of Dijon; M. Manduit on Medical Electricity; M. Parmentier's easy and cheap Method of preserving different Kinds of Grain; Dr. Fourcroy's Chemical Memoirs and Observations; Count La Cepade's general and particular System of Natural Philosophy; M. D'Aubenton's Methodical Exhibition of Minerals, according to their different Natures, and with their distinctive Characters; and the same gentleman's Instructions relative to Sheep-walks. —With respect to the books that belong to Medicine, Anatomy, and the objects in which physical men are immediately concerned, we shall once more refer our readers to Dr. Simmons's Journal. There is one point, however, which must not be passed over in silence; and that is, the affair of Animal Magnetism. It is well known what surprising cures M. Mesmer and his associate M. Deslon have pretended to perform in this way. At length a commission was appointed by the French king to examine into the matter. The committee consisted of several eminent physicians and philosophers, Dr. Benjamin Frank-

lin being one of the number; and they proceeded in their enquiries with all that wisdom, good sense, and circumspection, which might be expected from their characters. The result of their examination was a clear and full proof that animal magnetism is a mere chimera; that the boasted application of it hath, in many cases, been very prejudicial, and that the whole business is the operation of imposture and fraud upon the credulity and perverted imaginations of the patients. Of the Report of the commissioners, which hath been published both in French and English, and which hath made its way into news-papers, and into most of the periodical pamphlets, we need not give a particular account. But though this Report is sufficient to satisfy every judicious and reasonable mind, it has not had that effect in the degree that could be wished. Tracts, in large numbers, have appeared on both sides of the question, and the controversy is not yet ended. What shews the fondness of men for something extraordinary, and their readiness to be deceived, is, that vast multitudes of the French nation, and these not of the lower kind only, are still zealous advocates for M. Mesmer and his associates, and look up to animal magnetism for the cure of their disorders.

To turn our view to other objects: with regard to Historical Writing, France doth not seem to have made a striking figure in the year 1784. The most considerable publications of that year were, "French Honour," or the History of the Virtues and Exploits of that Nation, being the ninth and tenth volumes of the work, by M. Sacy; and the eleventh and twelfth volumes

lumes of the General History of China, translated from the Grand Annals of the Empire. These volumes conclude the design.—In England a valuable production hath appeared, in the French language, by M. Roustan, minister of the Dutch Church in London. It is entitled, “An Abridgment of Ancient, Middle, and Modern History;” and is divided into three parts. The ancient History comes down to the battle of Actium; the middle, to the end of the fifteenth century, and the modern, to the peace in 1763. The facts are judicious, the narrative perspicuous and easy, and a proper attention is paid to the chronological order of events. Two ends will be found to be well attained in the present performance. The first is, the giving to young persons a general view of the field of history, before they enter upon the particular study of its several parts; and the second, enabling those who have read history in an incidental and casual manner, to reduce their ideas to connection and method.—In Biography, the publications have been more numerous than important and striking. The Lives and Eulogies which have been printed are those of D’Alembert, Pouffin, the duke de Villars, the duke de Vendome, Rene Duguay Trouin, and Voltaire. Of Voltaire’s Life, written by himself, we have already spoken in our article of Domestic Literature. The Life of Marshal Villars was also written by himself, and is a work of some consequence, as it throws considerable light on the events of the times.—In Literary History, we have M. d’Albon’s “Discourse concerning the Question, Whether

the Age of Augustus ought to be preferred to that of Louis the Fourteenth, with respect to Literature and Science?” On this question M. d’Albon writes with more vivacity than solidity, and several of his positions may be disputed. He is sufficiently disposed to aggrandize his own nation.—Under the head of Literary History, as well as under that of Poetry, may be mentioned the publication entitled, “Poetical Annals.” This is a work carried on in small volumes, of which twenty-eight have already been printed. It commences with the origin of French poetry, and is well conducted. Besides the poems contained in the collection, anecdotes are given of the writers, and other remarks interspersed, which add to the value of the undertaking.—From the rest of the poetry published in France, during the year, we shall only distinguish M. Saurin’s “Beverley,” imitated from the English; and which is an instructive and excellent tragedy, having some scenes in it that are peculiarly striking and pathetic.—In Polite Criticism a curious performance, “Concerning the Poetry of Music,” hath proceeded from the pen of the count de la Cepede. While the author modestly professes that his intention is only to be useful to young artists, and to those who are desirous of appreciating the compositions of the great masters, he goes farther, and communicates both instruction and pleasure to such as are adepts in musical science.—Mr. Howel’s “Travels through Sicily, Malta, and Lipari; containing an Account of the Antiquities of these Islands, the principal natural Phenomena they exhi-

exhibit, and the particular Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants," form a splendid work, which is carrying on in numbers.—Each number includes six plates, and eight pages of description.—We have another similar publication in M. Hentzy's "Remarkable Prospects of the Alps and icy Mountains in Switzerland." These prospects are exhibited in a series of plates engraved, with colours, and accompanied with ample descriptions of the objects they represent.—Among the Miscellaneous Productions of the year, the abbé de Mably's Observations on the United States of America would demand particular notice, if we had not introduced them in a different place.—Count Mirabeau's Tract upon the Order of Cincinnatus comes from another French gentleman, who is ardently devoted to American liberty. His reflections upon that institution manifest an acute and penetrating spirit, and a zealous attachment to the equal rights of mankind.—Rivarol's "Discourse concerning the Universality of the French Language," though an ingenious performance, will afford more satisfaction to the writer's own nation than it would to an English reader. This dissertation obtained the prize proposed by the academy of Berlin. That count de Rivarol should write with some degree of prejudice upon the subject is what might be expected, and indeed is a matter for which candid allowances ought to be made.—Another prize dissertation, which was deservedly crowned by the Academy of Sciences, Belles Lettres, and Arts, at Besançon, is the abbé Genty's Discourse concerning Luxury.—The last tribute of respect we shall pay to French

literature regards the Romances of the year. Madame Genlis's Tales of the Castle would richly merit very particular attention, were they not already in almost every hand. Perhaps we are wrong in putting them into the class of Novels, as they constitute an important work on the subject of education. This ingenious lady's system may not in every view be adapted to the manners of our own country.—Other Romances which are represented as rising above the common level, are, "Telephus"; "Faustin, or the Philosophical Age;" and M. d'Amand's "Eudocia, an Historical Narrative."

Of Spain little is to be said, though something more than occurred last year. It gives us pleasure to find that an attention is paid to the improvement of the kingdom, and that the study of Natural History is advancing. A work has been carrying on for a considerable time, and is now increased to twelve volumes, the design of which is to revive the sinking taste for architecture and agriculture, and especially for the plantation of trees. The author is Antonio Pontz; and it seems that good effects have resulted from his publications.—Another performance has appeared, the immediate object of which is Natural History. It relates to shell-fish, which are classed according to the system of Linnæus.—An Introduction to the Oryctography and Zoology of Arragon, has been presented to the public by the Society of Agriculture and Fine Arts, at Saragossa. This book, besides what relates to natural history, contains various particulars respecting the population of the coun-

country, the state of learning, and other objects. It is an auspicious omen, that literary societies are forming in Spain.—At Valencia a Medical Treatise has been printed, on the Ulcerated Sore Throat.

We are glad to conclude our article with a publication from a kingdom of great importance to Eng-

land in a commercial view, but which we seldom hear of in the way of literature; and that is Portugal. It is a Political and Philosophical Journey through the Country, by Dr. Joseph Antonio de Sa. The account it gives of the natural productions of Portugal may be interesting to foreigners as well as to natives.

F I N I S.

ERRATA, in the last Volume of the NEW ANNUAL REGISTER, page [87], of the Literary Department, *for* Mr. WHITE, *read* Mr. HENRY. P. [145], Ditto, *for* Mr. WHITE, *read* Mr. HENRY.



